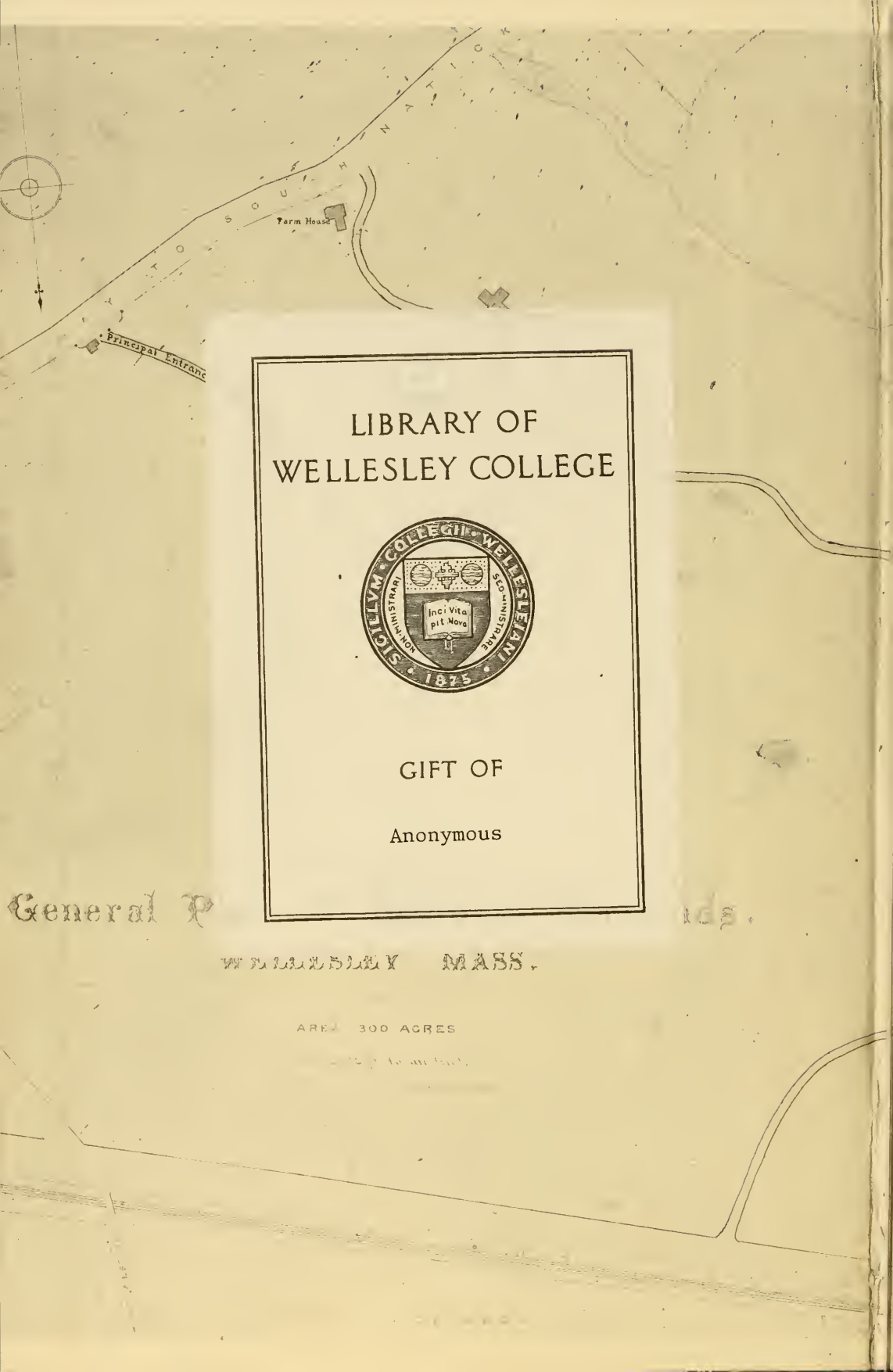
WELLESLEY COLLEGE

1875-1975

A Century of Women



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WELLESLEY COLLEGE 1875–1975: *A Century of Women*

A CENTENNIAL PUBLICATION

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

1875-1975: *A Century of Women*

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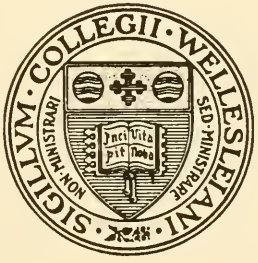

Published by Wellesley College

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WOMEN CAN DO THE WORK. I GIVE THEM THE CHANCE.

Henry Fowle Durant

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Foreword

This centennial history has a special authoritative quality because it has been written by people who have had personal experience, in most instances extending over a period of many years, with the subjects they discuss here. It also has significance for anyone interested in higher education and in the history of women because Wellesley College has pioneered and continues to pioneer in providing opportunities for women. It is appropriate that Wellesley will celebrate the centennial of its opening in 1975, which has been designated by the United Nations as the International Women's Year, and that the publication of this volume in March will coincide with the official opening at Wellesley of the Center for the Study of Women in Higher Education and the Professions.

Although Henry Fowle Durant's views about the capabilities of women were regarded as radical and, indeed, revolutionary a century ago, our perspective enables us to appreciate even more fully than his contemporaries could the full extent of his daring and of the problems which he confronted in making his vision a reality. He said, "Women can do the work. I give them the chance." If this statement were made today, it probably would still be considered newsworthy, but there are enough well-qualified women scholars and administrators to enable a modern Mr. Durant to achieve the objective with relative ease. In the 1870s there was no such reservoir from which to draw. Of the first faculty, only one member, Latin Professor Frances E. Lord, had had experience in college teaching—this at Vassar, which had opened in 1865 and was one of the very few institutions of higher education in which women could teach. (It should be noted, however, that Miss Lord had not attended college.)

Part of Mr. Durant's genius lay in his ability to find women who could "do the work." Mary E. Horton, the first professor of Greek, a fine scholar who was self-trained, lived with her family directly across the street from the college gates. In no other instance was he so fortunate in having talent so near at hand; sometimes he even provided the necessary training. On the recommendation of Louis Agassiz and Asa Gray, he appointed as professor of natural history Susan M. Hallowell, a high school teacher from Bangor, Maine, whose first year at Wellesley was spent studying the most up-to-date methods of teaching biology in colleges in this country, and who later was the first woman admitted to botanical lectures and laboratories at the University of Berlin. Another high school teacher he sent to study instruction in science at men's colleges and universities was Sarah Frances Whiting. With Mr. Durant's encouragement, she established a student laboratory for experimentation in physics that was preceded in the United States only by that at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Mrs. Durant's full partnership in all aspects of the planning and opening of the College has never before been wholly recognized. For example, only very recently have we learned (and, as has so often been true, from an alumna) that Mrs. Durant brought from Virginia a friend, Jenny Nelson, whose teaching experience had consisted of tutoring young cousins and nieces and nephews, including Thomas Nelson Page. And the fact that Jenny Nelson for the first two years after Wellesley opened taught speech and Latin, and thereafter French and essay writing, was characteristic of the versatility of the early faculty—including, as is pointed out in the book, Alice Freeman Palmer.

Changing times and higher standards brought new challenges to the young college. In 1893 a curriculum was adopted that was in some respects as revolutionary as Mr. Durant's insistence on the use of original sources and on student laboratories had been. An unprecedented number of electives was offered, requiring greater specialization and new methods of teaching. The way in which President Julia J. Irvine, in a period of grave financial crisis (and, it must be acknowledged, before the existence of tenure provisions), managed to put the curriculum into effect has never before been recounted—and it is an episode in Wellesley's history which, like many others told here, will strike a responsive chord on many campuses today.

The whole story of Wellesley's first century is remarkably rich both in details and in broad strokes of development. The Great Fire in 1914 was a watershed; the rebuilding of the College after that disaster is dramatic and inspiring. The various pieces of the story of Wellesley meld here in an authentic, colorful history of a college that has earned its place among educational institutions. The special character of the College emerges clearly, stemming as it does from the fact that from the very beginning women have had unusual opportunities to teach, to learn, to serve as trustees and as chief administrative officers. It has indeed been "A Century of Women," as the sub-title indicates and as every chapter illustrates, almost casually, never militantly.

Mrs. Bishop commented at the conclusion of her chapter on the activities of Wellesley alumnae, "Much should be expected from those who have had the education and incentives which Wellesley, a strong liberal arts college for women, provides. That expectation has been fulfilled." Our hope and expectation are that, building on the sturdy and exciting past which is described in these pages, Wellesley in its second century will continue to pioneer in the education of women.

Barbara Warne Newell

Office of the President
January 3, 1975

Preface

THIS PREFACE IS PRIMARILY TO LET THE READERS know why this is a rather special book, not a conventional, traditional history of an institution on a significant anniversary, and to acknowledge indebtedness to those who are most responsible for it.

As even the brief biographies of the authors indicate, the other thirteen are eminent specialists. (Perhaps I may be considered a generalist in relation to Wellesley.) Every person who was asked to write a chapter accepted the invitation (something of a record in itself!) and did so wholly because of devotion to the College and without receiving any fees or royalties. One of my greatest pleasures has been working with them—and, I am delighted to say, observing their enjoyment, often to their surprise, of their tasks, in particular the research in which they found themselves involved. (And research they did! I shall always remember the way in which Mr. Quarles, politely declining assistance, spent days reading Trustee Minutes which, in the early days, were in spidery penmanship. The figures which Mr. Wood compiled after delving as no one ever had before into endowment records are reproduced in his own handwriting, showing the very personal attention he gave to his assignment.) The book is authoritative because the authors are *the* authorities and they have worked with meticulous care; the flow is not interrupted, however, by footnotes or other displays of scholarship. For ease of reading, when sources were not immediately apparent, references to them have been incorporated in the text.

Because this is an official history—the first ever published by Wellesley—Trustee Minutes and other records have been available and have provided valuable information. Some of it has illuminated areas that were shadowy heretofore. We are most grateful to the Rev. Eric M. North, who not long ago gave the College correspondence long treasured by his grandmother, Anna M. McCoy, Secretary to the President of the College from 1882 until 1889, and his mother, Louise *McCoy* North, a member of the first class, a Greek teacher from 1880 until 1886, president of the Alumnae Association from 1884 until 1886, and a trustee from 1894 until 1927. Mrs. North's vital role in the development of the College is evident throughout this volume. The cooperation of Andrew Fiske has been great, and has been appreciated in equal measure. He has given us access to the papers of his great-grandfather, Eben Norton Horsford, who was a friend of Mr. and Mrs. Durant and ranked next to them as the greatest early benefactor of the College. Mr. Fiske has also been helpful in filling in for us lacunae in our knowledge of his great-aunt, Lilian Horsford Farlow, a trustee from 1886 until 1922, and of his grandfather, Andrew Fiske, a trustee from 1896 until 1930. The journals of Horace E. Scudder, a trustee from 1887 until 1902, were also very

helpful; we acknowledge here with gratitude permission from the Harvard College Library to quote from them. New insights and additional facts have been provided by oral history interviews which I tape-recorded with present and former presidents, trustees, deans, faculty, administrative staff and service employees, and a few alumnae who had special knowledge of various periods. Excerpts from some of the interviews have been quoted; other interviews have been useful as background information. All of them will doubtless prove enlightening to historians in the future.

Miss Hawk has asked me to convey her thanks to the alumnae who as students had been prominent in social service or political organizations and whose thoughtful responses to her questionnaire are reflected in her chapter. Other alumnae and their friends and families, too numerous to mention individually, have presented to the archives letters and scrapbooks of various college generations. Kathleen Elliott '18 supplied special information about the College in World Wars I and II. To requests for loans of photographs and for information of all kinds, alumnae have complied with a kind of gladness to be of help that I have come to expect from them even as I know how uncommon it is in the world today.

The Wellesley College Archives of course have been our greatest single resource. On behalf of all of the authors who have made extensive use of the marvelous material, now well catalogued, I express appreciation of the superb cooperation of Wilma Slaight, the archivist. And I add my special thanks for her patience and good humor when time after time I requested still more pictures or another check of a puzzling point.

I wish to acknowledge my personal indebtedness to Anne C. Edmonds, the Librarian of Mount Holyoke College, and Elizabeth Green, a longtime member of its faculty, for searching records and memories for me; to Alice *Hackett* Harter '21, who wrote the last history of Wellesley, for her encouragement and counsel; to Marie L. Edel and Mark Bradford for their technical assistance and advice and to her for cheerfully performing many chores which a lesser person might have considered unworthy of a distinguished editor's effort.

Mary *Atkinson* Mitchell '33, the author-photographer of several books, contributed her time and talent in taking a number of the pictures used in the book. The one of Prime Minister Nehru's visit was taken by William Biggart, now the Manager of the Duplicating Office, who has been helpful in many ways. Credit for other illustrations goes to Robert Chalue, Mark Feldberg, Bradford Herzog, Lawrence Lowry, George Woodruff, and to photographers and cartoonists whose names we do not know but whose material in the archives and in *Legendas* I have used happily, sometimes as copied for us by Max Keller. Another word of

explanation about the illustrations is in order: they have not been listed separately, but individuals and buildings identified in the captions have been included in the index.

The last chapter is literally a postscript. It contains some of the bits and pieces which were not germane to the principal chapters but which I thought might be of interest if there were space for them. For a variety of reasons, some pages became available at the last moment, and I gleefully used them for as many of my little tales as I could tuck in.

Short of devoting an entire volume, or series of volumes, to the subject, there could never be adequate space to recount the achievements of alumnae. Mrs. Bishop's chapter, a section in the *Alumnae Magazine's* centennial issue, "A Woman's Place," the Los Angeles Wellesley Club's *Wellesley After-Images,* and the biographies of alumnae who have participated in the two "Many Roads" Conferences may be considered as a unit in making at least a good beginning to what some day may be a full-fledged project.

Finally, I should like to thank the Trustees for giving us the opportunity to produce this book, many members of the college community for unstinting cooperation, and imagination in realizing when we needed it—and to Mr. and Mrs. Durant for founding this College whose first hundred years it has been our privilege to narrate.

Jean Glasscock
Centennial Historian and
General Editor

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The Authors

Katharine C. Balderston, Martha Hale Shackford Professor Emeritus of English Literature, was almost foreordained to write a brilliant chapter on the Great Fire of College Hall. She witnessed the event when she was a sophomore; in her usually scholarly fashion, she not only carefully examined all of the records at the College but corresponded with the alumnae who had played key roles in sounding the alarm; because she is a superb writer, she produced an unforgettable account of the holocaust. She holds the B.A. degree from Wellesley, the M.A. from Radcliffe, and the Ph.D. from Yale. From the time she returned to Wellesley as a young instructor in 1920 until she retired in 1960, she was equally renowned as teacher and scholar.

Joan Fiss Bishop, Director of the Career Services Office and of its predecessor, the Placement Office, since 1944, unquestionably has greater knowledge than anyone else in the world about the interests and achievements of Wellesley alumnae, and only she could have put them into proper perspective. Widely known in vocational guidance and personnel administration circles through her leadership in many local, regional, and national organizations, Mrs. Bishop has received three special awards: from the U.S. Civil Service Commission a Meritorious Service Award in 1959; from the Harvard-Radcliffe Program in Business Administration in 1960 the first Roberts Award ever presented; from the Boston Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration in 1966 the Distinguished Public Citizen Award.

Maud Hazeltine Chaplin, Associate Dean of the College, was the president of College Government in 1956, received the Ph.D. in intellectual history at Brandeis University, and returned to Wellesley in 1968 as an assistant professor of History and a class dean and then was named Dean of Studies. As an undergraduate she knew Wellesley in the 1950s, as a class dean she was centrally involved in students' concerns in the late 1960s and the 1970s, and as an historian she relished researching the early days of the College and writing about students then and now. While on leave from Wellesley she held a Radcliffe Institute Fellowship, and on her return on January 1, 1975, she assumed the new position of Associate Dean.

Harriet B. Creighton, Ruby F. H. Farwell Professor Emeritus of Botany, has knowledge of the Wellesley campus that is unsurpassed and dates from her arrival as a freshman in 1925. She received the Ph.D. in 1933 from Cornell University and taught at Connecticut College before returning to Wellesley as an associate professor in 1940. Except for serving as an officer in the WAVES, she remained at Wellesley until she retired in 1974—although while on sabbatical leaves or during summer vacations

she was a Fulbright Lecturer in Genetics at Perth University, Australia, and at the National University in Cuzco, Peru, and was a National Science Foundation Consultant at institutes in Osmania, Hyderabad, and Allahabad.

Jean Glasscock has enjoyed digging into Wellesley's history since her days on the *College News,* of which she was editor in 1933. She was publicity director of a Florida resort hotel for three years, and then was Wellesley's first Susanna Whitney Hawkes Teaching Fellow in English Composition and received the M.A. degree in 1938. Teaching English in New York City, being publicity director of the Kansas State Fair, and service as a WAVES officer in the Navy's Office of Public Relations in Washington, D. C. preceded her return to Wellesley in 1946. She was Director of Publicity and a member of the 75th Anniversary Fund Committee and of its successor, the National Development Fund Committee, from 1946 until 1966, taught the journalism course in 1952-53, and was Coordinator of Special Events from 1962, when the office was established, until 1970. Since that time she has been the Centennial Historian.

Grace E. Hawk, Katharine Lee Bates Professor Emeritus of English Literature, has long been interested in social problems and political concerns. She received the B.A. from Pembroke College and the B.Litt. from Oxford University, and in 1929 she came from Bryn Mawr to begin her teaching career at Wellesley, which extended until she retired in 1961. Her committee assignments included Service Fund, Service Organization, and Christian Association. Also providing valuable background for her chapter was her chairmanship of the comprehensive Self-Study of Extra-Curricular Activities made in 1953 with the support of the Ford Foundation. After retiring from Wellesley she wrote a history of Pembroke College which was published in 1966, its 75th anniversary.

Alice Stone Ilchman, Dean of the College, who also holds a joint appointment as Professor of Economics and Education, graciously agreed to give her impression of the faculty which she found awaiting her when she assumed her duties in 1973. She modestly entitled her chapter "A Footnote to Keats Whiting." A 1957 graduate of Mount Holyoke College, she has been a member of its Board of Trustees since 1970 and is now Vice Chairman. She received the M.P.A. degree from the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, in 1958 and the Ph.D. degree from the London School of Economics in 1965. From 1966 until she came to Wellesley, Mrs. Ilchman was at the University of California (Berkeley) in teaching and administrative positions.

Barbara P. McCarthy, Ellen A. Kendall Professor Emeritus of Greek, retired from Wellesley in 1970, whereupon she was persuaded to be-

come a visiting professor at Holy Cross College in Worcester and also at Brandeis University in Waltham. She declared firmly in June 1974 that she was really retiring (and promptly in the fall began teaching beginning Greek, purely for everyone's pleasure, to a few faculty members on leave or retired). After graduating from Brown University in 1925, she studied for two years at the American School of Classical Study in Athens, obtained her Ph.D. from Yale in 1929, and came to Wellesley that fall. She was one of nineteen graduates of Brown cited in 1959 for outstanding achievements in their chosen professions. She wrote two lively chapters on subjects about which she knows a great deal; with equal ease and competence she could have written many other chapters, and she has been helpful in many aspects of this book.

HELEN SWORMSTEDT MANSFIELD has had as long-continuing associations with Wellesley as anyone could possibly have had, and she probably knows well (and can give maiden and married names and classes for) more alumnae than anyone else living today. Her great-aunt, Annie Godfrey, was Wellesley's first librarian, her mother, Mabel *Godfrey* Swormstedt, was graduated in 1890, she herself in 1918, and her daughter-in-law, Patricia *Cox* Mansfield, in 1951. When Mrs. Mansfield retired in 1961, she had been a caring, devoted member of the Alumnae Office staff for thirty-two years and had been the Alumnae Secretary since 1944.

VIRGINIA ONDERDONK, Alice Freeman Palmer Professor Emeritus of Philosophy and a former Dean of the College, was a member of the Curriculum Committee for twelve years, serving two terms as an elected faculty representative and six years *ex officio* as Dean and Chairman of the Committee. In addition, she was Chairman of the Faculty Long-Term Educational Policy Committee which deliberated from 1943 until 1946 and whose recommendations resulted in a major revision of the curriculum. Her experience as a faculty member from 1933 until 1973 and her chairmanship of the Philosophy Department also contributed to her knowledge of curricular emphases and changes. A member of the Class of 1929, Miss Onderdonk was president of College Government her senior year. She was Dean of the Class of 1943, Acting Dean of the Faculty in 1963-64, and Dean of the College from 1964 until 1968.

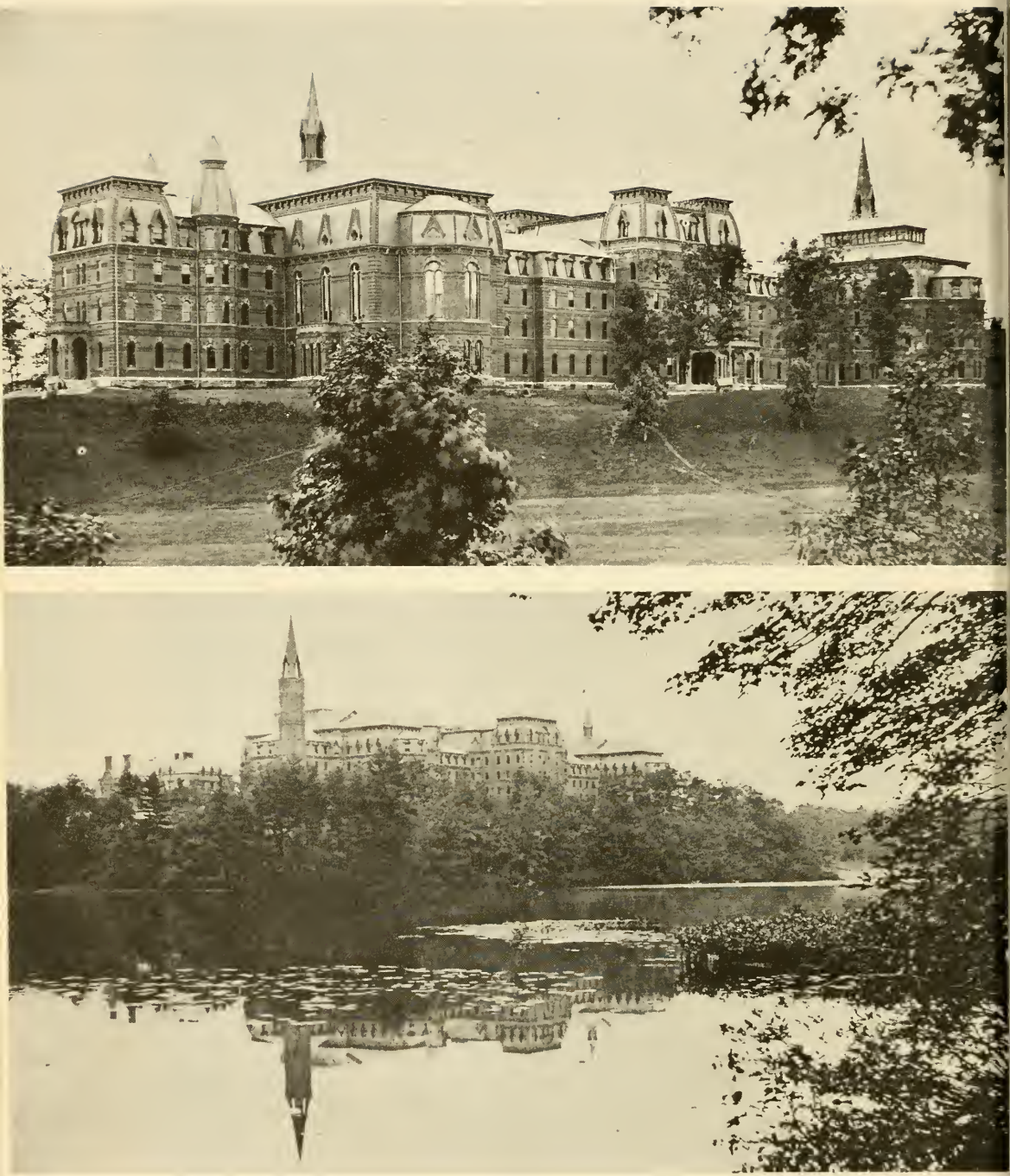
JOHN R. QUARLES wrote on "The Role of the Trustees" from the perspective of a lawyer (senior partner in the Boston firm of Ropes and Gray), a director of many companies (and therefore very knowledgeable about differences in the functions of directors and trustees), and a trustee of a number of educational institutions and hospitals. President of the New England Medical Center Hospital, a member of the Administrative Board and Secretary of the Tufts–New England Medical Center, and a member of the Board of the Boston Hospital for Women, he has also been President of the Board of the Boston Lying-In Hospital

and a member of the Board of the Harvard Medical Center. He was formerly Chairman of the Board of Garland Junior College and a member of the Boards of Lenox and of Noble and Greenough Schools. Elected to membership on Wellesley's Board in 1958, he served as Vice Chairman from 1959 to 1961 and as Chairman from 1961 to 1970, when he retired and was named trustee emeritus.

Margaret E. Taylor, Helen J. Sanborn Professor Emeritus of Latin, could view the founding and the early years of the College with an unusual degree of objectivity as well as a large fund of knowledge. A Vassar graduate whose grandfather was president of Vassar and spoke at Wellesley's Semi-Centennial Celebration, she was familiar with the history of the sister college ten years older than Wellesley. She also taught at Mount Holyoke College before coming to Wellesley in 1936. Her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees are from Yale University. At Wellesley she has been noted not only for her teaching of Latin but of "The Interpretations of Man in Western Literature," a course which she originated in 1946 and continued to teach until she retired in 1967.

Ella Keats Whiting writes from an unparalleled knowledge since 1928 of the faculty as a body and as individuals, and with extraordinary capacity for dispassionate appraisal. Her own role at Wellesley has been unique, as is indicated by her receiving on her retirement in 1961 an honor unprecedented on such an occasion: the award of an LL.D. degree. The citation reads: "Daughter of Vassar, Wellesley would also claim you as daughter. For thirty-three years a builder at Wellesley as professor of English and successively as class dean, Dean of Instruction, and Dean of the College, you have made a deep imprint on the ideals and standards of this College. Ability, humility, and unswerving devotion to excellence have marked your path; your selfless counsel has been a light for your colleagues in the Academic Council; and your guidance of the curriculum has been masterly. Never have you lost sight of your goal: to contribute to a world which, in your words, 'will be shaped by people who in their college years have experienced both discipline and freedom and who respect and value both.' "

Henry A. Wood, Jr., was Treasurer of the College and *ex officio* a member of the Board of Trustees from 1950 until 1968. When he resigned as treasurer in 1968, he was elected to membership as a regular trustee and served until 1974. He was for many years a partner in Welch and Forbes, believed to be the oldest fiduciary trustee office in the country. He received the B.A. from Harvard in 1924 and the M.B.A. from the Harvard Business School in 1926, and, after beginning his business career with Lee Higginson and Co., became deputy treasurer of Harvard University and during World War II followed Harvard's contracts with the Office of Scientific Research and Development.



College Hall, the original building of Wellesley College, seen across the campus and from Lake Waban

MARGARET E. TAYLOR
JEAN GLASSCOCK

The Founders and the Early Presidents

HENRY FOWLE DURANT, founder of Wellesley College, declared in a sermon delivered in 1875, the opening year of the College: "The Higher Education of Women is one of the great world battle cries for freedom, for right against might. . . . I believe that God's hand is in it; that it is one of the great ocean currents of Christian civilization; that He is calling to womanhood to come up higher, to prepare herself for great conflicts, for vast reforms in social life, for noblest usefulness." His words illustrate both the fervor the cause itself could arouse and something of the spirit of the speaker.

The cause was vital; it was also controversial at this period, although it had already won some staunch support and would soon win more. By the end of the nineteenth century all of the colleges in the Seven College Conference would be well established: Mount Holyoke opened as a seminary in 1837 and officially became a college in 1893; Vassar opened in 1865; Wellesley, founded in 1870, and Smith, founded in 1871, opened the same year, 1875; at Radcliffe, instruction by Harvard professors began in 1879 and the Society for Collegiate Instruction of Women was organized in 1882; Bryn Mawr opened in 1885 and Barnard in 1889. Their founders shared commitment to high educational standards combined with moral and religious idealism. It is doubtful, however, that any of these colleges except perhaps Mount Holyoke was as long and as deeply imbued with the ideals and personality of its founder as was Wellesley. Matthew Vassar was dedicated, but he was unprepared both by temperament and training to direct the needed planning and organization; the founders of Smith and Bryn Mawr died before their colleges opened. Ada Howard, Wellesley's first president, once recalled that, although she had entered Mount Holyoke Seminary four years after Mary Lyon's death, she could hardly believe that she had never known her, so vividly had her presence continued to be felt. Certainly Mr. Durant's continued "pres-

ence" at Wellesley was repeatedly demonstrated in reminiscences and tributes that were expressed over the decades, notably in the commemorative addresses delivered annually as long as anyone associated with the College had personal recollections of him.

Henry Fowle Durant was born Henry Welles Smith and was descended on both sides of the family from sturdy New England pioneers. George Durant, who came from England to Connecticut in 1663, numbered among his descendants the wife of Captain John Fowle, officer in the American Revolution, merchant in Watertown, Massachusetts. Captain and Mrs. Fowle had eight children, among them five remarkable daughters whose beauty inspired a famous toast: "To the fair of every town, and the Fowle of Watertown!" One married Samuel Welles (from whose family the name "Wellesley" was derived), and they lived in Paris, where after his death she became the wife of a French marquis and moved in high diplomatic and social circles. Another daughter married Benjamin Wiggin, a successful banker in London; later, after their return to the United States, they provided a Boston home for her nephew Henry Welles Smith. Harriet, described as the most intellectual of the Fowle sisters, married a lawyer, William Smith. Some years later Jack Fowle, a handsome brother of the beautiful sisters, married the glamorous Pauline Cazenove. To anticipate a little, it should perhaps be mentioned at this point that Pauline, the daughter of Jack and Pauline Fowle, and Henry, the son of Harriet and William Smith, became Mr. and Mrs. Henry Fowle Durant and the founders of the College.

William Smith and his bride lived at first in New Hampshire, where he had been born of colonial and revolutionary forebears. His parents, proprietors of a tavern in Franklin, were concerned about education, as was indicated by that received by William and his sister, a pupil and admirer of Mary Lyon. This sister was the first teacher of her nephew Henry, who was born in Hanover on February 20, 1822. His mother's love of reading and learning also was important in his early development, and she wrote happily to her sister Charlotte Wiggin about his delight in books and his wish as a small child to have a library of his own.

The young boy was singularly fortunate in the teaching he received from women. After his early schooling in Lowell, Massachusetts, to which the family had moved, he was sent to a private school in Waltham; here he received much of his preparation for college under the aegis of the extraordinary Mrs. Samuel Ripley, at whose home he lived for three years. Wife of a clergyman, an accomplished Greek scholar, a friend of Emerson, mother of seven, Mrs. Ripley was living proof of the intellectual as well as what were regarded as the more conventional gifts and potentialities of women. She made a profound impression on the boy. He said in later years, "I have seen her holding the baby, shelling peas, and listening

to a recitation in Greek, all at the same moment, without dropping an accent, or particle, or boy, or peapod, or the baby." He never lost his admiration of her or his love of Greek.

After Harvard, to whose courses he was markedly indifferent (always excepting Greek), and to whose library he was forever grateful, he retained a passionate love of literature and especially poetry, to which he would have dedicated himself had not more practical considerations prevailed. With his sensitivity to beauty, delight in nature, and capacity for intense feeling, he was at first cold indeed to the charms of his chosen profession, the law. Having been admitted to the bar of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, at the age of twenty-one, eighteen months after leaving Harvard, he wrote, "I have a right to bestow my tediousness on any court of the Commonwealth, and they are bound to hear me." And hear him they did. (It was when, after practicing with his father in Lowell for five years, he moved to Boston in 1847 and found there eleven other lawyers with the name of Smith, three of them Henry Smith and one besides himself Henry W. Smith, that he changed his name, adopting the Fowle and Durant family names.)

His legal success was nothing short of spectacular. He soon became associated as junior counsel with the distinguished Boston advocate Rufus Choate, whose range and cultivation of mind as well as remarkable skills in the courtroom provided a varied and stimulating education in themselves. An indefatigable worker, challenged to utmost efforts by complex and difficult cases, Henry Durant employed and developed his brilliant gifts and was a leading figure in the profession. He won his cases so consistently that he was regarded with no little envy as well as admiration. In 1863 a newspaper noted that if success were the criterion, "Mr. Durant would rank as the greatest lawyer who ever practiced in this city." One is tempted to quote further and to note the range of his interests as he became increasingly free to choose his cases. In one famous instance, the Eliot School case, he argued for the reading of the Bible in public schools; in another he persuaded the jury that justice and common sense should prevail over the technically-correct claims of a fire insurance company. His skill in handling witnesses and appealing to juries in criminal trials was famous. Happily for Wellesley College, one of his cases led to the foundation of his fortune: after handling a claim for a rubber company, he had the perspicacity to envision the future in vulcanized rubber and took his legal fee in stock in the company. His business acumen was impressive—another unexpected facet of this many-sided man who had wanted to be a poet.

By 1850 he already had a practice of $10,000 a year, and his aunt Mrs. Wiggin is reported to have regretted his "singular indifference to several charming and eligible young ladies." It seems, however, that he had long

been attracted by his young cousin, Pauline Adeline Fowle, and she by him. When at the age of eight she was visiting aunts in Boston, she "came to know her cousin Henry, ten years her senior, and then a student in Harvard. The poet-hearted young collegian, handsome, as became his Fowle descent, won the friendship of the gentle child, whose appearance at the time he afterwards tenderly pictured in verse." (So wrote in 1894 Katharine Lee Bates '80, Professor of English Literature, who had many long conversations with Mrs. Durant.) The Fowle family bonds were close, and the cousins continued to see each other from time to time. The aunt in Paris wrote her sister in Boston to inquire about the seriousness of Henry's interest in his young cousin; when Pauline and her mother returned from Europe, Henry met their boat in New York. The letters and poems which he wrote to her during the next year or so were destroyed, alas, by Mrs. Durant not long before her death in 1917. We know, however, that in November 1853 she agreed to marry him and that the wedding took place on May 23, 1854.

Without question, Henry's bride was an extraordinary young woman and had an unusual cultural background. Her grandfather, Antoine Charles Cazenove, was a member of the Huguenot branch of a noble French family of ancient lineage. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, they moved to Geneva and established themselves as bankers, "dropping their titles as inconsistent with a business career." Antoine Cazenove spent three years in the family banking house in London and returned to Geneva on the eve of the Jacobin Revolution. He, his father, and his elder brother were among the leading citizens who were seized by the mob and thrown into prison. The Cazenoves were acquitted and released, "their reputation for goodness standing them in stead," according to the story, but the brothers decided to escape to America. They married two sisters from Baltimore who were of Scotch-Irish extraction and were exceptionally well educated for the women of their day. (Mrs. Durant's grandmother was an excellent Latin scholar, having been taught by her father, who was considered an eminent teacher, and she was widely read in literature and history.) The young Swiss refugee Antoine Cazenove is said to have carried the first millstones across the Alleghenies to establish flour mills in the backwoods of western Pennsylvania and to have built the first glassworks in the country in Uniontown. John Jacob Astor offered him a partnership in a fur venture, but he decided to become a shipping merchant and to make the family home in Alexandria, Virginia. After attending schools there, the five Cazenove daughters were sent to Mme. Greleaud's boarding school in Philadelphia "for the accomplishments" and the five sons to Geneva to complete their education. On a visit to Boston in the winter of 1830, Pauline Cazenove met Major Fowle, and they were married in May of 1831.

Their daughter Pauline was born in Alexandria on June 13, 1832, and at the age of three months was taken on a very rugged journey to the frontier wilds of Sault Ste. Marie, where her father was stationed—and her mother, with characteristic observation and concern, protested the treatment of the Indians. The family moved further west the following year to Fort Dearborn, Chicago, a village of only three hundred inhabitants—including soldiers, Indians, fur traders, and trappers. On the first Sunday Major Fowle had the carpenter's shop swept out and furnished with seats; it was said that "from this humble yet appropriate origin sprang the earliest church of Chicago." The major was soon assigned to duty at West Point, a prestigious and pleasant post, and another daughter and a son were born during the four years the family happily lived there. Then he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel and ordered to Florida to take command of a regiment in the Seminole Indian Wars. The steamboat on which he embarked at Cincinnati exploded when the vessel was pushed beyond its capacity, and Colonel Fowle was one of the victims of the disaster. Within three years the two younger children also died. Mrs. Fowle relied more and more on her daughter Pauline, who accepted the responsibility with unusual competence and maturity. She also shared her mother's social concerns; her earliest extant letter, written when she was nine, listed the achievements of a Virginia Institute for the Blind which she had visited. Her own education was not neglected: she attended a private school in Alexandria, and at home she learned "music and drawing, fine sewing, elaborate cooking, and all the domestic arts." Then she was sent to a French boarding school in New York, where her training was rigorous and her French became fluent—and also, at the age of fifteen, wrote an extraordinary document wholeheartedly dedicating herself to God and the Christian life. When she was eighteen her mother took the beautiful young girl to Europe for two years. In Southern France she visited her aunt, now the Marchioness Valette; she also won admiration in social and diplomatic circles in Rome, where she was known as "la bella Americana," in Geneva, and in Paris. But, despite the distractions of social life in Paris, she found time to visit prisons there.

Doubtless her early training in sewing for the poor, reading to the blind, and visiting prisons, together with the example her mother had set for her in giving service as well as money, made it natural and almost inevitable for Mrs. Durant to be deeply involved in social activities after her marriage. The Dedham Asylum, the Bridgewater Workhouse, and the Boston jail were among her early "causes," and she later served for seven years on the advisory board of the Massachusetts Prison Commission. She took the lead in organizing the Boston YWCA, which had as a major goal the serving of interests of young women who were alone and supporting themselves, often far from home, and she was the president of

its board for many years. "For 39 years she gave of her time and money . . . a most wonderful executive officer," reads part of an impressive tribute to her from the YWCA after her death. She also served as a trustee of various educational institutions, among them the American College for Girls in Constantinople. But of all her concerns Wellesley College was paramount from the time she and Mr. Durant began planning for it until her death some fifty years later.

After Mr. and Mrs. Durant were married in 1854, his legal career and financial investments continued to flourish and, as is attested by their friends in Boston who later became friends of the College, they took a prominent part in civic and social affairs. Their first Boston home was at the corner of Bowdoin and Allston Streets; then in 1860 they moved to 77 Mount Vernon Street, and in 1868 to 30 Marlborough Street. The year after their marriage they bought the farm cottage now known as Homestead and spent their summers in what was known as the "cool countryside of Wellesley." A son, young Harry, was born in the spring of 1855, and a daughter, Pauline Cazenove, in the fall of 1857. When little Pauline died at the age of six weeks, Mrs. Durant found consolation in her strong Christian faith and was saddened by the fact that Mr. Durant did not find solace in religion. Instead, he rapidly reread Scott's Waverley novels, saying to his wife, "You must take your medicine in your way, and I must take mine in mine."

They concentrated their affection and ambition on their son, who was described as "an exquisite child of rare intellectual promise." His parents acquired a total of three hundred acres of land bordering on Lake Waban and planned for him a great country estate. Then the eight-year-old boy died of diphtheria on July 3, 1863. Although his death occurred in their Boston home, hastily opened so that they could more easily obtain the services of the best doctors in the city, the farmhouse where the family had lived in Wellesley was so filled with memories of Harry that they could not bear to return to it. Instead, they bought the Webber residence, which is now the President's House.

The surpassing importance of Harry's death was that it precipitated a dramatic turning point in the life of Henry Durant. He had a religious conversion in the evangelical sense. He surely considered himself a Christian already; certainly he attended church, and in the Eliot School case he had publicly defended Christian ideals as basic to America's hopes and social structure. His conversion did not involve new intellectual concepts. It was rather an intense and emotional dedication of his whole life to Christ's work as he saw it—a dedication such as Mrs. Durant had made as a young girl and had longed to have him share. Half-way measures were unknown to Mr. Durant, and he immediately abandoned his law practice. "The law and the gospel are irreconcilable," he maintained. With

characteristic decisiveness, he sold his law library and destroyed valuable volumes of Restoration drama that had been part of his cherished and impressive library.

Mr. and Mrs. Durant acquired a home in New York City in 1864. He cared for his investments and business projects, but he gave much time to intensive study of the Bible—text, translations, and commentaries. The pastor of their Presbyterian church, Dr. Howard Crosby, later the Chancellor of the University of the City of New York, became his close and sympathetic friend, and soon Mr. Durant was speaking at religious meetings. It was not long before he received invitations to preach. He chose to remain a layman despite some urgings that he take a formal theological course, and in the ensuing years he was much in demand. The passion and eloquence which had contributed to his success at the bar were equally effective in his revivalist sermons. Contemporary accounts noted: "He treated sinners as criminals to be converted before the bar of their own consciences, pressed the indictment home with the same vehemence [as in the courtroom] . . . and always succeeded in getting some sort of verdict." "He made people believe that he really valued their souls; he met them on a level of human brotherhood." He succeeded as he had in the law, winning converts who were distinguished as well as humble, Henry Wilson, a future Vice President of the United States, among them.

In the following years he was much sought after as a lay preacher in communities throughout New England. It was probably inevitable that some of his old associates and rivals should be skeptical. Long afterwards one of them said, "I perceived that if I depicted Mr. Durant as Wellesley knew him, Boston would laugh; if as Boston knew him, Wellesley would weep." And yet as one reads the accumulated evidence in his own writings and those of others closely associated with him, it becomes impossible to question the depth and sincerity of his new dedication; it was central in his plans and hopes for the College which became the focus of his great gifts of mind and energy.

During the first years after the death of their son, Mr. and Mrs. Durant were pondering the best use they could make of their lives and their fortune. According to Katharine Lee Bates, only a few months after their painful loss, Mr. Durant had said to his wife, "Wouldn't you like to consecrate these Wellesley grounds, this place that was to have been Harry's home, to some special work for God?" It appears that they gave careful thought to several possible projects, including a boys' school and an orphan asylum, and that education was central in all of them. Mr. Durant's conviction of its basic importance in the world, even of America's special mission to advance it, was nothing sudden. In an address, "The American Scholar," at Bowdoin College he had said, "It is our faith that national greatness has its only enduring foundation in the intelligence and

integrity of the whole people. It is our faith that our institutions approach perfection only when every child can be educated and elevated to the station of a free and intelligent citizen." In the end came a momentous decision, the resolve to found a college for women.

There were factors, both in the private and public spheres, that directed the attention of Mr. and Mrs. Durant to the education of women. We have referred to the extraordinarily able women who had contributed so much to his education. He was also deeply impressed by the ideals and achievements of Mount Holyoke, where he had visited and preached and of which in 1867 he had become a trustee. "There cannot be too many Mount Holyokes," he was quoted as saying. Mrs. Durant, who had wished to attend the seminary instead of the French finishing school in New York, contributed $10,000 to its library in 1868. And, as the opening quotation from Mr. Durant's sermon indicates, the cause of higher education for women was an issue of lively controversy. Some people felt deep apprehension over the perils to woman's body, mind, and soul that lurked in the new proposals. A distinguished Boston physician warned that "woman's brain was too delicate and fragile a thing to attempt the mastery of Greek and Latin," and an influential matron stated that "Our doctor says that there will be two insane asylums and three hospitals for every woman's college." Others were equally deeply committed to the rights of woman and to faith in her intellectual capabilities. Arguments waxed loud as well as eloquent. The biting scorn of the liberal writer and editor Lyman Abbott anticipated a familiar polemic of today: "The Turkish conception of women's position . . . is founded on the notion that woman was made for man, and is to be educated only that she may be a more useful servant or prettier plaything. It involves the notion that the end of woman's education is wifehood; and the ideal of wifehood is a skillful cook in the kitchen, or a lively ornament in the parlor." The defense was often imbued with a certain romantic idealization: "I believe in the uplift of woman because it means the uplift of humanity."

Along with perennial pros and cons that were heard well into our own century (and echoes of which are still audible), a special development in the 1860s had an important impact at the time of the Durants' decision. The Civil War had removed thousands of men teachers from the secondary schools of the country. The positions were necessarily filled by women, especially young women often pitifully unprepared for their tasks. However, an increasing number of them now had time to prepare to teach. President Seelye pointed out in his inaugural address at Smith in 1875 that as spinning wheel and distaff had been supplanted by factories and sewing machines, young women had gained more hours for study. But the opportunities were hard to come by. Mount Holyoke, although still a seminary, offered work of high standard, some on a college level, and

was turning away many aspirants each year for lack of room; Vassar and the few coeducational colleges and universities could not possibly fill the need. "I am satisfied that there is no way in which direct and *continually productive* good can be done in our own day better than in helping to educate Christian women teachers," Mr. Durant wrote in 1871.

The decision to educate young women was made by Mr. and Mrs. Durant in 1867. The institution was to bear the name "Wellesley," which their neighbor Horatio Hollis Hunnewell had given to his estate in honor of his wife, who had been a Welles. (It has already been observed that there were marriage connections between the Fowle and Welles families.) Thus the name belonged to the College as well as to the Hunnewell estate before it did to the town, which, on separating from West Needham in 1881, took the name as a tribute to Mr. Hunnewell, its greatest benefactor. The Durants immediately set to work planning every aspect of the College. First came the landscaping of the grounds which Miss Creighton describes for us. Before consulting an architect for the building, they visited other colleges and determined many of the specifications—even the height of the risers which Mrs. Durant, after walking up and down hundreds of steps, considered most suitable for young ladies. And after they selected Hammatt Billings of Boston as the architect, Mr. Durant informed him that there would be no competitive bidding on contracts and, in fact, no contractors in the usual sense of the term—it would be built by "day's work." "I shall be there every day and all day," Mr. Durant assured him. "It will be built right."

Probably no building of the magnitude of College Hall—which is described on pages 340-342—has ever been built with the constant, caring supervision which Mr. and Mrs. Durant gave. He was on the site across the lake from his own house every morning at seven, overseeing everything; Mrs. Durant too was a daily visitor. Because he hired and paid the men (and seems to have had no great difficulty in obtaining them), he could impose what must have been unusual requirements: no profanity, loud talking, or quarreling. It is clear that the workmen and the Durants respected each other, and they doubtless learned much from each other. A letter written a few days after the College opened by Mary Burnham, a teacher of English, provides a remarkable insight into the effect the experience may have had upon Mr. Durant. She wrote: "I can readily see how, at Mount Holyoke and elsewhere, he should be known only as a sensational preacher, but here, although he has had charge of chapel exercises nearly every morning, his talks have been brief, pointed, and practical: I have enjoyed them very much. It may be that his daily contact with mechanics, plumbers, and all sorts of workmen has been a spiritual benefit to him. He certainly seems a very genuine and very practical Christian."

Only the workmen were present when Mrs. Durant on August 13, 1871, laid the first foundation stone of College Hall in the northeast corner and on September 14 the cornerstone in the northwest end of the foundation. On the second occasion she presented each workman with a Bible, giving a copy of the King James version to each Protestant and a copy of the Douay version to each Catholic (an indication, incidentally, that the Durants knew the workmen well enough to be aware of their religious denominations). On the fly-leaves of the brown leather Bible tooled in gold which Mrs. Durant placed in the cornerstone she first inscribed in purple ink: "This building is humbly dedicated to our Heavenly Father with the hope and prayer that He may always be first in everything in this institution; that His word may be faithfully taught here; and that He will use it as a means of leading precious souls to the Lord Jesus Christ." Then followed, also in her handwriting, two passages of Scripture: I Chronicles 29:11-16, and Psalm 127:1, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." (Many years later the same verse from Psalms was carved in Latin in stone on Green Hall, the present administration building.)

But the grounds and the building were not the only concerns of the Durants in establishing the College. On March 17, 1870, the Massachusetts legislature authorized the incorporation of the Wellesley Female Seminary and Governor William Claflin signed the charter. (A little less than three years later, on March 7, 1873, the legislature approved the change of name to Wellesley College.) The original members of the corporation (who, as Mr. Quarles points out in the chapter on the role of the trustees, informally became known as trustees) were Mr. and Mrs. Durant and six of their friends. Two were Boston businessmen: Governor Claflin and Abner Kingman. The others were clergymen, two of them also associated with educational institutions. The Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, Chancellor of the University of the City of New York, was Mr. Durant's close friend and adviser in the New York years; the Rev. Dr. Austin Phelps was a professor at Andover Newton Theological Seminary as well as minister of the Pine Street Congregational Church in Boston. The Rev. Dr. Edward N. Kirk was minister of the Mount Vernon Church in Boston, and the Rev. Dr. N. G. Clark was Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Their "organizational" meeting was held on April 16, 1870, at the Durants' home in Boston.

By the fall of the year the College opened, thirteen additional trustees had been elected. Three were women, three were businessmen who lived in the Boston area. The other seven were clergymen, five of them also prominently connected with educational institutions: the Presidents of Boston, Yale, and Wesleyan Universities, the Dean of the Episcopal Theological Seminary, and a professor at Newton Theological Seminary. (It

should be pointed out that they represented several different denominations; it was explicitly stated in the Statutes that while the trustees were to be church members, there should never be a majority in any denomination.) As Florence *Morse* Kingsley '80, Mr. Durant's biographer, wrote, "These names must have furnished the strong endorsement public opinion is prone to demand."

Mr. Quarles gives a lucid, succinct account of the part the early trustees played (and didn't play) during Mr. Durant's lifetime. Although at the annual meeting in 1873 a committee composed of Mr. and Mrs. Durant and the Rev. Dr. Clark was appointed to select the teachers and a second committee, on which Mr. Durant and the Rev. Dr. Kirk served, to prepare and submit a curriculum, it is obvious that all important decisions were made by the Durants. (Miss Burnham in the letter mentioned previously wrote of Mr. Durant: "He says he has no more power than any other of the trustees, that he is here only to see to the finishing of the building; but a father could as easily forsake his own child as Mr. D. this college, and I think it is well for us that it is so.") Certainly his was the decision that both men and women should serve as trustees but only women as teachers and administrators. "Women can do the work. I give them the chance," was his phrase. He believed that only women faculty members could prove, both to the students and to the outside world, the much-debated thesis of women's intellectual powers. In this, as in other matters, he was as independent, indeed, radical, as he was determined. Obviously he could not expect to find the requisite number of women with advanced degrees, experience or promise as teachers, and willingness to serve. In the chapter on the faculty Miss Whiting describes the problems and solutions concerning them, but here we should consider those relating to the president—who would be the first woman college president in the world.

The committee to select teachers reported to the Trustees that Miss Ada L. Howard had been appointed "President of the Faculty and of the various Professors and Teachers." She had seemed to Mr. Durant an answer to prayer, a woman of considerable experience and achievement, who shared his ideals for the College as well as his Christian faith. Like Mr. Durant, she had been born in New Hampshire. Three of her great-grandfathers were officers during the Revolution; her father was considered "a good scholar and an able teacher as well as a scientific agriculturist" and her mother "a gentlewoman of sweetness, strength, and high womanhood." She was graduated from Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1849 (in her later life Mount Holyoke College awarded her a Litt.D.), taught at Western College in Oxford, Ohio, and was the principal of the Woman's Department of Knox College in Rockford, Illinois. She had a private school of her own, Ivy Hall, in Bridgeton, New Jersey, which she

gave up in 1875 to become Wellesley's first president, at least in name.

Mr. Durant's intellectual vitality, imagination, and rigorous standards were perhaps most evident in his paramount concerns: the faculty, the curriculum, and the equipment of various kinds which would best facilitate the teaching and learning. Miss Onderdonk describes the courses of study, methods of instruction, and equipment in the sciences and certain other departments which, as she shows, were startlingly far in advance of the times. Suffice it to give here only a few examples of his primary emphases. He was determined that science should have a more significant role than was the case in most colleges; Wellesley was the second institution in the United States, the first after the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to have student laboratory work as a part of the course in physics. Teachers of English were to have available works in Old Icelandic and other early languages, to "work at the root of things." Mr. Durant realized the importance of archeology to students of Classics and procured for them all of the books that were available. In all areas, as one of the first students wrote, he was insistent on "thorough, first-hand, original works." Especially revealing is his correspondence with Louise Manning Hodgkins, one of the early professors of English Literature: "the first object is to awaken the love for true books . . . to bring them [the students] much in contact with the great ones of the earth." In outlining his scheme for four years' study of literature, he suggested that the junior year be given especially to the "kingly ones," Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare. In a letter written the summer before he died to a teacher offering her a position, his fervor showed no diminution: "If you say yes, the college shall have the best working library on Dante in the country."

Libraries, and above all those of Wellesley College (he seems to have regarded them in the plural, with the several areas of study in mind), were central in Mr. Durant's plans. We have referred to his wish expressed as a child to have a library of his own, also to his delight in Harvard's. The nucleus of a substantial collection of his own had come from his aunt Mrs. Wiggin, who had not only bequeathed books but also $7,000 with which to buy more. He purchased much of the library of Rufus Choate, the highly cultivated lawyer with whom he had been associated, and he continued to collect. To the end of his life he kept in touch with agents in England and the United States, and his discriminating care can be seen in his notations on printed sale catalogues now kept in the Rare Book Room of the Margaret Clapp Library. Perhaps the gift to the College which he most enjoyed making—and one which is greatly cherished today—was his collection of more than 10,000 volumes. They included many valuable and rare editions; early editions of the English poets were among his favorites. He felt that something precious could be conveyed

by an old and beautiful book beyond its content, and his ability to evoke similar appreciation in students is suggested by an extract from a student's journal. In an entry made early on November 20, 1875, she wrote that "our beautiful library was opened last evening," mentioned especially the "sumptuously bound and very old and rare autographed volumes which Mr. Durant had given," and added that "the girls presented him with eight hundred dollars which they have collected." The literary collections were indeed impressive and the Founder's special delight. But he also placed unusual emphasis on contemporary journals, reviews, leading newspapers, and magazines in every field of serious concern. There was a special "reading room" for them, and a magazine article in 1880 referred to them as "superior to any college collection we know of."

Among the preparations for the opening of the College there was, of course, the necessity to attract students. And of course Mr. Durant himself wrote the first Circular, which was issued in December 1874 to announce plans for the new college. Characteristically, he made no reference to the Founders—and, in fact, refused to permit mention of them in any publicity. Following the names of the Trustees and general information about requirements for admission, courses of study, and expenses, the main text began: "The Board of Trustees propose to open Wellesley College for students in September, 1875. Their wish is to offer to young women opportunities for education equivalent to those usually provided in colleges for young men. The instruction will be Christian in its influence, discipline, and course of instruction."

Finally, after eight years of initiating and implementing plans for the College, the opening day, September 8, 1875, arrived. Despite the fact that more than four years had been devoted to building and furnishing College Hall, the work was not completely finished. A dozen faculty members and half a dozen students who had arrived a few days earlier were immediately pressed into service by Mr. Durant; apparently they were happy to join him in overseeing workmen, checking supplies and furnishings, and doing all of the assorted chores that remained to be done. (It is worthy of note that Miss Howard, who had been ill for more than a week and had been staying at the Durants' house, was not well enough to be of any assistance until the opening day.) One of the teachers vividly described the situation on September 8: "You can imagine what a scene of confusion the building presented when you remember that the workmen were still here in every part of it, gas men putting up fixtures, plumbers at work in the bath rooms, oilers still finishing up the wood work, furniture men hanging mirrors in the bureaus, while here and there on every floor you might see, hurrying, skurrying along, a teacher or a girl armed with a lamp, a slop pail or a wash bowl which she was rushing around to get settled in its proper place. . . . I think at least a thousand

people came to the house that day. Nearly 300 girls came, and it seemed as if the father, mother, and all the uncles, aunts, and cousins of every girl came with her. Very many people came, supposing there were to be public services of dedication; others came to see the building, and altogether, there was a perfect rush of people. My duty that day was to sit beside Miss Howard in the reception room, take the names of the girls as they presented themselves, and after Miss H. had assigned their rooms, to make a note of them, and keep a list of names and rooms to be sent to the baggage room that the girls' trunks might be sent to their proper places. And such an array of trunks! Almost every girl brought two, and one poor thing had five! I wish I could give you a picture of that reception room. Miss H. and I sat by a table in the centre, while the newcomers with their parents and friends crowded around. Sometimes anxious mothers wanted a few private words with Miss H., and while she bent her head to listen, and I stopped writing, some gentleman would thrust his card into my hand saying, 'Won't you please have my daughter attended to next; I want to take that train.'—'And I too.'—'And I.' were the responses from various quarters until I had, often at one time, eight or ten on hand, all courteous and polite but all extremely anxious to have their turn come. Of course we had no time for dinner but stayed there till the rush was over."

And so Wellesley College opened on the appointed day. The following morning Dr. Howard Crosby, whose daughter Agnes was one of the students, conducted a very simple dedication service in the chapel, and placement examinations began. Although the first Circular had anticipated the need for a preparatory department "for the present," the proportion requiring further study must have been disappointing: of the 314 students who had been admitted, only thirty were found to be fully qualified for college work. Wellesley's experience was of course not unique. Vassar maintained a preparatory department for some years longer than Wellesley did, while Smith took the heroic course of no compromise and as a result opened in 1875 with only fourteen students, the other applicants having failed to meet its standards.

The personal involvement of the Founders was so great in all areas of the life of the College that every chapter in this history is concerned to some degree with the Durants. Here we propose to mention only a few of the ways in which their tastes and their views shaped the College.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Durant saw beauty of nature and of man's handiwork as vital aids to the intellectual, moral, and spiritual aspiration they hoped to foster. They even planted flowers, especially wildflowers, in such profusion that they hoped there would be enough for everyone to pick. Their imagination, endless labor, and concern for the smallest details were revealed everywhere in the physical surroundings: rooms comfort-

ably equipped with carpets and black walnut furniture, Wedgwood china in the dining room, paintings and sculpture in the center corridors and public rooms of College Hall. But they had no intention of designing a life of sybaritic ease. The example of Mount Holyoke was followed, and a daily domestic chore, supposedly requiring an hour a day, was assigned to every student. This was intended to provide domestic training, to help obliterate indications of differences in affluence (Mr. Durant more than once refused parents' requests that they be allowed to pay a higher fee to free their daughters from their tasks), to develop a sense of "mutual interdependence," as he put it, to enhance the appreciation of beautiful objects by caring for them, and, finally, to save money and thereby reduce the fee. The Founders were deeply concerned that Wellesley should not be a college for the wealthy and privileged; Mr. Durant frequently expressed his preference for the "calico" girl over the "velvet" girl. The fees were deliberately kept low (and Mr. Durant made up the deficit from his own pocket). To encourage poor and able applicants, Mrs. Durant in 1878 was instrumental in establishing the Students' Aid Society. (It should be added that almost to the end of her life she strove valiantly to keep fees low and to seek gifts for her "worthy" girls, as she called them.) Mr. Durant, to assist the Teacher Specials and other students in earning their livelihood, founded in 1878 a Teachers' Registry (the forerunner of today's Career Services Office), the first of its kind in the country.

In an era in which pallor, delicacy, susceptibility to fainting, tight lacing, and tiny waists were in fashion, Mr. Durant was a crusader. He put health as the second among "the five great essentials" in higher education and called on students to be "reformers and preachers of the new evangel of health." An hour a day was specified for exercise—although it might be spent in what were for those days novel as well as conventional ways. Mr. Durant provided an English tennis court, the first in the area, but is said to have found many students reluctant to take "such very violent exercise"; he also took pride in offering opportunities for boating on the lake in very safe vessels which were, however, unusual and a delight to the students. For exercise indoors, there was in College Hall a gymnasium, with the best equipment he could buy. There was of course walking, and he did not for a moment confuse it with a quiet stroll to commune with nature, much as he approved the latter.

Mr. Durant's love of poetry was evidenced in various ways. His taste extended to the "moderns," and Longfellow's visits to the campus were memorable. Many other distinguished men of letters were invited to lecture and read, Holmes and Whittier among them. Mr. Durant sometimes found kindred spirits in the poets' alcove in the library and searched out some of his favorite poems to read with them. Katharine Lee Bates

'80 was one of a small group who banded together to pursue the Muse with their own creative efforts; their solemn affirmation that they were prepared meanwhile to allow some time for reading the "other poets" led to the sobriquet "O.P.s." The fact that they happily read their youthful effusions to Mr. Durant, that he criticized and encouraged them sympathetically, is further evidence of his personal role in the college life.

"Mr. Durant rules the college, from the amount of Latin we shall read to the kind of meat we shall have for dinner," Elizabeth Stilwell, the first president of the first class and the first president of the Missionary Society, wrote her family. A student's journal of 1875 was even more explicit: "First of course comes the father of the College, Mr. Durant, the leading spirit and the motive power; active and vivacious, he seems always flitting along the corridors, bound on some errand, for he is in touch with everything in the life of the place, from the dinner menu and the dish-washing, through examinations, sports and the decoration of rooms, to the students' spiritual welfare; with his keen questioning eyes, sweet smile, and pleasant greeting, he seems the parent of us all. . . ."

And yet we must always bear in mind his insistence that Wellesley was "God's college," not his. Religious dedication was always central in the ideal of both of the Founders. "Education without religion is a wayless night without a star, a dead world without a sun," Mr. Durant once said, as recalled by an early student. In his notable "Defense of the Use of the Bible in the Public Schools" in 1859, he had argued, long before his own conversion, that religion is the only solid basis of morality, that morality must be the concern of schools, that Christianity is basic to our country's institutions and that therefore knowledge of the Bible is imperative. The importance of educating Christian women teachers, conviction of the truths as well as moral inspiration to be found in reading the Scriptures, the basic thesis that Christian values are essential to the nation and should be fostered in its educational institutions—those views of Mr. Durant were in harmony with the thinking of most of the founding fathers of the period. Matthew Vassar had written to the trustees of his college in 1861: "most important of all . . . the all-sufficient rule of Christian faith and practice." Smith's Chairman of the Board of Trustees stated of that institution, "Without being sectarian, it will be radically, vitally, thoroughly Christian." The founder of Bryn Mawr required students to be taught Christian doctrines very explicitly "as accepted by the Friends." But in the case of Wellesley, the fervor of evangelical faith brought its own added emphasis and color. Mr. Durant had experienced the kind of transformation that brings certainty that here is the truth and here only. A sermon preached early in the first term of the college year made this position entirely clear, and also his awareness of and scorn for the arguments for secularism, tolerance, or skepticism. (He once in

another context spoke of the danger lying in "an unreflecting and timid fear of intolerance.") He asked, "What is religious truth?" and replied, "What answer can there be but in the Great Protestant Faith?"

This fervor led inevitably to religious orientation in the whole college program, to the daily prayers, two quiet periods of twenty minutes each for meditation, daily and Sunday study of the Scriptures, and two chapel services on Sunday. At first all members of the faculty were expected to belong to an Evangelical church and to share in the teaching of the short daily Bible classes, which were less rigorous than the ones on Sunday. "Paramount to every other qualification in a teacher is that of vital Christianity," Mr. Durant once wrote. He was personally concerned also about the spiritual state of individual students and, according to legend, was capable of challenging an unsuspecting freshman with an alarming inquiry as to whether she had been "saved." Contemporary letters and later reminiscences of alumnae bear ample testimony to the impact of the fervent religious faith of the Founders. Thirty years after her graduation one put it thus: "Christ was to be first in everything at Wellesley, but it was a Christ strictly interpreted as he saw Him. And why not? All this was the tonic positiveness of a reformer. It roused instant opposition in the minds of students of the same temper, but it was a very pillar of fire to those willing to be led." Katharine Lee Bates '80 recalled some forty-five years after her graduation how torn she was: "I loved his poetic side, but his fanaticism drove me out of church and theology for all time." In the same interview, after noting changes in the College she said, "What we have put from us is external; what we keep of our founder is his zest for true learning, his ardent love of beauty, his devotion to the service of God through his service of mankind." And her statements properly suggest the complexity of the picture. Had Mr. Durant been a truly fanatical evangelist, there would have been no room for the intellectual range and awareness he possessed. While he regarded his college as "God's" and said many times that he would rather see it in ashes than untrue to its Christian purpose, he was passionate in his love of learning and a radical in his faith in women.

Miss Bates's recollection of him as a person as she knew him in her student days is also memorable: "He was terrible in his anger and his scorn, imperious in his decisions, irresistible in his enthusiasms, benignant in his kindness, radiant in his mirth. As a playmate he had no peer. . . ." We are fortunate in having one picture that somehow escaped his stern refusal to have his likeness anywhere displayed. It conveys something of the beauty, sensitivity, intellectual vitality, and spiritual fervor of which his contemporaries spoke. "If you could have known him—even once have seen him," Louise *McCoy* North '79 wrote years later, "that straight, lithe figure, slender yet commanding, the finely cut

features, the beautiful white hair, the eyes dark and piercing, the mouth firm, yet sensitive, now stern with an earnestness almost ascetic, now illuminating his whole countenance with a wonderful smile."

Miss Hodgkins, a professor of English Literature from 1877 until 1891 with whom he corresponded and talked about teaching, told a lovely story that revealed his dream of a university and his eager and imaginative spirit: " 'It is not for today,' he was accustomed to say, 'that we are planning our work.' I recall one sunny morning when, walking with a friend on the college grounds, he stopped and said as his eye took in the beautiful elevations in the immediate vicinity of the college: 'Do you see what I see?' Few were capable of seeing all that those prophetic eyes found in any horizon. 'No,' was the quiet answer. 'Then I will tell you'; and speaking as under a vision he continued: 'On that hill an Art School; and just beyond that, an Observatory; at the furthest right a Medical College; and just here in the center a new stone chapel, built as the college outgrew the old one. Yes, this will all be some time—but I shall not be here.' "

He lived little more than six years after that memorable opening day in 1875. He had continued to work tirelessly and relentlessly, choosing to ignore for more than a year the illness which the college physician, Dr. Emily Jones, had correctly diagnosed as Bright's disease. In addition to his labors for the College, he had another serious problem during that period. A defalcation had taken place in the rubber company in which he was involved, and he was determined that no creditor should lose because of it. Week after week he worked all day in Wellesley or Boston, took the night train to New York, worked there all day, and returned to Boston on the night train. Not long before he died on October 3, 1881, in his house at Wellesley where he could look across the lake at the College, he gave Mrs. Durant messages for the faculty and students. Then he said, "Tell Horsford I love him very tenderly."

The words are touching and also very natural when one remembers that Eben Norton Horsford was Mr. Durant's closest friend. After the Durants themselves, he was unquestionably the most important figure in the first formative years of the College, and as such, surely merits an important place in Wellesley's history. One can readily understand why the two men so thoroughly enjoyed each other's company and engaged in so many projects together.

Professor Horsford's father, a missionary to the Indians as a young man and a Congressman later in life, was one of the first scientific farmers in upstate New York. Eben Horsford received a degree in civil engineering at the new Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, a medical degree from a school at Castleton, Vermont, and studied in Giessen, Germany, in Liebig's laboratory, said to be the first chemical laboratory for students ever opened in Germany. (There is some evidence to suggest that this ex-

perience led him to interest Mr. Durant in establishing student laboratories at Wellesley.) From Liebig he learned about the use of phosphates, and he subsequently concocted "the acid phosphate" and Horsford Yeast Powder and founded in Rhode Island the Rumford Chemical Works which provided the basis for his fortune. The name "Rumford" he chose to indicate his appreciation of holding for sixteen years the Rumford Professorship of Applied Science at Harvard—a professorship established by an American who at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War went to Europe, where he became a famous British scientist and inventor, a Minister of War in Bavaria, and a count of the Holy Roman Empire. Professor Horsford's career was not as colorful as Count Rumford's, but certainly it was impressive and varied and perhaps was most notable because his inventive genius was equaled by his concern for people.

He prepared the plans for the service pipes of the Boston water works, "devised a compact and nourishing ration for the Virginia soldier, thus reducing to a minimum the labor of transportation in Grant's army," drew plans for a submarine, devised the perforation of postage stamps, concocted and manufactured a carbonated drink of pure fruit juice, had an extensive model farm, served on the committee charged with the defense of Boston Harbor, and was the U. S. Commissioner at the World's Fair in Vienna and at the Centennial in 1876. The significant aspect of his business enterprises was that, as Alice Freeman Palmer commented: "A great manufacturer of chemicals, he was never content with fortune hunting, but for years carried out an elaborate system of profit-sharing, pensions, and rewards among the employees. Nothing at his funeral was more impressive than the attendance of several hundred sorrowing fellow-workmen." In 1886 he published for the Rumford employees what must have been a pioneering plan of sharing the profits in the company. His hope, he wrote, was that the money received "will be invested with other savings, that each of our employees may in time be enabled to possess a home." Perhaps the aspect of his policies which struck the most responsive chord with Mr. Durant was that he always immediately established a library for employees in any commercial enterprise with which he was connected.

When and how Mr. Durant and Professor Horsford became acquainted cannot be determined. We know that they were good friends as early as August 9, 1871, when Mr. Durant requested Professor Horsford to obtain from the Harvard professor teaching the summer course in chemistry "the names of the ablest of the ladies" enrolled in it so that he might consider them for teaching positions. We also know something of their business associations: Mr. Durant was vice president and Professor Horsford president of the Rumford Chemical Works, and Professor Horsford was vice president and Mr. Durant president of the St. Helena gold mine near Arizpe, Sonora, Mexico. Their relationship in connection with

Wellesley was equally close and, as Andrew Fiske, Professor Horsford's great-grandson, commented in an oral history interview, they were more interested in the things they did together for people than in making money.

After being consulted on many matters while the College was in the planning stage, Professor Horsford was Chairman of the Board of Visitors from Wellesley's early years until his death in 1893. The Board was dissolved then, and the "Visiting Committee" which was substituted to evaluate or advise different departments apparently was never a potent force, and its disappearance after a decade attracted no attention. The earlier Board of Visitors, on the contrary, to judge from repeated references in the Trustee Minutes, was noted for the distinction of the members and their conscientious work. The professors from Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston University, and theological seminaries, and the well-known clergymen who comprised the Board gave their expert appraisals to the Trustees on the basis of their visits to the College. But it is clear that Professor Horsford's role was considered very special. The most explicit definition of the function of the Board of Visitors is contained in a letter of March 13, 1883, from Mrs. Durant to Professor Horsford, who was addressed as "My dear Friend." She wrote: "With regard to the Board of Visitors, it has always been designed to have them give to the Trustees such advice as seemed to them best. It was hoped that they would be Friends and Endowers of the College. One or two meetings a year would be enough, but let each member of the Board interest himself in the department where he had most knowledge, visit the classes at such times as he found most convenient, render such help to the College as he could in any way and every way." Then Mrs. Durant added: "A while ago a lamp inside a lantern was found in the night to have the oil on fire, and they were quite excited on the subject. This is another matter about which I would be glad to have advice from you, as I am always upon all subjects, but it does not in the most remote way belong to the Board of Visitors as a board."

Especially after Mr. Durant's death in 1881, Professor Horsford was indeed consulted "upon all subjects," although, as Susan M. Hallowell, Professor of Botany, wrote him on February 17, 1885: "You must know that we teachers of sciences long ago appropriated you as our particular friend and lawful advisor, and have felt that we could rely upon your intelligent interest in all that specially concerns our several departments." Although the science departments and the library were his particular interests and he made his largest gifts of money to the library (a Library Festival was held in June of 1886 to celebrate his many benefactions to the College), the extent of his thoughtfulness and personal involvement in the College is almost beyond comprehension. His papers include lit-

erally scores of letters from faculty and students, in addition to ones from Mrs. Durant and Alice Freeman Palmer, thanking him for favors of every conceivable kind. Arrangements for two young instructors in Greek and Latin to go to New York to see a play, tickets for students to attend electrical exhibitions in Boston, "a great easy chair" for Alice Freeman's study, hyacinths for Christmas for each member of the Class of 1886 ("Are there any directions to be given except that they be kept moist?" inquired the class president)—the list of relatively small but imaginative presents for individuals is staggering. Worthy of special mention (and an indication of Professor Horsford's appreciation of the need of the faculty for brief holidays in addition to the sabbatical leaves he provided for some of the professors—who he specified must be women) are the letters thanking him for hospitality at his guest house on Shelter Island, New York. The Horsfords had a handsome house there where the Durants were frequent guests, and they also had a charming smaller house which they frequently invited members of the Wellesley faculty to occupy.

Professor Horsford's correspondence also gives some indication of the time he devoted to the operations of Wellesley. On one occasion he wrote: "I spent yesterday at the College, examining with President Freeman the claims of poor students, and I go again this morning on the same wearying business—wearying because one's means are so inadequate to the needs." His presence at events on the campus (often he was the only man at proms and one of the few outside guests at Tree Day) and his contributions on every level in the development of the young College have inevitably resulted in mention of him in almost every chapter of this book.

We are also indebted to him for the recollection which perhaps best captures the quality of Henry Fowle Durant's mind and spirit. One day the two friends wandered across the campus until they came to the hill on which Stone and Davis Halls now stand. "There," Professor Horsford wrote, "in the shadow of the evergreens we lay down on the carpet of pine foliage and talked,—I remember it well,—talked of the problems of life, of things worth living for; of the hidden ways of Providence as well as of the subtle ways of men; of the few who are led and are not always conscious of it; of the survival of the fittest in the battle of life, and of the constant presence of the Infinite Pity; of the difficulties, the resolution, the struggle, the conquest that make up the history of every worthy achievement. I arose with the feeling that I had been taken into the confidence of one of the most gifted of all the men it had been my privilege to know. We had not talked of friendship; we had been unconsciously sowing its seed. He lived to appreciate and reverence the grandeur of the work which he accomplished here."

"The work which he accomplished here" survives today in essence if not in precise detail. In fact, by the time of Mr. Durant's death some details

had already changed since the College had opened in 1875. There had been a steady increase in qualified applicants, far more than could be accepted. To accommodate some of those, Waban Cottage was opened that fall, and Simpson—like Waban a dormitory, providing rooms for thirty students—was under construction. Stone Hall (the first building given by anyone other than the Durants) had been completed and was housing 120 "teacher specials," a group of women who had been teaching but wished further training. Music Hall was ready for use. The "Academic Department," as the preparatory section was known, had been discontinued, much to Mr. Durant's gratification. The Alumnae Association had been established. The Circular of 1880 had been able to state that the numbers of teachers and of students were the highest among all of the women's colleges, and that the library was "much the largest." In the space of the twenty years between little Harry's death and his own, Mr. Durant had not only totally transformed his own life but he had profoundly influenced the education of women and the opportunities existing for them.

About a month after Mr. Durant's death, the President of the Board of Trustees announced to the students and faculty that Miss Howard's health would not permit her to continue as the President of the College.

The description by Anna *Stockbridge* Tuttle '80 of Miss Howard suggests, as does her portrait, a gracious lady who made a fine figure-head: "young face, pink cheeks, blue eyes and puffs of snow-white hair, wearing always a long trailing gown of black silk, cut low at the throat and finished with fields of snowy tulle." She was a gentle supervisor of manners and an attractive hostess, in the position, in the phrase of Marion *Pelton* Guild '79, "of the nominal captain, who is in fact only a lieutenant." It is clearly inconceivable that anyone could have been president in the true sense of the word during Mr. Durant's lifetime, and we can only wonder about the abilities which she might have developed under other circumstances. The fact that her health, never strong while she was at Wellesley, became increasingly worrisome as the years passed did not greatly affect the College as long as he was firmly in command. After his death, however, Wellesley needed real leadership which Miss Howard could not provide at that point. She lived for another quarter of a century, receiving some financial assistance from loyal alumnae and the Trustees. In 1895 Mrs. Durant reported to the Trustees the gift of $6,000 from "a friend" (in all probability Mrs. Durant herself) to establish a scholarship fund bearing Miss Howard's name. Mrs. Durant kept in touch with her, and asked alumnae to call on her in Brooklyn when she was not well, and invited her to attend Miss Hazard's inauguration and other special occasions at the College. Her funeral was held in the Houghton Memorial Chapel and academic appointments were cancelled for the day; she was

buried in the college plot in the Wellesley cemetery, and the Alumnae Association inscribed the stone marking her grave. In these ways recognition was given the woman who was nominally the first in the world to be the president of a college. But during her years at Wellesley, pioneer though she was, she provided little intellectual stimulus for students and was not a person to whom they responded warmly.

Alice Freeman Palmer

This was never more clearly demonstrated than when the announcement was made that Alice Freeman would succeed her: Edith Souther Tufts '84 spoke of "open, almost tumultuous rejoicing at the change." Certainly a greater contrast than that between Miss Howard and the twenty-six-year-old Miss Freeman, the youngest professor in the College, could not be imagined. She had been at Wellesley only two years, but in her first year Mr. Durant is said to have remarked to a trustee, former Governor Claflin, "You see that little dark-eyed girl? She will be the next president of Wellesley," and before he died he made his wishes known to the Board.

Mr. Durant had learned about Alice Freeman from his friend James Angell, President of the University of Michigan, one of the few state institutions where women's intellectual aspirations were taken seriously and were rewarded with degrees. President Angell had recommended to Mr. Durant several graduates of Michigan who were successful members of the Wellesley faculty in the early years, but of Alice Freeman he later wrote: "It so happened that I had occasion . . . to visit the high school in East Saginaw, of which Miss Freeman was then principal. I attended a class in English Literature which she was teaching. . . . I had never witnessed finer work of the kind with a class of that sort. When I returned home I wrote to Mr. Durant that he *must* appoint the woman whose remarkable work I had been witnessing, that he could not let her slip out of his hand." Mr. Durant immediately began his efforts to get her to Wellesley—and on his third attempt was successful. Like some of the other early members of the faculty, she could teach a wide range of subjects. President Angell had observed her teaching of English; Mr. Durant in 1877 offered her an appointment in mathematics, in 1878 one in Greek, and 1879 the one in history which she accepted. Fortunately for Wellesley, his persistence equaled her versatility!

She was born on February 21, 1855, in Broome County, New York, not far from Binghamton, of parents of Scottish and pioneering background. Mr. and Mrs. James Freeman, like their parents before them, were farmers, but when Alice, the oldest of four children, was seven years old, her father, encouraged by her mother, decided to become a physician. For two years while he attended medical school in Albany Mrs. Freeman sup-

ported him and the four little children. It was said that she "had unusual executive ability and a strong disposition to improve social conditions around her. She interested herself in temperance, and in legislation for the better protection of women and children." (It should be noted that Alice seems not only to have inherited many of her mother's characteristics but also in later years to have shared some of her interests.) The Freemans were a religiously devout and humanly devoted family and lived in beautiful natural surroundings to which Alice all her life enjoyed returning.

Always precocious, Alice taught herself to read when she was three years old. Although she went to school when she was four and attended Windsor Academy after her father became a doctor and they moved to town, the education she received was not designed to prepare a student for college. A teacher at the academy did, however, fire her with a longing to achieve a college education, regardless of the sacrifices and effort that would be involved. Inadequately prepared, she was admitted to the University on trial, thanks to President Angell's perceiving her ability when he interviewed her. She overcame all handicaps—poor preparation, lack of funds, health depleted by overwork—and was graduated in 1876 with high standing in a class of seventy-five, of whom eleven were women. (Incidentally, she affirmed the values of coeducation henceforth, despite her later loyalty to Wellesley and to Mr. Durant.)

After graduation she taught in a boarding school in Wisconsin and then had a very demanding year as principal of the school where President Angell observed her work. There were difficult financial problems at home, health problems of her own, and deep grief over the death of her beloved sister Stella. Nevertheless, she managed to embark upon graduate work in history at Ann Arbor, and in the course of five years completed everything except her thesis for the Ph.D. degree. This the University awarded her in 1882 after she had become President of Wellesley.

She came to Wellesley as Professor of History in 1879 at the age of twenty-four and was appointed Vice President and Acting President in 1881 and President the following year. It is an altogether extraordinary story, but Alice Freeman was an altogether extraordinary person.

Her achievements prove that she had a fine, probably brilliant mind in some respects, that she possessed remarkable maturity of judgment, high standards, and courage in pursuit of her goals. (President Eliot of Harvard —usually far from generous in giving credit to a woman—said of her, "She was one of the bravest persons I ever saw, man or woman.") But it is her radiant, joyous, and magnetic personality that is dominant both in contemporary records and later reminiscences. She had a kind of magic which could very easily have led to a "personality cult." Happily, she was always more interested in causes or institutions or people than in

her own personal power. Caroline Hazard, a later President of Wellesley who knew her well, once contrasted her with other remarkable administrators who had relied on their great personal influence with students; Alice Freeman, Miss Hazard said, saw the need of larger goals, of making the ideals of an institution independent of personal devotion to its leader. She cherished friendships with people of both sexes and of all ages, and could not have been unaware of her ability to charm; nevertheless, her whole-hearted concern with others, whether people or causes, seems to have freed her from self-seeking, self-doubt, and self-consciousness.

She took office at a time that was critical for the College in many respects. President Eliot later observed that its policy of having women as teachers and administrators "was held by many to be of doubtful soundness, and its financial future extremely difficult" now that Mr. Durant no longer personally paid many of the expenses. Louise *McCoy* North '79, a faculty member from 1880 until 1886 and a trustee from 1894 until 1927, who saw the College in a perspective that was both long and sharp, declared that Miss Freeman's "first task was internal reorganization." Her success in accomplishing it was attested by Miss Hodgkins, for many years Professor of Literature: "Wellesley met her precise need in 1881 in Miss Freeman as an organizer." The young President seems to have reached a clear and perceptive grasp of many problems with rather astonishing speed, and to have elicited cooperation from all concerned in attacking them.

Miss Hazard summarized well Alice Freeman's years at Wellesley, two as faculty member and six as president: "The work which she did in these foundation days can hardly be overestimated. There were no precedents, no traditions; she had a clear field to work in and she threw all her influence for the best things in scholarship, and the best things in life. . . . She gathered clever women about her, recognizing ability instantly, and building up a faculty which brought the College honor. When she came in 1879, there were three hundred and seventy-five students, and she left the College with six hundred and twenty-eight, eight years later. . . . She found time to know notable people, to interest them to come to the College. . . . She spread a rich feast for her students and partook of it herself."

She strengthened the role of senior professors who were the heads of departments, and her regular meetings with them led to the establishment of the Academic Council. The faculty as a whole continued to hold meetings, but no longer simply to talk about whatever matters Mr. Durant deemed appropriate—and didn't wish to decide himself or after consulting with individual department heads. The arrangement of the two bodies, which Miss Hazard described as "an upper and lower house," continued for many years, as Miss Whiting points out in the chapter

on the faculty. Proceedings became orderly and predictable. Standing committees of the faculty were appointed to consider such matters as admission policies and entrance examinations, the certification of schools whose candidates might be admitted without special examinations, the approval of student programs, and offerings in graduate work. It is difficult now to imagine a time when there were no faculty committees, but their very novelty then makes one realize afresh how young the College was, and how great the demands on its young President were.

Sarah Frances Whiting, the first Professor of Physics, later gave an almost haunting picture of Alice Freeman as she struggled to meet those demands: "I think of her in her office, which was also her private parlor, with not even a skilled secretary at first, toiling with all the correspondence, seeing individual girls on academic and social matters, setting them right in cases of discipline, interviewing members of the faculty on necessary plans. The work was overwhelming and sometimes her one assistant would urge her, late in the evening, to nibble a bite from a tray which, to save time, had been sent in to her room at the dinner hour, only to remain untouched. . . . No wonder that professors often left their lectures to be written in the wee small hours, to help in uncongenial administrative work, which was not in the scope of their recognized duties."

If a speaker or Sunday minister failed to come at the last moment, it was she who went to the rescue; she mentioned almost casually in one letter that she had filled in on both Saturday evening and Sunday morning of the same weekend. On the other hand, one of her regular duties, and pleasures as well, was leading the daily chapel services—and it is evident that her talks were cherished. An instructor who was frankly dismayed by some aspects of the College's emphasis on religion once explained her frequent attendance at chapel by saying, "I love to hear Alice chat with the Lord." She was as devout a Christian in her way as Mr. Durant was in his. "She believed that conscious fellowship with God is the foundation of every strong life, the natural source from which all must derive their power and their peace," wrote George Herbert Palmer, the Harvard Philosophy Professor who became her husband. She told with delight of the conversion of a student who had been brought up on Thomas Paine (it is fascinating to speculate on how this girl ever reached Wellesley) and had found the Bible an exciting new discovery; "she feels she is in a new world," and her President shared in her joy. She deplored the grimmer aspects of the Calvinist tradition and wrote of a student "fearful lest her sins are too stultifying to leave enough soul-life to be worth saving" whom she felt she had helped. She herself found and believed that all should find religion a joy.

Mr. Durant would have agreed on this point. As Miss McCarthy men-

tions in the chapter on traditions, he had been so dismayed by the gloomy sermon preached the first Sunday after college had opened that he decreed that "God Is Love" should henceforth be the text for the first Sunday service of the college year. There were differences in Mr. Durant's and Miss Freeman's approaches, however. The story has been told of her refusal soon after her arrival at Wellesley to accede to his request that she labor with a student who, he believed, was not a Christian. It is said that she replied that to do so would be "an assault on one's personality" which she was unwilling to make, and that "Mr. Durant was unused to contradiction, but apparently accepted it in good part, and the strength of character which this stand showed only made him more convinced of Miss Freeman's worth." A little later she excused a reluctant instructor from "the dreaded necessity of offering her 'voluntary' services" in teaching a daily Bible class. She was clearly in sympathy with the trend toward a more liberal theology—a feeling undoubtedly strengthened by Professor Palmer's influence in the last year of her presidency.

There seems to have been in general during these years a sense of large horizons, a heightening of zest, "an atmosphere of youth and aspiration and adventure." As an alumna of that period said, "It was not only that *we* were young; the college was young, too, and so was our president." The warmth of her personality, her genuine concern with the individual with whom she was speaking and the response which her concern evoked, were often remarked upon. More extraordinary, however, was her ability to convey those same qualities to each member of a large audience. President Angell said of her: "Few speakers have in so large measure as she that magnetic, unanalyzable power, divinely given now and then to some fortunate individual, of captivating, charming, and holding complete possession of assemblies from the first to the last utterance."

This power enabled her to make what was probably her greatest contribution to the College: widespread, favorable knowledge of Wellesley. If her first task was "internal reorganization," her most lasting impact was in the realm of external relations. President Ellen Fitz Pendleton '86 recalled "the brilliant leadership of Alice E. Freeman, bringing to the attention of the world a young and vigorous institution." She encouraged, attended, and addressed Alumnae Clubs. She spoke on educational issues at many conferences and other meetings. (Of her hundreds of addresses, none was ever written, and on several occasions she revised totally what she had planned to speak about without the audience's being aware of the shift, so gifted was she as an extemporaneous speaker.) She was always convinced of the value of the right kind of publicity. That her view was not held unanimously is amusingly illustrated in a letter she wrote Professor Palmer in May of 1887 about a trustee: "Dr. Hovey has been up here again today, and again, as always, he is afraid Wellesley is

too popular. I think the good old man is in constant expectation that we shall be so vain that God will visit us with some terrible calamity. . . . He quotes, 'Woe to you when all men speak well of you,' and shakes his head."

Like Mr. Durant before her, she personally prepared what we might now term the "promotional material" for the College, and also for the "fitting schools" which she was instrumental in establishing and which were of great importance to Wellesley. When Miss Freeman became president, the Academic Department had been phased out and Dana Hall in the town of Wellesley had been founded by Sarah P. Eastman, the first director of domestic work at the College, and her sister Julia. It was, however, the only "feeder school" for Wellesley, and there still were "only a few high schools [in which] the girls were allowed to join classes which fitted boys for college." Miss Freeman set about arranging for certain schools to prepare students well for her College and also to provide teaching positions for Wellesley graduates. The first large school of this kind was the Wellesley School in Philadelphia. Miss Freeman sent her secretary, Mrs. McCoy, the statement about it which she wished to have published in Boston and New York periodicals. It should, she specified, include the clause: "the instructors to be graduates of Wellesley of the highest qualifications for this work." During her six years as president she "inspired the principals" of fifteen schools "with the idea of definite training for entrance into Wellesley." Furthermore, she sometimes labored over their financing, writing in the fall of 1886, for example, "I am full of business this week, planning a 'syndicate' to control the Wellesley School in Philadelphia and raise an endowment for it."

It was an admirable arrangement: the increased number of well qualified applicants led to higher standards for admission, and the higher standards for admission led to higher standards for academic work, and to a curriculum which, as the chapter concerning it points out, was becoming increasingly rigorous. The primary role which Miss Freeman played in this cycle was to provide the applicants. And, to aid in housing additional students, Eliot House in the village was converted into a dormitory and Norumbega Hall was built on the campus. Norumbega also contained a modest suite for the President in which she could live in a somewhat more tranquil fashion than was possible in the bustling College Hall.

The trustees, naturally enough, were proud of the young President and delighted in introducing her to their friends. Professor and Mrs. Horsford and their daughter Lilian, who became a Wellesley trustee in 1887, were always very fond of Alice Freeman and frequently invited her to their home in Cambridge. There she met George Herbert Palmer, a Harvard philosopher. *An Academic Courtship, Letters of Alice Freeman and*

George Herbert Palmer, 1886-1887, which was published by the Harvard University Press in 1940, provides a charming account of what an alumna later called "that romance which still illumines some of the more arid annals of Wellesley." This is not to say that the Wellesley students and faculty were aware of the developing romance; indeed, his visits to the College always had an academic aura. The series of readings which he gave beginning in December 1886 from the notable translation of Homer's *Odyssey* on which he was working provided many excellent occasions for formal meetings and also for long walks in the West Woods. Of course Professor Horsford was in their confidence. He must have been entertained when she wrote him during the summer of 1886 that "the king of dogs" which he had given her had "been named Rex by the Department of Philosophy of Harvard University," and she must have had special pleasure in the dog as a discreet reminder of the initial meeting at Professor Horsford's home. It is revealing of her devotion to Wellesley and of her own conscience that she hesitated to agree to marry even after she was deeply in love. Finally she accepted an engagement ring in February, and in March and April she visited her family in Michigan and told them the news. Her absence from Wellesley convinced her, she wrote Professor Palmer, that "the organization inside the College is all complete." Only when she felt that she could with clear conscience leave the College did she face the dreaded task of telling Mrs. Durant. ("There will be a row of course," Professor Palmer, who was often torn between admiration and exasperation, had written.)

Mrs. Durant had shared Mr. Durant's high regard for the young history professor, and she also had great affection for Alice Freeman as the President and appreciation of what she was accomplishing for the College. Clearly Miss Freeman feared that Mrs. Durant might think that she was betraying the trust which had been placed in her; moreover, she knew that Mrs. Durant would be deeply distressed, and she hated to give her pain. After she had broken the news and had received the first response from Mrs. Durant, she wrote Professor Palmer: "She is so sad that I find my heart crying out to help her as I can not even try to say." Mrs. Durant wrote to Miss Freeman on May 23, the anniversary of her own marriage, and then the following day they talked together. Miss Freeman sent Professor Palmer this account: "I can never tell you how I have found time since yesterday noon [the College was entertaining the Queen of the Hawaiian Islands] for two talks with Mrs. Durant, but two good talks we have had. And now that the silence is broken she is most loving and sympathetic and eager to make plans."

"Plans" proposed by Mrs. Durant and other trustees even included a kind of joint presidency for the Palmers, who rejected this suggestion but consented to postpone their marriage from summer until Christmas

time. It took place on December 23, 1887, at the Boston home of Governor and Mrs. Claflin, Wellesley trustees who, like Professor Horsford, had fostered the romance. Professor Palmer had written to the President's secretary, Mrs. McCoy, "For a month I hope Miss Freeman will be severely let alone. I shall try my best to be an ugly watch-dog." He took evident pleasure, however, in a reception which the Wellesley faculty members were planning to give for them on January 9, and the letter which he wrote Mrs. McCoy concerning it bespeaks his desire to further the associations between Wellesley and Harvard, his happiness and pride in his bride, and the fondness of both of them for the Wellesley students and faculty: "It seemed to me a good opportunity to draw Harvard and Wellesley more closely together, even if only one in ten of the Cambridge people I name will be able to come. It is most kind of the Wellesley Faculty to give us this beautiful Reception. To us the chief pleasure will be in meeting the Faculty themselves. I wonder if it would be possible for us to see the Students before the formal reception begins? We should so like to feel ourselves among them once more. Perhaps it could not be managed, but if there is any way in which they could see my Queen in her coronation robes I should be glad." (It is amusing to notice that he had elevated "the Princess," as she was known by the students and called in a poem by Whittier, to the rank of queen.)

She had told Mrs. Durant, she wrote Professor Palmer, "that our common interest in the College must deepen as we join our lives . . . that in bringing you into closer knowledge and sympathy with the College, I shall give more than I can take away." The reception was only the first of the many continuing associations which both Professor and Mrs. Palmer had with Wellesley. He lectured frequently on Greek and English Literature, and was at first a member of the Board of Visitors and then served on the Board of Trustees from 1912 until his death in 1933. He always took a special interest in the library, as is recounted in the chapter on buildings. And throughout his long life he was a memorable figure in Commencement processions, a small, rather elegant man, with velvet Oxford cap and drooping mustachio.

Mrs. Palmer's contributions to the College continued throughout her life, in ways both direct and indirect. She was elected to the Board of Trustees when she resigned as President, and she served faithfully on the full Board and on its all-important Executive Committee. She worked on many special projects, raised funds, made numerous speeches including the Commencement address in 1890, and had a major role in the selection of later Presidents and of members of the Boards of Trustees and of Visitors. She also interviewed potential instructors, helped to evaluate schools whose students were admitted on certificate, and in these and other details of the College's operations continued to take such a domi-

nant part that, had it not been for her personal popularity and her friendship with her first three successors, her actions might have been resented as unwarranted intrusion by a trustee. Her visits and speeches to the alumnae continued: "All the Wellesley girls in this part of the world" constituted a welcome part of the audience of six hundred to whom she spoke in Chicago in 1890 on higher education. Furthermore, she did not forget Wellesley even on her travels abroad. In her correspondence to her former secretary which the College received recently is a postcard asking for "bundles of college documents—everything that will explain the College. Charge the postage to me, and also put some photographs on the bill, a dozen or so of the medium size. I must do my duty by Germany!" She also wrote from Venice for material on the College, adding, "And when you are in the rush of closing the year, just remember that I love you all and think of the old College tenderly and bless all its girls from my heart."

Indirectly her achievement and distinctions enhanced the fame of the College with which she was inevitably associated in the public mind, even though they were not immediately related to Wellesley. It is astonishing how much she was able to include in her life, along with a radiantly happy marriage. A striking instance was her active service on the Massachusetts State Board of Education from 1889 until her death thirteen years later. As a Board member, she strove for higher standards in public education, for better facilities, more generous recognition and remuneration of public school teachers, and she pressed for the improvement and expansion of the normal schools. She also played a significant role in the beginnings of one of the country's great universities. President Harper of the University of Chicago was eager to have Mrs. Palmer as the full-time Dean of Women and Professor of History and Professor Palmer as Professor of Philosophy, but when they rejected that proposal, he accepted an arrangement allowing her to be in Chicago for only three months during the year. On that basis she served from the opening of the University in 1892 until 1895, in close touch with the brilliance and ferment with which President Harper surrounded his undertaking, and she was so helpful to him that he once said to her, "I could never have opened this university without you." She labored valiantly in the cause of the "Annex," later Radcliffe College, raising subscriptions in the hope that the Harvard Corporation would vote the Harvard degree to the women who had earned it. (When the hope was not fulfilled, the money already contributed through a committee of which she was chairman was returned.) She was also a trustee and fund raiser for Bradford Academy and the International Institute for Girls in Spain, and a founder of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae which later became the American Association of University Women. In 1887, while still at Wellesley, she was awarded

the degree of Litt.D. by Columbia University (Professor Palmer wrote at the time, "I know of no other case where an honorary degree has been given by a great eastern college to a woman."), and the LL.D. degree by Union College in 1895.

The Palmers also had an extraordinarily happy life together; abundant and vivid testimony is provided by the large collections of their letters and her poems in the archives of the College, and by his biography of her. In Cambridge they lived after 1894 in the historic Craigie House, where she was a gifted hostess, and summers they spent in their restful home in Boxford. Then, too, they both delighted in travel and residence abroad during his sabbatical leaves. On such a leave she died, at the age of forty-seven and at the height of her powers, in Paris on December 6, 1902, after a relatively brief illness and emergency operation.

The outpouring of tributes and memorials testify eloquently to the admiration and affection she had won. There were memorial meetings in Boston, in Cambridge (where the Wellesley and Harvard Choirs took part in the service), in Chicago, and elsewhere. A school for black children in North Carolina was named for her; bells in a tower at the University of Chicago and a fellowship for the Association of Collegiate Alumnae were given in her memory. In 1921 she was officially enrolled, at that time one of eight women, in the American Hall of Fame. At Wellesley she is commemorated by a fellowship, a professorship, a fund to endow the presidency, a large dormitory which succeeds the cottage which Mrs. Durant gave in her honor after her resignation as president, and the bas-relief by Daniel Chester French in the Houghton Memorial Chapel in which her ashes and those of Professor Palmer have been placed. And through his *Life of Alice Freeman Palmer,* published initially in 1908, reprinted many times, with editions in Japanese and for the blind, generations of young women have learned of her magnetic personality, her character, and her achievements.

As President Freeman contemplated marriage and resignation, she feared that without her leadership the College might not advance along the paths in which she had set it moving. The month before she accepted an engagement ring, Professor Palmer wrote to her, "All other considerations must for the present be set aside in behalf of getting those persons on the Board who will follow you in voting down the nomination of a goody-goody President." The custom at that time was for the trustees to be re-elected regularly until they died (or, in one instance, resigned because of "removal to the distant city of Omaha, Nebraska"). Most of the trustees on the Board in 1887 had been Mr. Durant's friends, and many of them not only shared his religious convictions but also on some matters held views which were more conservative than his. And Mrs. Durant was becoming increasingly determined to cling to the letter as well as to the

spirit of his conception of the College. Miss Freeman and some of her liberal friends among the trustees set to work to change the character of the Board—necessarily gradually but whenever a vacancy occurred. Lilian Horsford's name was proposed in February of 1877, and she and a Boston businessman were elected in June. Alice Freeman herself was nominated when she submitted her resignation as president, and at the first meeting of the Board which she attended as Mrs. Palmer and as a regular trustee, she nominated Horace E. Scudder, the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly,* who was to stand with her on many occasions in the future.

It is clear that the all-important selection of Miss Freeman's successor was arranged very neatly—and that Miss Freeman had a central role in it. Although she had told Mrs. Durant of her plans in May and the Trustees met in June, it was not until a special meeting was held on October 30, 1887, that Miss Freeman "reported that the time had now arrived when she must resign her position as President to take effect at the end of the term." Dr. Crosby, the Chairman of the Board, was asked to appoint a committee of seven "to seek and consider candidates." He immediately named the committee members, who included Mrs. Durant, Miss Freeman, and Mr. Claflin. Only three days later, another meeting was held at which the Executive Committee (which presumably in the meantime had received the report of the special committee) recommended that Helen Alvira Shafer, Professor of Mathematics, "be appointed Acting President from the close of this term for the remainder of the college term," and she was unanimously elected forthwith. There must have been no doubt about her acceptance (and, indeed, it is highly probable that she had already expressed her willingness) because no further meeting of the Board was held until February 2, 1888, when "The Secretary read the letter from Miss Shafer thanking the Trustees for the high honor conferred upon her; and accepting the appointment as Acting President, trusting in God who called her to give the needed wisdom and strength."

Mrs. Palmer later wrote concerning the part which she played in Miss Shafer's appointment: "When I entered the College in 1879, she had already held the professorship of mathematics for two years. I learned at once that she had the high regard of her colleagues and students, that she was an admirable teacher, a fair-minded debater of college questions, a witty and cultivated woman. But during the years of my companionship with her, I was drawn to study her character somewhat closely, and there grew in me an ever-increasing respect for her exact scholarship, her judicial temper of mind, her sober sympathies, her rational affection for the College, and her steadfast loyalty to its ideals. When the time came for a new president, my thoughts naturally turned to her. The trustees, knowing the heavy responsibilities which the growing college put upon its presidents, were determined to find the woman best able to bear

them, wherever she might be. That they unanimously chose their own frail professor of mathematics was the highest tribute they could have paid to her trustworthy qualities, and she justified the choice. Though much of the time in delicate health, her courage never faltered, nor her devotion to the work she loved."

Helen A. Shafer

Mrs. Palmer's major role in the selection of Miss Shafer is of special interest: she must have recognized the fact that her successor's gifts, which were very different from her own, were essential for Wellesley at that time. And so, after the exhilarating impact of Alice Freeman's presidency, there followed a quieter regime whose character and emphases were peculiarly right for that moment.

It could not have been an easy moment for Helen Shafer. Mary Caswell, a student in 1879-80, an instructor in Botany from 1881 until 1888, and from 1890 until 1926 the Secretary to four Wellesley Presidents, knew well both Miss Freeman and Miss Shafer. In looking back upon the situation confronting Miss Shafer, she wrote: "Not often is a new executive called to conditions more difficult on the personal side. The retiring president's magnetic qualities and brilliant career had widely engendered the belief that the College could not be carried on successfully without her inspiring presence and infinite address." But at the end of Miss Shafer's first year in office, the *Wellesley Annals* of 1887-88 commented happily: "If you have ever walked in the dark when you expected your next step to be some inches down, and then felt the shock of finding yourself on a level, you will realize the feelings of the College when Miss Shafer took the presidential chair. We joyfully acknowledge the fine womanly qualities, the sound judgment, the fine and just temper of mind, the executive ability which guided us so firmly over what we all held to be a crisis, that we never felt the jar."

Miss Shafer was born in Newark, New Jersey, on September 23, 1839. Her only sister recalled long afterwards that their father had struggled to support the family as a merchant in a small way while pursuing his study for the ministry in the Congregational Church. The family moved to Oberlin, Ohio, where Helen Shafer was graduated from college in 1863, surprisingly enough not from the regular college course but from the one designed for women. But a classmate who was later a Boston clergyman remembered her as "an excellent student, certainly the best among the women of her class." After a brief initial teaching experience in New Jersey, she taught mathematics for ten years in a St. Louis high school that had high standards. She won recognition there for outstanding work, and Dr. William T. Harris, the Superintendent of Schools in

St. Louis at that time and later the United States Commissioner of Education, in a tribute at the time of her death wrote, "Her methods of instruction in those years produced the best results I have ever known."

In 1877, two years after the opening of the College, Mr. Durant appointed her Professor of Mathematics and Head of the Department of Mathematics. This was another instance of his ability to find excellent teachers. Under Miss Shafer's direction the department became one of the strongest in the College, and one of the strongest Mathematics Departments for undergraduates in the country. A natural scholar, she continued her studies; in 1887, for example, she attended a course of lectures in Boston given by a distinguished Harvard mathematician, and another Harvard professor (in a statement which we would now regard at best as ambivalent praise but which was clearly intended as high tribute) said that he "had not known what women could do in the field until he studied the work of Professor Shafer." At about the same time Oberlin awarded her an honorary M.A. degree.

Without doubt, she was one of Wellesley's great teachers ("incomparable," she was called by one former student). Another spoke of her as "a teacher of transcendent skill," but perhaps most revealing is the effort to analyze that skill made by Ellen Fitz Pendleton '86, who was both a student and a young colleague of Miss Shafer. She wrote: "It is difficult to give adequate expression to the impression which Miss Shafer made as a teacher. There was a friendly graciousness in her manner of meeting a class which established at once a feeling of sympathy between student and teacher. . . . She taught us to aim at clearness of thought and elegance of method; in short, to attempt to give to our work a certain finish which belongs only to the scholar. . . . I believe that it has often been the experience of a Wellesley girl, that once on her feet in Miss Shafer's classroom, she has surprised herself by treating a subject more clearly than she would have thought possible before the recitation. The explanation of this, I think, lay in the fact that Miss Shafer inspired her students with her own confidence in their intellectual powers." Miss Pendleton also commented upon her former students' regret when they learned of her appointment as president: "No one probably doubted the wisdom of the choice, but all were unwilling that the inspiration of Miss Shafer's teaching should be lost to the future Wellesley students." And the students were not alone in lamenting her withdrawal from teaching; Ellen Burrell '80, like Miss Pendleton a former student and a member of the Mathematics Department, wrote of Miss Shafer's feelings about the matter: "Often since she became president has she been heard to express deep regret that her heavy cares no longer permitted her to meet [students] in this way. For a time she cherished the dream that it might not always be so, but the hope faded with accumulated cares."

Her abiding interest in teaching and scholarship, coupled with her clear thinking, organizational ability, and patience, enabled her to make contributions to the College of a kind and quality which were vitally important. There has been unanimity in proclaiming that "the crowning achievement of her administration was the 'New Curriculum,' " which, according to a statement made in 1894, "places Wellesley in the front rank of progressive American colleges." This curriculum—which, as she wrote, "represents three years of earnest discussions" by the faculty—was completed in 1893 not long before her death. It receives its rightful consideration in the chapter on the curriculum; here we shall say only that it stood the test of time, some forty years in fact, magnificently—not without modifications, of course, but without serious challenge to its basic concept of a liberal education.

It has been customary to characterize the work of Miss Shafer's administration as "intensive" and that of Miss Freeman's as "extensive." Certainly the internal organization which Miss Freeman had begun was carried further. An Examining Board, composed of heads of departments whose subjects were offered for admission, was formed to oversee the whole area of admission, and its secretary, Sarah *Woodman* Paul '81, paid great tribute to the President's careful planning, thoroughness, precision, and dedication at every stage of its work. (Admission standards had become higher and fewer students were accepted with conditions; greater selectivity was made possible by the ever-increasing number of applicants.) By 1892 there were ten standing committees of the faculty—and Miss Shafer made a comment which would strike a responsive chord with faculty members of all times and all institutions: "Time and energy are severely taxed in this service, and [teachers] are thus withdrawn from the direct work of instruction." She also appointed eight members of the faculty as "Advisers"; "each of whom," she wrote, "should have a certain official interest in, and acquaintance with, a group of Freshmen."

Mr. Durant's interest in students' health had continued, and evidence had been sought to corroborate his conviction that it was improved, not damaged, by college life. Miss Shafer's contributions in this area were characteristic of her general approach: she made more systematic the careful record-keeping of the physical education staff, and she published the results. (She also in the President's Report for 1888-89 noted wryly concerning eight freshmen who departed soon after the opening of college that they had "proved candidates for the sanitarium rather than for the College, although each of them presented a certificate of good health from her family physician.") In that same Report she stated that "Through the kindness of Professor Eben Norton Horsford the averaged and tabulated results of seven years' physical examinations will be printed this year and sent to the members of the Board of Trustees," and she

pointed out "that in this work for women we are the first who through a series of years have given time and labor sufficient for recording and tabulating so many hundred measurements." The following year her Report contained "anthropometric tables" and statistics showing the improvement in the physical condition of twenty-six students who used the gymnasium for twenty minutes a day for four months—and she continued to stress the need for an adequate gymnasium.

Miss Shafer's appreciation of the value of "communication" and of the importance of the alumnae has perhaps never been fully recognized. In her first year as president she established the practice of publishing annual reports to the Trustees—reports which are invaluable in stating and clarifying the College's problems and achievements and, it might be added, in providing information for historians. (Miss Freeman wrote a brief report in 1883, but she never did so again.) She also arranged for the publication of a one-sheet "college edition" of the *Wellesley Courant,* the town newspaper, in order, she said, "to furnish alumnae and other absent friends of Wellesley with such a record of passing events as shall keep them closely informed of her progressive welfare." The first issue appeared on September 21, 1888, with Professor Katharine Lee Bates as the editor; the following year it was succeeded by *The Prelude,* a weekly magazine, and in 1892 by *The Wellesley Magazine.* Those publications also contained items of interest to students, but the first authentic "student publication" was *Legenda,* the college yearbook. The article which Caroline *Williamson* Montgomery '89, the editor of the first *Legenda,* wrote for the one published in 1894 reveals not only Miss Shafer's support of the project but her deftness in working with students of that generation: "From the first application from the Class of '89 for the issue of a college annual, Miss Shafer was always full of interest. Throughout its whole career she gave her hearty support. In each detail she was interested. When she felt unable to give her consent to the insertion of some feature, she always gave her reasons as fully as she could. Occasionally she would say, 'Personally I should have no objection to that, but it does not seem wise to introduce it; I would not.' This warm interest has been extended through all the vicissitudes of the *Legenda.*" (Apparently other editors too were grateful; the 1892 *Legenda* was dedicated to Miss Shafer.)

The editor of the 1889 *Legenda* also wrote of her: "Often she has said, 'I feel that one of Wellesley's strongest points is in her alumnae.' And once more, because of this confidence, the alumnae, as when students, were spurred to do their best, were filled with loyalty for their Alma Mater. Miss Shafer always welcomed with cordiality any plan or suggestion which an alumna might have for any department of college life and work. An alumna could not but feel that she had come into special privileges in knowing how actively, wisely, and progressively Miss

Shafer was engaged in pushing the interests of the College." In the college archives is a cordial, helpful letter in her clear, flowing penmanship on fifteen half-sheets of paper which she sent on June 30, 1888, to the "Southern Wellesley Association" when it was established in Lexington, Kentucky. She kept in touch with alumnae, individually and as groups, in their home communities and at reunions. At the time of her death the Alumnae Association noted especially "the unfeigned wealth of welcome on our annual return to college halls," when she confided "what she in due discretion might of her cares and plans for Wellesley." But her most significant, long-term service to the alumnae—and the greatest evidence of her appreciation of them—was the recommendation which she made in 1892 to the Board of Trustees that alumnae should be represented on it. The acceptance of the recommendation and the way in which it was carried out are recounted by Mrs. Mansfield in her chapter on the Alumnae Association. Here we should like to speak of Miss Shafer's presentation of the subject in her Report for 1891-92: first she reported on the activities of the alumnae during the thirteen years following the graduation of the first class (a report which Mrs. Bishop quotes in the chapter on the achievements of alumnae); then she stated her belief that the time had come when the Board might "wisely make a formal recognition of the character and capacity of this body by admitting alumnae to a share in the responsibility of the government of the College"; next she pointed out their "special qualities for this form of service" ("their knowledge of the practical workings of the College," "their affection for the College," "their filial allegiance to the fundamental principles of the College"); finally, she recommended "the expediency of alumnae representation on the Board." Clear, thoughtful, reasoned, orderly, appealing to the differing concerns of individual trustees —surely this presentation is a superb example of Miss Shafer's conduct of the presidency.

Progress, a great deal of progress, was made on many fronts during her administration. This was recognized in various ways. The 1890 *Legenda* was dedicated to the Spirit of Progress "in sincere gratitude for the benefits of recent evolution, and with buoyant hope for the future of Alma Mater's institutions." (Among the less intellectual "benefits" the editors mentioned "regeneration of the Greek-letter Societies, institution of the college cheer, organization of Glee Club and Banjo Club, the hearty support of the *Prelude* editors.") The following year Ada Woolfolk '91 wrote in the *Annals* of "The Spirit of the Institution": "Today, it is a spirit of greater liberality in thought and deed, it has exchanged something of its youthful sentimentalism for true, deep conviction and honest, uplifting, brotherly love. . . . Everywhere are signs of the new spirit. Its symbol was there when admission to the body of Faculty was made free

to others as well as members of a Trinitarian Church, and daily its presence is attested by the recent association—the Students' Association—young today, and bearing little fruit, but promising a rich harvest for future years." Again in 1893 the editors of *Legenda* "with grateful appreciation" dedicated the yearbook to the Spirit of Progress, which they with some restraint simply termed "Ever the vital fact in the History of Wellesley College."

Perhaps even more remarkable than the progress itself was the fact that it was apparently achieved quietly and without any public expressions of dismay. True, the Board of Trustees' change in the bylaws which removed the requirement that faculty members be members of an Evangelical church was not arrived at easily. Over a period of eight months it was discussed at three meetings of the full Board; at one meeting a clergyman, a member for many years, read a letter from an absent trustee who expressed "anxiety . . . lest it change the pronounced religious character of the College," and at another meeting Mrs. Durant read an extract from Mr. Durant's will, "solemnly charging the Trustees not to permit any avoidance of his design," and she also read a note from Dr. Crosby "arguing against nullifying the wishes and intention of Mr. Durant." Mrs. Durant and the other members of the Old Guard had wished the church membership requirement to continue for faculty as well as trustees; Mrs. Palmer, Mr. Scudder, and other trustees who shared their views had proposed that it be eliminated for trustees as well as for faculty. But, in the end, the compromise of exempting faculty but not trustees from the requirement was, according to the Trustee Minutes, "voted by a large majority."

It is not possible to define precisely Miss Shafer's personal role in all of these expanding interests and changing emphases arrived at with such relative dispatch and reasonableness. But there is abundant testimony to her steadying presence and to the influence of her intellectual clarity and moral integrity. Often spoken of were her judicial power: "that capacity for making decisions unbiased by personal feeling"; her lucidity: "She sees so clearly that if I fail to see as she does, I immediately suspect myself of mental or moral color-blindness"; her fairness: "I have yet to find a Wellesley student who could not and would not say, 'I can always feel sure of the fairness of Miss Shafer's decision.' " Certainly the frequent comment of students, "She treats us like women, and knows that we are reasoning beings," is another clue to her success. "With her, duty was a passion," Alice Freeman Palmer wrote, and a former student noted, "With her, duty was supreme, but duty transcending itself and becoming privilege." It seems likely that her sense of duty and her deep devotion to the College led her to assume the arduous tasks of the presidency, and that "her singular power of forgetfulness of self" helped her perform them. Her finest qualities never sought or attained the footlights. She

was evidently one of those professors most college generations can recall, whose somewhat austere exteriors belie the human warmth, humor, and gift for comedy which they possess. The *Annals* of 1883-84 reported that she "gave a superb rendering of the inimitable 'Mrs. R. W.' at a Dickens party"; after she became president, too, there were accounts of "delightful social evenings . . . when was revealed a dramatic power in her never otherwise suspected." Her keen sense of humor was remarked upon frequently, as was her wit.

Most significant of all, however, are the comments on "her absolute absorption in the College" and her "boundless faith in the future of the College for which she worked and which was her life." Indeed, as Miss Pendleton wrote, she "literally gave her life to strengthening the foundations and to building up the organization of the College, both academically and administratively."

Her health had never been robust. Like so many of her contemporaries, she struggled for years (ten years in her case) against tuberculosis; she was, in fact, forced to take leave for most of the academic year 1890-91. But, as Mrs. Palmer said, "Where other women would have easily sunk into invalidism, she . . . quietly bore for the sake of many the heaviest of burdens. She died as she would have wished, in the midst of her work, with all its perplexities upon her heart, fresh dreams of its future growth in her active brain." She contracted pneumonia and died after a brief illness on January 20, 1894. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, had worked closely with her, as his words reveal: "Her administration, quiet, steady, intelligent, has been illustrious and has been most esteemed by those who most carefully watched its daily course and felt the gracious sincerity of its intent."

The year before her death, her alma mater had recognized her distinction as scholar and administrator with another honorary degree, the first LL.D. degree which Oberlin conferred on a woman. At Wellesley her name is perpetuated by a dormitory, Shafer Hall; in the Chapel by a memorial window given by the Class of 1891, of which she was the honorary member; a library fund given by the Alumnae Association for books on mathematics; and a loan fund established by an alumna of the Class of 1888.

Some of Miss Shafer's "fresh dreams" of the College's future growth to which Mrs. Palmer referred were set forth in the President's Report for 1891-92. She stated there: "The careful observer cannot fail to note the gathering strength of certain signal movements in the college life, which have already claimed our thoughtful attention, and which must be recognized at no distant day as permanent forces in development. . . . The President of the College . . . sees before her a young college, with wonderful possibilities to be developed; the lines of development are clear and

definite, but the funds essential to progress are not at her command. Each year as the report of the work has been laid before your body, your attention has been called to pressing needs. These needs, still unmet, clamor more loudly every year. Delay must entail not loss alone, but disaster, also." She then made strong cases for a gymnasium; another cottage (Freeman and Wood, adjoining Norumbega on the hill, had been opened in her administration, but an additional dormitory was needed to house students living in private houses in the village and to free space in College Hall for classrooms and offices); a science building; a larger chapel; further endowments, especially for the faculty; fellowships.

The most cherished of Miss Shafer's dreams had been a new curriculum. It had been adopted before her death, and so to some extent had become a reality. There remained, however, the task of putting it into effect—and this would require full and sympathetic understanding of her ideas.

Who should carry on her unfinished work? This was the question confronting the Trustees. In many respects, the logical person to serve in the emergency was Frances E. Lord, Professor of Latin, the only member of the first faculty with previous experience in college teaching (seven years at Vassar). She had been the Acting President in 1890-91 when Miss Shafer was on leave because of illness, and the faculty on June 16, 1891, had expressed "unqualified approval of her conduct of the presidency" in a formal resolution to the Trustees commending her "unselfish and untiring devotion to the interests of the College." It was natural then that on the President's death the College should turn to her for leadership, and she was elected by the faculty to serve as Chairman of the Academic Council "until a definite provision could be made." But she was fifty-nine years of age in 1894; and Florence Converse '92 has described her as "a serious, kindly scholar, of a certain rigidity of temperament, old-fashioned in manners and in theology." The liberal members of the Board of Trustees must have feared that the progress made recently would not continue if Miss Lord were placed in charge of the College. And yet she could not be ignored.

The Trustees at a meeting on February 1, 1894, less than two weeks after Miss Shafer's sudden death, proposed that "for the time being the internal administration should be committed to the Academic Council, subject to the direction and supervision of the Executive Committee," and that "Professor Lord, Chairman of the Council, should be the presiding officer of the Faculty and attend meetings of the Executive Committee." At the same time they voted that Professor Julia J. Irvine, "Secretary of the Council, should be charged with the general administration of collegiate business and required to attend meetings of the Executive Committee."

Despite the politeness in naming Miss Lord first, it was obvious that

she would have the secondary role. "Professor Lord declining the office," the minutes of the next meeting reported, the Trustees appointed Margaret E. Stratton, Professor of English and Rhetoric, "in the place, giving her charge of the religious services and the public functions of the College together with the supervision of the general college life." Mrs. Irvine accepted the position offered to her and was named Acting President in June and President in December. As we shall see, she had been and she continued to be a brilliant, controversial figure, given rapid advancement by strong supporters and perhaps resented by some of the older faculty and trustees.

Julia J. Irvine

Julia Josephine Thomas Irvine was born at Salem, Ohio, November 9, 1848. Her grandparents, strong abolitionists and Hicksite Quakers, are said to have moved to the middle west from the south because they did not wish to live in a slave state. Her mother was the first woman physician to practice west of the Alleghenies, and she also made her mark in the Woman Suffrage movement. Julia Thomas first attended Antioch College, Ohio, and then transferred to Cornell University, where in 1875 she received the B.A. degree and took top honors in Greek. Shortly after that time, she entered and won an intercollegiate contest for a scholarship prize; eleven colleges, including Cornell, Princeton, and Williams, were represented, only "first class colleges" being invited and only one contestant admitted from each. A newspaper reported widespread excitement over "the wonderful woman who carried off the Greek prize," and in 1876 she was awarded the M.A. degree by Cornell. In 1875 she married Charles James Irvine, of whom we know only that he was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh and is said to have been in sympathy with her intellectual tastes and aspirations. They lived for eleven years in New York City where, according to one account, she did some teaching and tutoring. After her husband's death in 1886, she studied abroad, notably in Leipzig, where she "attracted much notice from her professors." Her formal teaching seems to have been in private schools in Boston during the few years between her return from Europe and 1890, when she first came to Wellesley, but she must have been well known in the area, to judge from a full-column report of her appointment in the *Boston Herald.* She evidently had independent means, because she was about to go abroad for further study when an offer from Wellesley altered her plans.

The offer was as extraordinary as the woman to whom it was made. As the Trustee Minutes of May 10, 1890, explained, the transfer of Mary Whiton Calkins to the Philosophy Department "made it necessary to

secure a superior teacher in the Greek Department. Mrs. Julia J. Irvine, a Christian lady and scholarly woman who had graduated from Cornell University taking a first prize and studied at Leipzig was highly recommended. The President of the College was much pleased with Mrs. Irvine, and upon her recommendation, she was appointed Associate Professor of Greek, to take the position in 1890 or 1891, as the President of the College may arrange to their mutual satisfaction." Then, at the same meeting, it was announced that Professor Horsford had offered to pay for four years the difference in salary between associate professor and full professor, and Mrs. Irvine was thereupon appointed Professor of Greek. The eagerness of Miss Shafer and the Trustees to have her is attested by their willingness to allow her to choose the year of her coming and by her appointment at a rank and salary which only a very special arrangement made possible. It is also apparent that the arrangement with Professor Horsford, who was not a trustee, must have been made before the meeting, and it seems likely that Mrs. Palmer, with her wide acquaintance in educational and cultural circles in Boston and her great friendship with Professor Horsford, was in this instance as in so many others the key person. And it also seems highly probable that Mrs. Palmer later was influential in the selection of Mrs. Irvine as Miss Shafer's successor.

In any event, she made an immediate impact as a teacher. Miss Converse, whose appraisals of the early faculty were informed and perceptive, wrote of her: "Students of those days will never forget the vitality of her teaching, the enthusiasm for study which pervaded her classes. Wellesley has had her share of inspiring teachers, and among these Mrs. Irvine was undoubtedly one of the most brilliant." Harriet Manning Blake '94 recalled her some thirty years later: "The lady of the rushing skirts, swift feet; swift hands, long and beautiful; severe head held high; vivid face behind Oxford glasses with a ribbon." And Miss Blake, who herself received a Ph.D. degree and was a teacher, added: "For four years I went to her classroom, every day an adventure to which I went on tip-toe with anticipation, and from which I came away entranced. How did she do it —that extraordinary teacher? . . . I remember her swift, clear thinking. She shot straight at the mark with a bareness that suggested her Quaker inheritance and the courage that was Quaker too, yet all her own. She was an aristocrat; one of the few women in that day who ignored what the world thought. And with her independence went a charming humor. . . . She seemed always the great lady; yet her humanness was the thing that touched me most. . . . To many I think she seemed austere and a little frightening. This was due, perhaps, to her fear of showing her emotions."

Miss Shafer was as well satisfied as she had expected to be with her new colleague. In the President's Report for the first year Mrs. Irvine was at

Wellesley, Miss Shafer wrote, "The Greek Department has been fortunate in having its recognized efficiency still further increased by the appointment, as Junior Professor in Greek, of Mrs. J. J. Irvine, of Cornell University, who is also appreciated as a new element of strength in Council." Mrs. Irvine was a member of the Academic Council during the three years of intensive work on the new curriculum, and we can legitimately infer from Miss Shafer's comment and our knowledge of her scholarly interests that she participated in the planning of it in a positive and constructive way. Moreover, it is probable that only her desire to make sure that the curriculum was put into effect as Miss Shafer had conceived it induced her "to forego her life work of study and teaching for a time, and devote herself to the duties of the Presidency." Certainly this is indicated by her pointing out later: "It will be recalled that the College had at that time entered but recently upon the change from a required to an elective system of study. . . . The general opinion seemed to be that . . . a member of the faculty should be appointed to the office since the situation demanded an intimate acquaintance with the most recent legislation of the College as well as attachment to its service."

In the emergency following Miss Shafer's death, she was willing to serve for the rest of the college year, and also to accept appointment in June of 1894 as the Acting President. Six months later (two days after Christmas), the Trustees held a special meeting called at the request of four of their members who were partisans of Mrs. Irvine (Mr. and Mrs. Claflin, Miss Horsford, and Dr. Willcox) to consider her election as President. In view of Mrs. Durant's strong desire that faculty as well as trustees be members of an Evangelical church, she might have been expected to object to a Hicksite Quaker as the head of Wellesley College. Instead, it was she who made the motion that Mrs. Irvine be appointed President. Before doing so, she read the letter which Mrs. Irvine had written at the time of her appointment to the faculty, some eight months before the Trustees had removed the requirement of Evangelical church membership for the faculty. The Trustee Minutes reported that this letter from Mrs. Irvine gave assurance "of her entire sympathy with the fundamental spiritual aims of the College, upon which all education and character is there sought to be built. Mrs. Durant expressed the belief that ever since Mrs. Irvine had accepted the duties of Acting President she had tried to promote these aims." The Minutes continued: "Mr. Scudder expressed his high appreciation of Mrs. Irvine's superior intellectual abilities, and warmly seconded the motion. All present expressed their warm regard and approval of the candidate."

At that point in the meeting Dr. McKenzie made a statement, never amplified, which is tantalizing because it could provide the clue to some aspects of Mrs. Irvine's administration. He said that "at the specific re-

quest of Mrs. Irvine, he was under obligation to her, if at any time such action [election as President] was proposed, to express her sense of her unfitness for this office; while she had gladly temporarily rendered to the College such assistance as was in her power in its time of emergency, she had taken the opportunity to lay this obligation upon him without any knowledge of the proposed meeting at this time." Immediately thereafter, as far as the Minutes disclosed, the vote was taken and it was unanimously in favor of Mrs. Irvine as President. Only when Mrs. Irvine in her Report for 1897-98 was expressing her belief that the moment had arrived for her to resign was the matter ever referred to again, either in official records or in personal correspondence or statements by her contemporaries that have been preserved. She wrote in that Report: "When the Board of Trustees voted in December, 1894, to offer the presidency of the College to the then acting president, that officer presented through the Chairman of the Board reasons against her appointment believed by her to be cogent. Those reasons were set aside by the Board, and the appointment was finally accepted in view of what was regarded by the appointee as a temporary exigency calling for and justifying the sacrifice of personal preference." The "cogent" reasons remain a mystery, and it is fascinating but unproductive to speculate about them. Possibly Mrs. Irvine simply realized, as Miss Converse has said, "She had not Mrs. Palmer's skill in conveying unwelcome fact into a resisting mind without irritation; neither had she Miss Shafer's self-effacing, sympathetic patience."

She was undoubtedly direct and forthright. At the outset she stipulated as a condition of her acceptance of the presidency that "the Board should pass a resolution pledging itself to cancel before the end of the present college year that part of the college indebtedness which consists of loans from funds given for specific purposes, and then to publish a full financial statement." President Freeman had written to Professor Palmer in April 1887, "The division of authority between the President and Treasurer [Mrs. Durant after Mr. Durant's death] is the cause of all the difficulty which now exists in the organization of the College." The basic concern—that the treasurer wished to make decisions which the president believed should properly be hers—has been voiced on occasion by later presidents. So far as Mrs. Durant was concerned, there also were special circumstances: however generous she was, her personal fortune no longer permitted her to provide all of the support needed, and she did not have the experience and expertise to cope with the complex financial problems which arose as the College expanded. Miss Shafer had expressed the need for a "financial agent"—that is, for someone who would raise funds. But Mrs. Irvine as Acting President had become aware of the fact that no one, not even the Finance Committee, knew the full state of affairs because Mrs. Durant never submitted a real financial statement; Mrs.

Irvine also realized that, to meet current expenses, money had been borrowed from funds given for scholarships and the library, that a sizeable indebtedness had resulted, and that the whole procedure was not proper. She therefore characteristically went straight to the heart of the matter and insisted upon what must have appeared to be drastic action before she would accept the presidency.

About six weeks later (on March 27, 1895) Mrs. Durant resigned as Treasurer and nominated as her successor Alpheus H. Hardy, a businessman who had recently been elected to the Board of Trustees. Horace Scudder in his private journal paid great tribute to Mrs. Durant's dedication, noted that the work now demanded "more strictly business management," and then wrote of Mrs. Durant: "She had held to her place with characteristic stubbornness and then yielded with characteristic sweetness and cheerfulness." The whole episode is revealing of both women, as is also their continuing to maintain cordial and cooperative relations after this and other occasions on which they differed sharply.

Mrs. Durant fought her losing battles with conviction, stubbornness, and extraordinary magnanimity. As one comes to realize the depth of her feeling, her sense of something like betrayal of the ideals of the Founders, her adherence to minutiae as well as her loyalty to fundamental issues, one is increasingly impressed by the large-mindedness and generosity in every sense of the word with which she continued to dedicate herself to the College. Katharine Lee Bates once remarked that "she has forgotten and no one else will ever know" the extent of her gifts. In one instance, the very day after the passing of a measure she had vigorously opposed, she presented "a little parcel of bonds from her personal estate to carry out the plan." She was a gracious and indefatigable hostess; she was indeed indefatigable on many fronts, often working half the night on correspondence, Trustee Minutes, plans. (On one occasion, as she wrote Mrs. North, "I had to stay home from church meeting to get the notices [of a meeting of the Trustees] out; not a spare half hour!" And once when she was persuaded to allow herself a brief respite in Vermont, she admitted to her hostess that it was the first visit of relaxation she had made in twenty-five years.) She called on faculty, staff, and students when they were sick, often taking them flowers from her greenhouse or delicacies from her kitchen. When a dormitory was not fully completed before college opened in the fall, one of the early arrivals among the students wrote that their spirits "would have hopelessly flagged if Mrs. Durant had not found us and given us a most cordial greeting, which really did more to cheer us than the order to the men to put the furniture in our respective rooms directly." For many years Mrs. Durant knew and cared deeply about every detail of the operation of the College.

After her death on February 12, 1917, President Pendleton commented

that until the last three years, when she had been an invalid and confined to her home, "no meeting of the Board of Trustees nor any college function was complete without her presence." A resolution adopted by the Academic Council mentioned not only "her noble life, rich in beauty and love, in sorrow and in service," but also her warm human qualities: "A Virginian lady, Mrs. Durant's dignity and charm, above all her grace of hospitality, have meant much to Wellesley during these four decades gone. Many a homesick girl from the South has learned that the footpath across the Lake Waban meadow led to a gracious welcome. . . . Many of us in the faculty cherish precious memories of her courtesies and kindnesses. . . ." The Trustees' resolution emphasized the fact that "Mrs. Durant regarded the College as a sacred trust; she gave to it with unstinted generosity, thought, energy, and loyalty that seemed absolutely tireless." But perhaps especially noteworthy are the tributes to her acceptance of change. In their memorial minute, the Trustees recorded "their gratitude and admiration for more than forty years of a service which has yielded freedom for progress"; the Academic Council stated more explicitly: "With rare magnanimity she accepted, one by one, the changes incident to progress. To each of our successive presidents she gave loyal support."

More changes running directly counter to Mrs. Durant's principles and sentiments took place in Mrs. Irvine's administration than in any other during Mrs. Durant's lifetime. Granted, she had always opposed any raising of the fee (increases of twenty-five dollars became effective in 1882-83 and in 1885-86, and an increase of fifty dollars in 1888-89), and at the Trustees meeting in June 1888 she not only voted against the recommendation but called the "advance" of fifty dollars "a violation of the [intent of the] founders of Wellesley College that it should be especially established to benefit young women of moderate means." But coupled with another increase of fifty dollars proposed on October 3, 1895, was a recommendation that domestic work by students be discontinued. As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, Mr. Durant had instituted domestic work primarily as a matter of principle, only secondarily as a means of saving money and thereby reducing the fee. In the intervening years members of the faculty from time to time had voiced their belief that students' academic work suffered because of the time which they were required to spend on "domestic" chores; in June of 1894 the Academic Council over which Mrs. Irvine presided recommended the abolition of the requirement. Students in the Free Press or editorial pages of the *Magazine* criticized the "unevenness" in assignments, and their letters preserved in the College's archives are filled with jubilant and dejected reports of the tasks allotted to them. ("Domestic" work was liberally interpreted; Professor Mary Whiton Calkins expressed her "thanks for the loyal and efficient services rendered, since the opening of the psychological laboratory,

by students who have helped in department work.")

Everyone realized that domestic work was a very sensitive subject, and the Trustees did not act on the Academic Council's recommendation. Mrs. Irvine and the trustees sharing her views obviously realized that their best plan of action was to show that an increase in the fee was essential and that Wellesley should discontinue domestic work in order to compete in attracting students on an equal basis with colleges which did not have such a requirement. The strategy succeeded: Mrs. Irvine later commented tersely, "Thus for financial reasons the measure has been adopted which was originally urged in the interest of academic advancement." It must have been one of Mrs. Durant's most bitter disappointments. At the meeting she had battled valiantly—reading a letter from Dwight L. Moody, a well-known evangelist and educator who had been a trustee since the early years of the College; quoting Mr. Durant's views; making her own eloquent protest. She also had questioned the absolute necessity of a $400 fee; consequently the matter had been laid on the table "until the Treasurer could arrive at the expenses," and the trustees had adjourned for luncheon. When the meeting resumed, everyone except Mrs. Durant had voted in favor of the increased fee, but the two alumnae trustees present had joined her in opposing the abandonment of domestic work.

This apparently was the last meeting of the Trustees at which Mrs. Durant made an impassioned plea to remain loyal to Mr. Durant's wishes. In the same year, 1895, she deplored but accepted other important alterations of Mr. Durant's original design for the College: the twenty minutes of "silent time" in the morning and evening were no longer required; students were allowed to attend the theatre or the opera; the library was opened on Sundays for two hours in the morning and four hours in the afternoon.

The students of course were delighted by these and other evidences of "progress." There soon appeared in *The Wellesley Magazine* long and enthusiastic reviews of performances in Boston theatres by Ellen Terry and Henry Irving, and of Damrosch's "excellent" interpretation of a Wagnerian opera for which Professor Carla Wenckebach had provided valuable preparation in her advanced German classes. At the College, in addition to special lectures for the Christian Association and the College Settlements Association, there was a series of lectures on "Current Topics." In 1895 Woodrow Wilson became the first non-cleric except Mrs. Palmer to give the Commencement address, and thereafter the Commencement speaker was not always a clergyman. Students were expected to attend a church service on Sunday, but they could go to the chapel in College Hall or to a village church as they pleased, and there was no penalty for failing to attend chapel services on any day of the week. Every-

one rejoiced in the "system of electric lights" in College Hall, Stone Hall, the Farnsworth Art Building, and the three cottages on Norumbega Hill; moreover, Mrs. Irvine reported, "the grounds are thoroughly lighted by eighty twenty-five candlepower lamps." The Class of 1893 gave in memory of Miss Shafer "an electric programme clock" which showed "college time on dial plates in various places" and rather gently rang bells for classes and concerts and meals—the clanging of the great gong in College Hall being reserved for awakening the household in the morning and for emergencies. What students termed "a gruesome elevator etiquette: faculty first, then seniors" disappeared, as did some other minor irritations which to the students were symbols of regimentation. The changes, they noted in *The Wellesley Magazine,* were all "in the direction of greater comfort and freedom, more pleasure, and enlarged opportunities for the students." In sum, an editorial in December 1896 pointed out: "We entered three years ago this fall. Wellesley is like another place now. Could the most ardent advocate of progress demand changes more varied and rapid than have actually taken place? Most of them have been the work of the College authorities."

One of the changes to which the members of the Class of 1897 called attention in that editorial was that when they entered college they "had no Dean, and the duties of that office fell upon various already-burdened shoulders." At a meeting on February 1, 1894, very shortly after Miss Shafer's death, the Trustees recognized the fact that "the general management of college affairs and their organization demand the entire energies and ability" of a president, and they proposed that the Executive Committee "consider the expediency of a Dean to relieve the President from details of administration." The following fall the statutes were amended "to allow for a second executive officer, the Dean," and Miss Stratton, Mrs. Irvine's choice, was appointed to the position. As Mrs. Irvine made clear in her President's Report for 1894-95, the Trustees did not define "the precise nature of the relation between president and dean," leaving them "free to make such division of work as seemed best to them." They decided that Miss Stratton was to remain "in charge of all that related to the public devotional exercises of the College and chairman of the committee in charge of stated religious services," to be "the authority referred to in all questions of ordinary discipline" and the chairman of the committee of heads of houses and permission officers, to visit all houses in the village in which students were placed and to assign students to approved boarding houses, and in general watch over their "comfort and conduct there." But, said Mrs. Irvine, "Her most difficult and for the moment the most important trust is the charge of College Hall and the students who are lodged in this building." Miss Stratton's duties were residential rather than academic, although she continued to teach until

her last year as dean when, on Mrs. Irvine's recommendation, she "was released from all care of the English Department." The two women worked together extremely well and remained friends throughout their lives, corresponding frequently even after one retired in the south of France and the other in Southern California.

On the conduct of chapel services as on other matters the President and Dean agreed. Mrs. Irvine quoted with evident approval Miss Stratton's statement that "It is more and more evident that simple, direct preaching of the truth, free from dogma and denominationalism, attracts our students." The services led by Mrs. Irvine herself (who was recalled years later by an alumna as "that commanding figure behind the reading desk of the Old Chapel in College Hall") were memorable. A sonnet, "Mrs. Irvine Leads Chapel," written by Isabel *Fiske* Conant '96, conveys a sense of her swiftness of movement and her Quaker stillness of prayer:

> When she came silently up the chapel aisle
> She seemed to move a space above the ground.
> With her at prayer-desk for a quiet while,
> In all the crowded room would be no sound.
> She came how still, yet with a sort of rush,
> Threading the narrow lane as if on wings;
> Her gestured invocation brought a hush;
> Such as the depth of reverence, only, brings.
>
> Chapel seemed voluntary on the day
> She was announced to lead. Although we knew
> Not all would hear the prayer that she would say,
> Inaudibly our souls attended, too.
> She brought our multitude, each heart alone,
> Rapt with her rapture, kneeling at the throne.

Something of her feeling about the private nature of prayer is also illustrated by an anecdote recalled by Harriet Manning Blake '94: "I remember that once someone remonstrated with her because when she asked a blessing in the great Main Building dining room she could be heard by only a few. 'When I ask a blessing,' she retorted, 'I am not talking to you. I am talking to the Lord.' " (That anecdote shows too her rather prickly sense of humor.)

There was then a new liberalism in the rules and in the spirit of the College, but without doubt the most significant changes resulted from the new curriculum. Students' awareness of its importance is witnessed by their hailing it in the December 1896 issue of *The Wellesley Magazine*

as "the greatest single stride the College has made." It was not, however, a stride which could be taken easily and painlessly. The shift from a largely prescribed course to one offering many electives was radical. As Mrs. Irvine pointed out to the Trustees, "When students had few opportunities for election and passed in regular course, each department was assured of definite support; it was natural to entrust to heads of departments the individual responsibility for the development of instruction." Conversely, when certain subjects were no longer required and fewer students chose to take them, fewer teachers were needed to teach them. At the same time, there was a need for faculty members who could teach new courses and additional sections of popular courses. To complicate matters further, some teaching methods which had been considered advanced in the 1870s and 1880s were no longer appropriate, especially for the well-qualified students who were entering Wellesley in 1895. Another consideration was that the new curriculum was expensive: it required a sizeable staff of specialists to teach the wide variety of courses. The Trustees, hard-pressed by financial problems, were keenly conscious of Wellesley's having in 1895-96 seventy-nine faculty members to teach 786 students while Smith had only forty-three teachers and 875 students; Mrs. North's correspondence, now in the College's archives, contains letters from Mrs. Durant and Dr. Willcox concerning the questions some of the trustees were raising as to whether Wellesley should reduce the size of its faculty to approximate that of Smith.

Clearly Mrs. Irvine was in a very difficult position. The College's finances would not permit her to retain all of the present members of the faculty and also to obtain the new members she needed to put into effect the new curriculum to which she was fully, and rightly, committed. Tenure provisions were unheard of at that time, although in at least one instance the Trustees felt some responsibility for a long-time professor. Fortunately for Wellesley, it had at that moment in its history a president who was clear-headed and tough-minded; otherwise the superb curriculum which Miss Shafer had been instrumental in planning probably would never have been implemented. Mrs. Irvine was singularly direct and forthright—and not notably tactful, although one wonders, given the hard realities of the situation, whether it would have been possible both to exercise tact and to achieve the results which she deemed imperative. Mary S. Case, Professor of Philosophy who taught at Wellesley from 1884 until 1924, wrote long after Mrs. Irvine and most of the professors involved had died, "She got rid of officers and teachers who had outlived their usefulness, and this naturally aroused antagonism in many quarters." In the President's Report for 1894-95 Mrs. Irvine listed eleven "who withdrew from the service of the College" in June 1894 and eighteen who did so in June 1895; in her Report for 1896-97 she listed eighteen who

withdrew in June and she also announced twenty-three new appointments.

Among the members of the faculty resigning in 1897 was Frances E. Lord, Professor of Latin and the Acting President during Miss Shafer's illness. After Miss Lord's death in 1920, Estelle M. Hurll '82, an alumnae trustee at the time of her resignation, wrote of her in the *Alumnae Quarterly,* "Successive changes in the curriculum narrowed Miss Lord's work to certain elective courses in which the classes were necessarily small. It was characteristic of her to prefer a field where her services seemed more vitally needed, and so she left Wellesley in 1897 for Rollins College in Florida, where she was the Latin professor for eleven years" and from which she retired at the age of seventy-three. The Trustees, however, on being advised of her resignation appointed a special committee on the matter. Acting on a report of that committee in the October following her departure, the Trustees voted to accept the resignation, sending her a letter expressing "warm appreciation of the conscientious fidelity [and added 'scholarly ability' at the suggestion of Dr. Hovey] with which she has served the College for twenty-one years," and to "appoint her Professor Emeritus with a retiring allowance of $700." Miss Lord graciously thanked the Trustees but wrote: "What I would carry away from Wellesley is the remembrance of Christian affection. This I covet, and this alone." As Mrs. Irvine wrote of her, "She stands forth 'a figure bright and strong, serene and noble,' a valid witness to that faith which is her life."

Mrs. Irvine surely respected and admired Miss Lord; she also must have been glad to have her resign in such a high-minded way and to have her professorial salary available for younger members of the faculty. The President was trying desperately to obtain increases in salary and rank for some of the very able instructors; on one occasion, Dr. Willcox wrote Mrs. North, she even proposed that several senior, illustrious professors whom she named "be fired so that younger faculty could receive advances." (He added rather dryly that the Board declined to approve the suggestion.) It is easy to see why the young faculty (including Ellen Fitz Pendleton and Vida Dutton Scudder, who "warmly admired" her "for her intellectual leadership") held her in high esteem, and why she was not universally popular with the older faculty. Horace Scudder, the editor and trustee who was also Miss Scudder's uncle, must have sensed this ambivalence. After a long talk with Mrs. Irvine, he wrote in his journal in July 1898 about her, "so clear . . . so winning in her manner . . . so admirable a judgement," and then noted "the hopeless estrangement between her and the faculty."

Apparently the faculty members who at the time appreciated her most were those who understood (and probably were not affected by) the thankless but necessary task she was performing for the College. They

also applauded her firm adherence to standards of scholarship for faculty and students alike and her own devotion to teaching. (Perhaps characteristically, Miss Shafer had longed to continue to teach after she became president; Mrs. Irvine did so. For two years—from 1895 until 1897—she taught a year course on "Private Lives of the Greeks" and a semester course on Homer, and then presumably concluded that she could not afford the time required.) Despite the fact that the country was in a serious financial crisis which caused some students to withdraw and others not to apply for admission, she refused to accept candidates who could not cope with the level of work demanded by the new curriculum. (In reporting to the Trustees in the fall of 1897 that there were sixty fewer students than the year before, she gave as one of the reasons "many are rejected because not equal to our requirements.") And of course the smaller enrollment compounded the College's budgetary problems.

When the Trustees met in November of 1897, Mrs. Irvine submitted her resignation and recommended that it become effective at the end of the year. She felt that she had done what she could (and later appraisals acknowledged that she had done a very great deal), and that the time had come for a different kind of president—someone from outside the faculty. The president, she believed, should "be able to direct, influence, and in some cases control the development of departments" and should "bring new endowments." This was the same meeting at which Miss Lord's resignation was discussed at great length and Mrs. Irvine pointed out that the day had passed when heads of departments could have "individual responsibility for the development of instruction." It was the period when her relations with some of the older faculty members were undoubtedly strained and acutely painful. The Trustees appointed a committee of five members (Andrew Fiske, Professor Horsford's son-in-law; Mrs. Palmer; Mrs. North; Mrs. Durant; William Lincoln, a businessman who had just been elected to the Board and would have no longstanding prejudices) to consider Mrs. Irvine's resignation. The committee reported a month later that the members "unanimously arrived at the conclusion the resignation should not be accepted, believing that such action at this time would be a serious injury to the College." They did, however, make three recommendations. The recommendations are illuminating in showing the difficulties that existed as well as the ways in which they might be overcome. The committee members believed that the difficulties could be met "by three forces, the President, Departments, and Trustees heartily cooperating," by establishing a Committee on Appointments of three trustees to whom the President should report any nominations she wished to make after consulting with the heads of the departments, and by appointing as the Dean someone who would "relieve the President . . . in representing the College before the public and so increase public esteem

as to create a natural channel for gifts to the College." Mrs. Irvine, clear-headed as ever, knew that these expedients would not succeed, and so "Mrs. Irvine still insisting" on resigning, according to the Trustee Minutes, a second committee of five was appointed to confer with her. This committee, composed of two clergymen, Dr. Hovey and Bishop Lawrence, an alumnae trustee, Mrs. Thompson, the Treasurer, Mr. Hardy, and Edwin Abbot, a lawyer, could not persuade her to withdraw her resignation. The date on which she would leave was extended to June 1899, "Mrs. Irvine having kindly shown a willingness to grant this favor, though not more." In her determination to leave at what she believed was the right moment for Wellesley, as well as in her conduct of the presidency, she exemplified the comment of Dr. McKenzie, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees: "She adhered to her design with unswerving independence and faithfulness."

As is recounted in the following chapter, Wellesley's first "Search Committee" for a president was created, and its members set about the task of finding precisely the kind of person Mrs. Irvine realized that the College should have at that point in its history. Her own contributions to it have not been fully recognized—certainly not in traditional ways. She has been a somewhat shadowy figure in the succession of presidents; her name is associated only with her portrait, given by the Class of 1895, and with a small fund for the Greek Department which was established by the Class of 1896 at its tenth reunion. Perhaps, however, she would have preferred only the "permanent memorial" which Dr. McKenzie mentioned: "the improvements which have been made under her care, and chiefly in the new system of studies which has been formed under her direction. Her wise and scholarly work will remain." Her achievements in connection with the curriculum had also been marked by the award of the degree of D.Litt. from Brown University in 1895; under her, as the citation noted, Wellesley was "one of the first colleges to place the fine arts and music on the list of elective studies counting towards the bachelor's degree."

After she left Wellesley she lived in France and did not return to the academic life except once, again in response to Wellesley's need. On the sudden death of the head of the French Department in 1913, she responded to the plea of President Pendleton (one of the young instructors whom she regarded highly when she was at Wellesley), returned from France, and reorganized the department during the year. (She lived in College Hall until the night of the great fire on March 17, 1914, when by chance she had stayed in Cambridge. Later she wrote that "one of my great losses in the fire was my class-books, with all the records of the nine years at Wellesley. By a painful effort, I made up from memory the lists of my French [and Greek!] classes after the fire, said list proving nearly

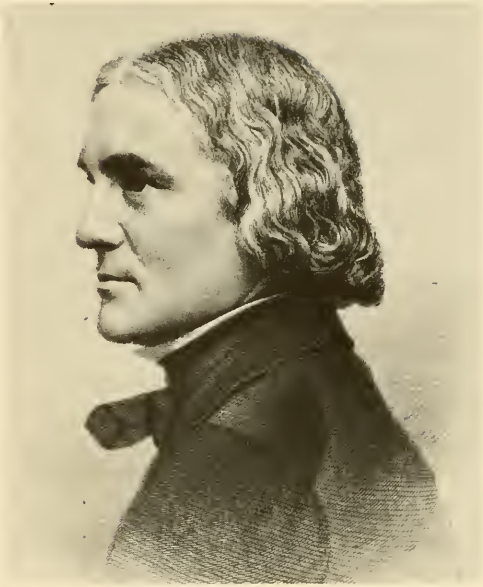
correct.") At the celebration of Wellesley's Semi-Centennial, the College conferred upon her *in absentia* the LL.D. degree of which Miss McCarthy quotes the citation on page 356.

Except for the academic year 1913-14 and occasional travel, southern France was her home from 1899 until her death in 1930. In view of her manifest joy in teaching and scholarship, one wonders why she did not resume them. She did write of "consoling" herself "with Homer," and of her pleasure in attending lectures in Grenoble one year when her Wellesley fellow-classicist and friend Professor Adeline B. Hawes was with her: "Miss Hawes takes all that is going, but I am more moderate." She was deeply committed to the cause of the Allies during the First World War, when she held a responsible position in a military hospital in France.

A small collection of her letters from France from 1914 until 1917 was privately published by a former student and lifelong friend, Isabel *Fiske* Conant '96; they are lively, vivid, and revealing of the close links she kept with Wellesley and of her continued interest in the College. Her successor as president, Caroline Hazard, expressed in her first Report her gratitude to Mrs. Irvine and wrote: "The personal admiration I had learned to entertain for her was deepened as I saw her ability in the management of affairs, and the excellent condition in which they were placed in my hands." One matter, however, which through no fault of Mrs. Irvine's had not been cared for was the college debt—and when she received the news that Miss Hazard had eliminated it, she sent her a cable "Wellesley forever!" They corresponded cordially, but there is special charm in Mrs. Irvine's letters to her former students. In the last letter, written in 1929, to the Class of 1899, by whom she was "much beloved," she reflected on "the manifest advantage of age over youth!—So I recommend you all to persevere at least up to eighty."

With the close of Mrs. Irvine's administration and the beginning of the twentieth century came the end of Wellesley's formative years. The vision and dedicated efforts of the founders, the early presidents, and the others who were centrally concerned with the young College had brought it to a stage in its development which would hold new challenges and would require new approaches to achieve the fundamental purpose: to prepare its students "for great conflicts, for vast reforms in social life, for noblest usefulness."

HENRY FOWLE DURANT



PAULINE FOWLE DURANT

HARRY DURANT

EBEN NORTON HORSFORD

The faculty parlor in College Hall, one of Professor Horsford's many gifts

College Hall Center

The Browning Room

The Library
in College Hall

Professor (later President) Shafer's mathematics class in 1882 included, seated on the right, Ellen Fitz Pendleton, who became Wellesley's sixth president.

The memorial in the Chapel

Mrs. Durant in her conservatory in her later years

ADA L. HOWARD (1875-1881)
Portrait by Edmund Tarbell
Gift of Students 1875-1882

ALICE FREEMAN PALMER (1881-1887)
Portrait by Abbott Thayer
Gift of Eben N. Horsford

HELEN A. SHAFER (1887-1894)
Portrait by Kenyon Cox
Gift of the Alumnae Association

JULIA J. IRVINE (1894-1899)
Portrait by Gary Melchers
Gift of the Class of 1895

JEAN GLASSCOCK

The Selection of Wellesley's Presidents

WELLESLEY is the one major college which throughout its hundred year history has had only women presidents—not, however, because of a mandate nor, since its early years, without having consideration given to the possibility of men. And it is probably better able than most colleges to chart the expanding role of the faculty and, recently, the inclusion of students in the selection procedure, and to document the secrecy with which searches were previously conducted.

As is recounted in the preceding chapter, Mr. Durant selected Ada Howard to be the first president and had reason to believe that she was unusually well qualified, considering the fact that no woman had ever held such a position. (Even as he stated, "Women can do the work. I give them the chance," he made the point that if he had wanted experienced administrators and professors he would have had to appoint men.)

The next three presidents were chosen from within the Wellesley faculty: Alice Freeman, a historian and political scientist; Helen Shafer, a mathematician; Julia J. Irvine, a Greek scholar. Interestingly enough, all of them, including Miss Freeman, who was appointed to the office by the Trustees following Mr. Durant's death and on his recommendation and at his request, served initially as acting president and were not immediately given the full title and responsibility. Apparently there was no "outside search" during the trial periods; trustee committees simply made inquiries at the College and satisfied themselves that all was progressing well. Some years later, when again a president was named from within the College, Ellen Fitz Pendleton was acting president for a year, despite the fact that during her predecessor's absence because of illness, she as Dean of the College had assumed presidential duties. Moreover, in her case there was a full-fledged search.

The first president sought from outside the faculty was Mrs. Irvine's successor. This was on her urgent suggestion. At the trustees' meeting on

February 11, 1897, Mrs. Irvine stated in her forthright way: "In order now to secure the proper development of the present course of instruction as well as to obtain funds with which to carry it on, the College requires, in my judgment, a president whose relation to the internal administration will be somewhat different from that which can be assumed by a member of the faculty, and who will bring to the College new forces and new friends."

Keenly aware that the College was in debt and its income did not "meet its necessary expenses, nor promise to do so at any early date," she realized that securing further endowment by gifts was imperative. As she analyzed the situation, Wellesley "should have a president who could command the confidence of the world of affairs and who could as a speaker or writer gain the interest, enlist the sympathy, and secure the support of persons of substance who do not yet know Wellesley." She therefore begged to recommend that the term of the present incumbent be understood to end with the close of the current college year. When the Trustees found that she was adamant, agreeing to remain one additional year but no longer, they appointed to find her successor a committee composed of Mrs. Durant, Louise *McCoy* North '79, and two clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, Chairman of the Board and the Minister of the First Congregational Church, Cambridge, and the Rev. Dr. William H. Willcox, President of the Congregational Education Society. Thanks to the recent gift of very candid letters which Mrs. Durant wrote Mrs. North from November 11, 1897, until March 11, 1899, we have extraordinarily detailed information concerning the progress of the Committee.

When Alice Freeman had resigned in 1887 to marry George Herbert Palmer, the Boston newspapers seemed to have championed the selection of a woman successor. According to the *Boston Traveller,* "It has been said that no woman can be found to fill the place in which she has been a marked success, and that for her successor some person of the other sex will be selected." But, continued the *Traveller,* "This is more complimentary to Miss Freeman than to her sex. Her position will be a difficult one to fill, and her successor may not be her equal, but we believe that there are women in the country well qualified for the great responsibilities of the place. . . . The College has been so great a success in doing the work laid out by the founder that its friends would regret to see so marked a change in its policy as the election of a male president would be." The sentiments of the *Boston Record* would receive even greater acclaim from today's exponents of Women's Liberation. After writing of the "rare tact and ability" with which Miss Freeman had filled the position, the *Record* added: "the *Record* suggests that Professor Palmer should give up his place at Harvard, and that he and Miss Freeman jointly preside over Wellesley."

There is perhaps some irony in the fact that the first person specifically mentioned to succeed Mrs. Irvine was a man, the president of a college in Colorado, and that it was Mrs. Palmer who proposed his name and thought him well qualified and "an earnest Christian man . . . with a very fine wife." Mrs. Durant apparently scotched the idea with one sentence: "If we get a man now we will never again have the place for a woman in all probability."

It was Mrs. Palmer, also, who on the suggestion of Horace E. Scudder, a trustee and the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly,* and with the hearty approval of Mrs. Durant first approached Caroline Hazard about the position, "finding an opportunity," Miss Hazard wrote later, "in what to anyone else would have been the hopeless confusion of a crowded reception. Never shall I forget her contagious enthusiasm, to which my own responded, and though weeks elapsed before a final decision was reached, my heart had capitulated long before my mind was convinced." A person who was influential in convincing her was President James B. Angell of the University of Michigan, a Brown classmate and life-long friend of her brother—the same President Angell who had been instrumental in Alice Freeman's coming to Wellesley. Although Miss Hazard was listed as a member from 1889 until 1893 of Wellesley's Board of Visitors, of which Professor Eben N. Horsford of Harvard was chairman, there are no minutes of that Board's meetings and no evidence that she felt closely identified with the College because of her membership on it.

Miss Hazard was precisely the kind of president Mrs. Irvine had realized was essential for Wellesley at that period in its history. At the time of her election in March 1899, she was a wealthy, highly cultivated forty-two-year-old woman who took an active part in the business and philanthropic concerns of the Hazard family in Peace Dale, Rhode Island, and had broad interests and a wide acquaintance among people who were prominent in social, financial, literary, and musical circles. As a girl she attended Miss Shaw's School in Providence and later studied under various teachers at home and abroad. Before coming to Wellesley as president she had edited the philosophical and economic writings of her grandfather, a woolen manufacturer, and written a study of life in Narragansett in the eighteenth century as well as several volumes of poetry. Music, literature, and art were integral aspects of living to her. Students who lived in Norumbega Hall when she occupied the president's suite there before she built Oakwoods for her residence remember fondly her playing Chopin on the piano for them after Sunday dinners, and many of her gifts to the College were in the areas of the arts and the development of the beauty of the campus. Some indications of her enormous contribution to Wellesley and its reorganization and expansion are given in other chapters.

When she resigned in 1910 she had served longer than any previous Wellesley president. Actually, she had placed her resignation in Mrs. Durant's hands in September of 1908, but the Board of Trustees declined to accept it and requested that she take a year's leave of absence to regain her strength following a gall bladder operation from which recovery had been slow. During that year the dean, Ellen Fitz Pendleton, had assumed the administrative responsibilities, and when Miss Hazard wrote on May 31, 1910, "My health I regret to say is not however fully reinstated, and it is therefore my painful duty to sever my connection with the College," the Trustees voted that the Dean be requested to take charge of the administration until a president was chosen.

The following fall a committee of seven trustees having as its chairman Samuel B. Capen, a merchant who was also President of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and President of Wellesley's Board, was appointed to select a president. It was an interesting and diverse group: Mrs. Durant; Lilian Horsford Farlow, the daughter of Professor Horsford; Helen J. Sanborn '84, an author; the Right Rev. William Lawrence, Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; William H. Lincoln, a businessman; Rowland Hazard, Miss Hazard's brother.

Not until June 9, 1911, did the Committee make its report to the Board, explaining: "We have been slow in reaching a final conclusion, realizing the gravity of the question before the Trustees and that the matter was too important to be hurried unduly. The College we knew was safe, with a strong hand on the helm and many ready to cooperate. The Committee came to its task with an open mind, seeking only to know what was best for the College. We recognized that we had had in President Hazard a great personality who had stood before the public as a leader. We recognized also the great principles and ideals for which Wellesley had stood for all these years and that no mistake must be made." The Committee then described its procedures, which had included "taking counsel of other educators" and writing "eight or ten prominent College Presidents asking for suggestions." As a result the names of thirty-nine persons were considered.

Probably no subsequent Search Committee has ever given a more cogent account of its deliberations, especially in regard to choosing a man or a woman, than that committee which met more than sixty years ago: "It ought to be frankly stated that there is a decided difference of opinion among educators over the question whether it is better to have a man or a woman at the head of a college as large as a university. There are not only the great educational problems which have to do with a college of over 1,200 members, but there are great physical problems, especially with an institution situated as Wellesley is, away from a great city, and having to provide its own water supply, drainage, electric lighting, etc.

The college community is double the size of many of the towns. The argument in favor of having a man preside over such a trust has been presented to us with great force and ability by those who hold that position.

"Everything that could be said upon that side we believe was brought before us. Your sub-committee, however, at a meeting held several weeks ago decided that it would adhere to the traditional policy of the College to nominate a woman for the presidency. We found that to change that policy would be considered a severe blow to those who are in favor of the higher education of women. If Wellesley had started, as did Smith and Vassar, with a man for President it would be very different. But for us after all these years now to change our policy would be saying to the world that no woman could be found to carry on the succession of women Presidents. After reaching this unanimous conclusion, we then reduced to four the names in our list of women that were the best available for the place; finally of the four no one seemed on the whole so well qualified for the position as the present Dean."

Miss Pendleton was thereupon unanimously elected by the nineteen trustees present, and the following morning, a Saturday, her election was announced at the regular chapel service by Dr. Capen. According to the *Wellesley College News,* "The applause at this announcement was instantaneous and heartfelt. When Mrs. Durant, from the back of the chapel, suggested the singing of the Doxology, everyone felt it to be a fitting expression of their gladness and gratitude." And the *News* commented editorially: "We have loved our Dean; we will love and support our President with all the gladness and sincerity that is in us."

No one has ever assumed the position with the extensive knowledge of what it entailed that Miss Pendleton had—and it is highly unlikely that anyone ever will. Like Miss Hazard a native of Rhode Island, from the time she entered Wellesley as a freshman in 1882 until she died in 1936 she was closely associated with the College and away from it for only a few short periods. The fall after her graduation she returned as a tutor in mathematics; thereafter recognition and advancement were remarkably rapid. According to the Trustee Minutes, "At the special request of the President," Miss Shafer, herself a mathematician, Miss Pendleton, "a superior young instructor in Mathematics," was granted a leave of absence "to pursue advanced mathematical studies" at Newnham College, Cambridge, in 1889-1900. Such a leave was highly unusual; even more extraordinary was her appointment in 1901, obviously at Miss Hazard's instigation, as assistant to the Secretary of the Board of Trustees (Mrs. Durant) "to attend the meetings of the Trustees and the Executive Committee and to record the proceedings and furnish a duplicate copy to be deposited at the College for use by the President of the College." She was also

appointed Dean of the College in 1901, and when she assumed the highest office in 1911, she knew intimately all of the details of the College's operations.

By the time she retired in 1936, the College had been largely rebuilt after the College Hall fire and had undergone vast changes in many respects. Also, as her successor recently pointed out, none of the trustees had had any experience in selecting a Wellesley president. Indeed, except for the actual choice of the person, it is clear that Miss Pendleton played a dominant role in this procedure.

In 1930, shortly after her sixty-sixth birthday, she had been reappointed "for an indefinite term," a term whose limits she herself apparently could determine. In September 1934, she wrote Robert Gray Dodge, a prominent Boston lawyer who was President of the Board, that she had reached seventy years and that it seemed a suitable time to consider fixing a date for the retirement. At a meeting of the Board that year she "stated that she wished to place on record her conviction that both the alumnae and the faculty should be formally consulted by any committee which may in the future be appointed to find a new President of the College," and at a meeting on January 18, 1935, her "recommendations as to procedures were approved, as was acceptance of her desire to retire June 30, 1936." She proposed that the members of the Executive Committee exclusive of the President of the College act as a nominating committee, and that "the Executive Committee and the Academic Council of the Faculty appoint a committee to confer with the Nominating Committee and that provision be made to consult the alumnae of the College."

The alumnae in due course suggested that Candace C. Stimson '92, Vice President of the Board of Trustees, "be asked to assist the Executive Committee," on which two other alumnae (Harriet *Hinchliff* Coverdale '10 and Grace Crocker '04) served, and, except for candidates proposed by individual alumnae, that seems to have been the extent of alumnae participation in the process.

By the time of the meeting of the Board in March 1935, Miss Pendleton had met with the five members of the faculty committee and "explained its function," Sophie C. Hart, Professor of English Composition, had been elected chairman, Louise McDowell '98, Professor of Physics, secretary, and "a questionnaire had been contemplated as to the qualifications of a new President." The Trustees raised the question whether "it had been made sufficiently clear not only to the faculty committee but to the alumnae as well that they are not expected to serve in a nominating capacity," and they were reassured on this point.

There was no doubt that the faculty committee understood its circumscribed role: the report which Miss Hart sent for the committee to Mr. Dodge in June began: "Realizing that it was not the function of the

committee or the faculty to propose a candidate, the committee asked each one answering the questionnaire to mention various persons who in the opinion of that member might well be investigated." Two lists of names were appended to the report, the first of those suggested by one faculty member and the second by two or more faculty members. (Incidentally, Mildred McAfee, Dean of College Women at Oberlin, was on the first list, and Mary Lowell Coolidge, Dean of Wellesley and member of the Philosophy Department, was on the second.)

Miss Hart's summary of the results of the questionnaires stated: "There was strong emphasis upon the qualities of integrity and fair-mindedness that distinguished our present President. There was also a consensus that academic training and experience as a teacher, and if possible also as an administrator, are essential or at least highly desirable. A considerable number definitely wished to exclude from consideration businessmen, clergymen, and 'professional educators,' i.e. those whose field lies in the history and theory of pedagogy."

In addition to having negative feelings about businessmen, clergymen, and professional educators, the faculty expressed positively their desire for a woman. "A strong preponderance of opinion favored a woman," Miss Hart wrote. "Among the reasons given for the preference were the following: the inspiration and encouragement it is to Wellesley students and to women in general to see a woman ably filling the chief executive position and representing the College among leaders of education in their country; the fact that the high distinction which Wellesley has attained has come to it under women presidents; the further fact that it would seem to be an indictment of the whole cause of the higher education of women if now a properly qualified woman were not found to carry on the tradition of a woman president."

The faculty committee made its report and then disappeared into the wings, never again to be called on stage or to be given bulletins about the action taking place, even advance notice that a decision had been reached. Ella Keats Whiting, then Assistant Professor of English Literature and the very junior member of the faculty committee, recalled recently that its members divided into teams to prepare the questionnaire and to summarize the results. She worked with Alfred D. Sheffield, Professor of Rhetoric and Group Leadership, a precise gentleman with an equally precise goatee, who savored words with as keen appreciation as did his brother-in-law, T. S. Eliot. "One of my delightful experiences at Wellesley was being on the team with Mr. Sheffield," Miss Whiting said. "He put our summary into his elegant language; working with him was interesting and it was quite a lot of fun." Miss Hart and Miss McDowell composed another team, and they left out Miss Coolidge, the fifth member of the Committee, because she was definitely a candidate. A Bostonian who

had done her undergraduate work at Bryn Mawr and received her Ph.D. at Radcliffe, Miss Coolidge had taught philosophy and served as Dean of the College since 1931.

"As I remember it, Mary Coolidge's name appeared on about a third of the faculty questionnaires. Miss Pendleton wanted Miss Coolidge. She'd brought her here thinking she would be her successor, I know," Miss Whiting stated. "I think a good many people realized that Miss Coolidge would be very much the kind of president that Miss Pendleton had been and that, great as Miss Pendleton had been, perhaps it was time for another kind of president."

A more different kind of president—except for integrity and intelligence and industry—could scarcely have been found than Mildred McAfee. This was strikingly evident in their knowledge of Wellesley prior to taking office. Not long ago Mildred McAfee Horton said in an oral history interview, "As I think back on it now, it was really incredible how little I knew about the College." When she was a Vassar undergraduate she had been a member of its debate team. "We proved something about Philippine independence, as I recall. I've forgotten what it was, but I'm sure we definitely defeated Wellesley—through no real fault of my own, I may say. I recall getting completely tongue-tied in the rebuttal." Then one spring vacation she spent with a member of the Vassar team who lived in the Boston area and drove her through the campus—"which I thought was attractive but a little too hilly." That was the only time she had even visited Wellesley until, after finally meeting the Trustees in May 1936 at the Dodges' home, Mrs. Dodge, a Wellesley alumna, took her "secretively to the campus to drive around."

Mr. Dodge early that spring had gone to Oberlin to see her. Mrs. Horton recalled: "My memory is that he really nearly asked me to come at that point, but he said that of course he would want me to meet the trustees. I was supposed then to go on to Wellesley to talk to the trustees fairly soon after that, and I got a bad sinus infection and went to the infirmary instead, which was very humiliating, and therefore deferred this visit to Wellesley until very late. It was May, I think, when I finally met the trustees. . . . A very nice Mr. Hugh Walker Ogden was a Boston lawyer, and I remember his saying to me, 'Now you probably will feel a little inadequate about knowing what to do because of course you are young and inexperienced. But,' he said, 'you don't need to worry because the first day you go into the office your secretary will put something on the desk that you'll have to do something about, and you'll just learn.' And he said, 'If people say you are too young, just don't worry about that —you'll outgrow it.' "

Miss Pendleton showed her the house but they had only one brief conversation. It was a busy time at the College and the expectation was that

Miss Pendleton would be living nearby on Dover Road and there would be plenty of opportunity to talk with her later—something that proved not to be true because of her sudden death that July. "At one point in that very brief conversation I had with her, I said, 'I really know so little about it and I'm so inexperienced about this that I really hesitate to take it on,' and she said, 'Miss McAfee, I've been the President for twenty-five years. If I haven't built a college which can run itself for a year or two, I've never done a good job. You've got plenty of time to learn.' It's my favorite quote from her, and a very significant one. And of course it was true; it could take care of itself."

Mr. Dodge had reported to the Trustees in January that the committee had been hard at work and that the list had been provisionally reduced to a few names and that steps were being taken to secure information about them. On May 15, a week or so after the Trustees had met Miss McAfee, they unanimously elected her. It was agreed that Mr. Dodge would inform her and the president of the Alumnae Association by telegram, and that he would send a letter to members of the Academic Council. This stated: "Miss McAfee was selected, after extended investigation, from a very large number of women suggested by the Committee of the Faculty and the Committee of the Alumnae Association and from outside sources." According to newspaper stories at the time, "Approximately 1000 persons registered their choice for 100 different persons."

Apparently no thought was given to special announcement to members of the Wellesley College community other than the faculty. At Oberlin, however, from which Mr. Dodge had received a request from President Wilkins that he be given the privilege of announcing there Miss McAfee's election, there was, according to the *New York Times,* "a unique demonstration by the students who, in the early evening, thronged about her in the Faculty Club. In the crowd of students more men than women gathered to acclaim the dean." That story with an Oberlin dateline spoke of "her sense of humor as much in evidence at the press conference. 'I suppose I have to submit cheerfully to this sort of thing,' she said, 'but it seems so absurd. I never thought becoming a college president meant all this, but that's only part of what I have to learn, I suppose.' "

During the next thirteen years, as President of Wellesley and Director of the WAVES, she became well inured to press conferences as a part of being a renowned administrator. After returning to Wellesley following her service in the Navy during World War II, marrying the Rev. Dr. Douglas Horton, and launching Wellesley's 75th Anniversary Fund Campaign, she resigned, effective at the close of the academic year 1948-1949. The Trustees with deep regret yielded to her decision, and the Rev. Dr. Palfrey Perkins, Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Minister of King's Chapel in Boston, made the announcement to the college community on

October 23, 1948, at the regular Saturday morning service in the Houghton Memorial Chapel and to the public in the press the following day.

A few weeks later Mrs. Horton wrote the officers of the Alumnae Association: "The newspaper reports of my resignation, together with certain radio comments, have stirred up some curious impressions which this letter is designed to correct. Neither Mrs. Roosevelt nor Frances Perkins is slated to succeed me! . . . I want to provide a place for a president who can concentrate all her energies upon the College. The College is in fine shape every way but financially, but it needs more vigorous and uninterrupted leadership than I can give it permanently."

The Trustees voted that "The Searching Committee shall consist of the Chairman of the Board, who shall serve as Chairman of the Committee, and six other trustees to be appointed by him, two of whom shall be alumnae trustees, and two members of the faculty to be selected by the Academic Council." For the first time the two faculty members, Miss Whiting and Miss Coolidge, were to be full-fledged members of the Committee. In addition to those two, three faculty members (M. Margaret Ball, Professor of Political Science, Harriet B. Creighton '29, Professor of Botany, and Edward E. Curtis, Professor of History) were elected to consult with them and to assist by compiling suggestions of candidates and serving in other ways as requested.

The only official record of the proceedings of "The Special Committee on the Presidency" is a written report which Dr. Perkins sent to the Trustees on May 27, 1949. He wrote: "The Committee has held nine meetings since December, and the individual members have given a great deal of time to their important task. From alumnae, from faculty, and from interested individuals, the Committee received nearly 150 suggestions. At the first meeting it was agreed to follow Wellesley tradition and, if possible, to nominate a woman president. Consequently, very little time has been spent investigating the men whose names were suggested. On the contrary, wide and careful inquiries have been made with regard to women candidates.

"After screening the very large number of suggestions, and after some candidates had eliminated themselves from consideration, the Committee concentrated on the five women whose names were given to the Board in the Chairman's letter of March 21. Each of those candidates was seen personally by one or more members of the Committee. It is their unanimous decision to recommend Margaret Clapp '30.

"All of the members of this Committee have met Miss Clapp individually and talked at length with her, and find themselves in complete accord about her qualifications—a formed and decisive mind, a fearless and affirmative attitude, a quickness of observation, a delightful sense of humor, an inner serenity of spirit. She has taught in some or the most rug-

ged, testing classrooms in our democratic system and gives the impression of having grown strong and wise under the challenge. The Committee considers the fact that she graduated from Wellesley, the fact that she has achieved distinction as a scholar, and the fact that she won the Pulitzer Prize to be greatly in her favor. But beyond and above these facts, the members of the Committee share unitedly and without reservation a sure confidence in her capabilities as an administrator, and a deep faith in her qualities as a human being."

She met the trustees on June 3 at the Brookline home of Marie *Rahr* Haffenreffer '11, Vice Chairman of the Board, and was elected at a special dinner meeting of the Board that evening. The following day, the Saturday just preceding the examination period when it was thought that the faculty would not welcome being summoned to a special meeting of the Academic Council, copies of a *Wellesley College News* Extra, put together with great secrecy by the editor and managing editor of the *News* at the home of the Director of Publicity, were distributed to students on the campus and to members of the faculty at their homes. The newspaper "routes" were mapped out and the circulation handled by the few people in the administration, including Virginia Eddy, Secretary to the President, who had to be privy to the election. Arrangements were also made for Miss Clapp to hold a press conference at the New York Wellesley Club so that the newspapers and magazines in the New York area could easily interview her while she was living there.

Secrecy was indeed central in the whole procedure—and this extended to persons being considered for the position. Miss Whiting remembers telephoning some trusted discreet friends on other faculties where potential candidates were teaching, and always making the calls from home "because we were really working in secrecy." Miss Ball and Miss Creighton were asked on one occasion to scout a woman who was speaking at a meeting of alumnae of another college, and they still chuckle about pretending that they hadn't seen each other for many years and talking to each other vivaciously so that the alumnae wouldn't realize that interlopers were present. But the greatest subterfuges came in the screening of Miss Clapp.

Her name had been suggested by Margaret Bancroft '12, who wrote that Allan Nevins, who had directed her doctoral dissertation at Columbia, "said that Margaret Clapp should certainly be looked into as a candidate for President." Miss Whiting looked at the material about her in the College Recorder's Office and in the Placement Office, and she and Miss Coolidge agreed that she should indeed be considered and they took the information to the next meeting of the Committee. As Mrs. Horton's letter to the members of the Alumnae Association Board of Directors indicates, this was the period of public figures as heads of educational

institutions; for example, General Dwight D. Eisenhower had been named to Columbia and Harold Stassen to the University of Pennsylvania. (In fact, when Wellesley elected Margaret Clapp, she was the first person in that era who was chosen from the academic world to be president of a major college; Yale and Smith followed not long thereafter, and the former trend soon was reversed.) Eventually Miss Whiting's and Miss Coolidge's persistent mention of Miss Clapp at the meetings, which were always held at private dinners at the Union Club in Boston, was rewarded, and it was decided that the two alumnae trustees on the Committee, Elizabeth *King* Morey '19 and Grace *Ballard* Hynds '17, should visit the young alumna who was teaching American History at Brooklyn College.

Mrs. Morey recently gave her version in an oral history interview: "I was at that time on something called the College Committee of Public Education Association. It was to look into the teaching in the city colleges, which were then under duress for having Communist leanings. And so it looked as if a good way for us to see Miss Clapp was to ask to watch the teaching of American History at Brooklyn College. They put us off and put us off and put us off, and we only discovered much afterward that they were hoping to get us there sometime when all of the Communist students wouldn't be in too much of an uproar about something—but of course we knew nothing about that. Well, we weren't honest or honorable in this at all because we weren't supposed to have anybody know we were looking for a president. Don't ask me why but that's how we operated. I know it's because they were very aware of one or two people who had been told by some other college that they were looking for a president and had promptly resigned from their jobs thinking that they'd been asked. At all costs we were to avoid this, but I think it went further than that; I think they just liked to not talk about it. Anyhow, we were there under completely false terms. I had made the arrangements because I was a member of the College Committee. Grace Hynds wasn't even on that Committee at all. That's how we saw Margaret, and we got so excited about her that Grace missed almost the last train home. . . . At the meeting before she turned up, we'd decided, three or four of us, that we must ask for more time. We weren't willing to settle on anybody who had turned up, and we thought we'd have to have more time and we thought maybe we should send people around (or one person around) because we had people in various parts of the country we hadn't interviewed personally. But she was an immediate hit. So that took a great load off everybody's mind."

In an oral history interview Miss Clapp said: "I was completely taken in by those representatives of the Public Education Association who came to visit. I did not link them with Wellesley in any way. I didn't know

that they were trustees, and I don't know that I knew from anything that came up that they'd ever gone to Wellesley. But they were very pleasant, and one got us to Ellis Island, which I'd wanted to take my class to. (I was teaching immigration to one group at that time.) It was Mrs. Hynds who was able to arrange that. And Mrs. Morey agreed that she would write somebody in Albany about something we didn't like, or did like, I've forgotten what. So I felt that it had been a worthwhile day."

Further dissembling was perpetrated to allow some of the members of the Searching Committee to see her in action without letting her know that she was a candidate for the presidency. Mr. Curtis, who had taught her when she was a student, known her as the president of College Government her senior year, and had expressed the hope that she might be his successor in the History Department, arranged for her to give a public lecture at Wellesley. She was making speeches in various places, a good many of them in connection with her biography, *John Bigelow: Forgotten First Citizen,* which had received the Pulitzer Prize not long before, and it didn't occur to her that the invitation from Wellesley wasn't completely *bona fide.* Although she wasn't aware of the fact, the audience in Pendleton Hall that evening included a number of people who by no means attended all departmental lectures: Mrs. Horton, Mrs. Haffenreffer, Miss Whiting, Miss Coolidge. But very carefully they were not selected to be among the group which entertained her until time for her to return on the midnight train to New York.

She didn't remember when she had any idea that she was under consideration. "One of my colleagues said to me one day, 'They are thinking of you as president of Wellesley.' I said, 'Oh, that's ridiculous; I don't play golf.' I was working on the Nicholas Murray Butler papers at the time, and he certainly played golf up and down the country and got wills written for Columbia. It was pretty late on that the trustees got in touch with me, and one after another came down. I couldn't see why they couldn't all come together; they all seemed to live on the same street in Boston. But they had agreed to do it separately, and they were an interesting group. Kelley Anderson [O. Kelley Anderson, president of Liberty Mutual Insurance Company] came into my apartment saying, 'I haven't been down here since speakeasy days,' so one could relax with him. Ted Weeks [Edward A. Weeks, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*] I just had a very pleasant dinner with—no talk of Wellesley that I could see, but very pleasant." John Schroeder, minister and professor at Yale University, and Palfrey Perkins ("I saw quite a bit of him") she recalled did talk with her about Wellesley.

Among the impressions Mrs. Morey has of those interviews are: "Ted Weeks went down to interview her about an article for the *Atlantic* and they went to the Ritz. Kelley Anderson went down—I forget what he went

to see her about, but he came back and said he knew she could make a budget and stick within it, because while she was only a woman, she'd paid back her loan for her college education faster than he'd paid his and she knew money and you could never make him believe she didn't know the value of a nickel and a penny as well as a thousand dollars. So he was immediately taken with her on her realistic attitude toward money. And of course Ted liked her, but he questioned whether maybe she was too feminine and fragile to stand up under the job!"

Finally came the meeting of the Committee at which she was considered and about which Miss Whiting reminisced: "I can remember that Mr. Perkins went around the table—he wanted every person to speak his mind. He liked to tell about Mary Coolidge, who was smoking one of her third-cigarettes in a long holder. When he came to Mary, she took this out and said, 'I think she's a natural for the position.' And he was greatly relieved! They all stood a little bit in awe of Mary Coolidge (she'd been very frank about some of the candidates), and he was just delighted when she made that statement. And of course it was a unanimous vote."

When asked whether her predecessor gave her considerable advice, Miss Clapp mentioned one delightful bit in connection with the President's House: "She showed me the switch that put the lights on and off (this was in the guest room upstairs). She said, 'Look—right at the door!' I marveled at this capacity to keep this childlike awareness of the wonder of invention—that you could just turn it on. I learned after I lived there that in every other room in the house you would go from light to light, turning them off. After those big parties, the maids go to bed and you go around and turn off every single light."

It's a bit appalling to think of the number of lights Miss Clapp must have turned off during the seventeen years she lived in the President's House; it was not remodeled until her successor's administration. Many other major buildings were built, however (including Bates, Freeman and McAfee residential halls, the Jewett Arts Center, and the Wellesley College Club), and others were extensively added to or renovated (the Library, the dormitories in the Hazard Quadrangle, Stone-Davis, Sage Hall, and the Whitin Observatory), although, as will be pointed out in another chapter, her primary emphasis in fund raising was on faculty salaries and financial aid for students.

The basic pattern of procedures in the selection of Miss Clapp's successor was unchanged from that followed in her case. When the Trustees in August 1965 reluctantly accepted her decision to resign effective in June 1966 because of "her conviction that Wellesley will benefit as it looks to the future from fresh vision and new leadership in its chief executive officer," a special Searching Committee again was composed of the Chairman of the Board serving as the Chairman of the Committee and

six other trustees (three women, all alumnae, and three men). Again there was an Assisting Committee of five tenured faculty members elected by the faculty, and the two who received the largest number of votes were invited to attend all meetings of the Searching Committee. This Assisting Committee sent questionnaires to their colleagues requesting suggestions concerning qualifications and candidates, and, according to John R. Quarles, the Chairman, prepared a comprehensive curriculum vitae for many of the 275 persons whose names ultimately were obtained from all sources and were very helpful in making inquiries about them. Suggestions were also solicited from students, alumnae, other educational institutions, foundations, and other organizations.

"We specifically left open the matter of choice between a man and a woman, although most of us probably preferred a woman if, and only if, fully as well qualified as the best man available," Mr. Quarles wrote following the search in a memo giving for possible help in the future his comments and suggestions concerning the selection of a new president. Mary *Sime* West '26, a member of the Search Committees in 1965-66 and in 1971-72, recently made perceptive observations about great differences in their procedures. In an oral interview she gave this informal appraisal of "the woman question" in 1965-66:

"We women on the Committee—that is, Rose *Clymer* Rumford '34, Eleanor *Wallace* Allen '25, and I—were very eager to have a woman president, and most of the letters that came (I'll say most, not all, but most of the letters) from alumnae said that Wellesley should have a woman president. So we leaned in this direction, but we weren't too sure of our men, and at the second or third meeting Judge Byron Elliott very seriously asked for the floor and moved that we seek the best qualified person for this job that this country, if not the whole world, could produce, and the hearts of us girls sank because we felt that he was going to look at men just the way he was going to look on women—everybody should be equal. 'The best qualified person in the whole world,' he said, 'and as soon as we can find *her* ask her with the greatest possible dispatch.' And everybody was so happy! That settled a little something for all of us right then and there. The motion carried unanimously, but we went right on looking for men anyway, everyone—at least the ladies and Judge Elliott—feeling that we really leaned toward a woman. We looked at some awfully good men that time, but I don't think one of them had a chance of getting it because this was Wellesley's tradition and we felt very strongly about it."

Once again, the Committee was a small group and met in Boston clubs. "There was an intimacy about it, and we used to meet in all of Boston's best clubs. After one club probably said, 'That group again!' we'd move to another club. I remember that in one nobody could read his or her papers because no light bulb was over ten watts—possibly fifteen but no

more. We could barely see our notes, but we were always well fed. We met in the afternoon and had dinner, and then Mrs. Rumford and I were escorted, or at least put in a taxi, and sent to an absolutely scarey, empty South Station where the same porter was always roused where he was sleeping in a telephone booth, and he took her bag to the Federal midnight train and mine to the Owl which went off an hour later. We almost were moved to report to him on the state of our search; we felt we knew him by the end of the winter," Mrs. West recalled.

Secrecy was still an important consideration. Mr. Quarles's memo presented in some detail and with his usual clarity the various steps taken in the selection process: "When preliminary data indicated that an individual merited further consideration, the name was assigned to one or more members of the committees for further investigation, on the basis of which the Committee continued its consideration. Through this process ultimately a small number of names emerged as really serious contenders. At this point, there was a strong temptation to arrange an interview with the candidates or go to his or her institution for more detailed and specific information. We felt, however, that either of these procedures could be prejudicial to the person and disturbing to the institution concerned, and might start harmful rumors, and so we adopted the policy of staying away from direct contact until all other sources of information had been exhausted and we were reasonably satisfied that we had found the right person. Ultimately the name of Ruth Adams stood out clearly. The Committee Chairman then got in touch with the President of her institution and with several faculty members there and received confirmation of the tentative favorable conclusion.

"As the next step, we arranged for Miss Clapp to meet Miss Adams in New York for an intimate and frank discussion. Miss Clapp reported that she was wholly satisfied that 'Miss Adams is right, and right for Wellesley,' and that she was interested. Following this the Chairman arranged a similar interview and reached a similar conclusion. Without disclosing this conclusion, he then arranged for Miss Adams to meet all other members of the Search Committee and the Assisting Committee and the College Treasurer, not in a group but singly or in pairs, and asked each to report directly to him before consultation with others.

"Finally, we invited Miss Adams to come to Wellesley for several days of confidential discussions with various people whose views and opinions would be helpful to her. In due course she authorized us to present her name to the full Board. A meeting was called, preceded by a morning of meetings with individual trustees who had not served on the Committee, and she was formally elected. She was our guest at a celebration dinner in the evening." This took place on March 16, 1966.

As had been done seventeen years before, the editor and managing edi-

tor of the *College News* put together an "Extra" at the home of the same Director of Publicity (although the timing in the calendar year obviated the necessity for home distribution to faculty members), and again plans were made for a press conference for the newly elected president in New York a few days hence while that was still her base of operations.

A native New Yorker, she was graduated in 1935 from Adelphi College, and from 1960 until she came to Wellesley she was Dean of Douglass College in New Jersey. Miss Adams is a specialist in Victorian literature and received her Ph.D. degree from Radcliffe College in 1951. She was a member of the English Department of the University of Rochester from 1946 until 1960. Especially while she was a housemistress at Radcliffe from 1943 to 1945, a teaching fellow and tutor at Harvard from 1944 to 1946, and doing her graduate study in Cambridge, she had known some members of the Wellesley faculty. She said recently, however, that she had had no close associations with Wellesley before she was approached about the presidency.

This is her recollection of the series of events preceding her election: "Miss Margaret Clapp asked me if I would be interested in being a candidate for the presidency and I, of course, said yes. I heard little thereafter until Mr. John Quarles asked me to meet him in New York and indicated that the Board of Trustees looked sympathetically upon my candidacy. I met with a group of trustees in Boston and with another group in New York. No interviewing took place on the campus. I was driven to the campus late one February afternoon when, alas, it was impossible even to see the buildings. I met in Wellesley, at the home of Miss Virginia Onderdonk, some of the faculty members who had been on the faculty committee advisory to the Board of Trustees."

Looking back on the six years of her presidency, she commented not long ago: "It was a period of great disturbance on all college campuses. Two of our greatest problems were, of course, the continuance of an unjustified war and the definition of the status of our black associates within the institution. Between 1966 and 1972 Wellesley students shared with other undergraduates in the United States, and indeed around the world, an impulse toward active participation in the affairs not only of the nation but also of the institution."

By the time that she resigned effective on June 30, 1972, and became Vice President for Women at Dartmouth College, there were vast changes in the selection procedure, some of them the result of what Miss Adams described as "students' impulses towards active participation in the affairs . . . of the institution." Mrs. West commented that as she and Nelson J. Darling, Jr., Chairman of the Board and of the Committee, talked about the changes, he said, "We just moved with the times." "In the first place," Mrs. West pointed out, "democracy had set in; all the constituencies had

to be represented." The Trustees responded rapidly.

The full Board of Trustees decided on the number of members of the Search Committee, and the Executive Committee of the Board on the nine trustees (five women, all of whom were alumnae, and four men) to serve on it. The faculty voted that of its allotted four members, two should be tenured and two non-tenured. (As it happened, there were three women and one man.) Never before had there been so many faculty representatives and never before any not having tenure.

The Senate of College Government decided to have self-nominations for the four memberships assigned to students, and seventeen students wrote statements which appeared in the *College News* setting forth their qualifications and views. Thereafter the Senate sponsored a kind of "Meet the Candidates" night in the Davis Lounge of the Schneider College Center, preliminary elections reduced the number of candidates to eight, and a final election was held with provision made that representatives of at least two classes would be chosen. (Two seniors, one junior, and one sophomore were elected.) The black community elected as its representative a sophomore.

It is interesting to note that two members of the Committee were black, one a trustee and the other a junior (who subsequently was elected president of College Government), but they represented their total constituencies. As Mrs. West explained in the oral history interview, "The black community sent a spokesman to ask our full board if we would please elect, or have elected, a representative of the black community. Barbara *Loomis* Jackson '50, a trustee member of the Search Committee, explained to us, with the greatest lucidity, what this meant to the black community. They wanted their own representative, elected by themselves—and as she explained it, we understood."

The Committee numbered eighteen. "Some thought it too large," Mrs. West said. "As a matter of fact, as we met, it shrank. I don't mean in actual numbers, but as it grew more intimate, it seemed smaller. At the beginning it did seem large. It seemed particularly large, I expect, to Mr. Darling and me who had served on the smaller committee in Boston in 1966. When we finished, we were a small, close, warmly connected and related group."

This appraisal was confirmed by Kathie Whipple '74. She attributed it in part to the fact that for the first few meetings they simply shared their thoughts "about what personal qualities were important." As she said in an informal interview, "We never came up with a list of qualities we thought was ideal, mainly because, when you think about the size of the Committee, such a list would really have been impossible. But we got a sense of what other members meant, what their verbal style was like. Later on we could pick up cues in the interviewing process, and it meant there

were less lags and less awkwardness when we were actually talking to candidates later."

Naturally enough, one of the first matters considered was whether the Committee should seek, and announce that it was seeking, a woman. Perhaps the most explicit account (the accuracy of which some of the other members have attested) was given in the interview with Kathie Whipple. She herself had stressed in her candidacy for membership the importance of selecting a woman: "I thought that to talk about a college that was dedicated to women and then tacitly admit to the world that you couldn't find a woman who was good enough to be the prime figure in the education of women at Wellesley was admitting a kind of defeat that I didn't think a hundred years of our education should have to be admitting if we'd been doing our job well! It wasn't that I didn't think a man necessarily was not qualified to lead women in education. I think the role model concept is important; I don't think it is absolutely essential. I thought that in terms of public relations and campus morale it was a much wiser move to go after a strong woman. It should be noted that in remaining a women's institution we took a rather unpopular stand. Under such circumstances it is best for morale if people know the reasons and if the reasons are substantive and not merely tradition-oriented. I also thought we should have somebody who would make some noise about the fact that we were a women's college and point out the reasons we had chosen to stay one."

But, she said, "There was definitely not a consensus about the question of making a formal announcement that we wanted only to look for a woman. Many of the people on the Committee (or at least some) felt that this was sort of a reverse prejudice. There was even a question that we might be legally in trouble to go out and advertise a job this way. There was also the question, if we had made an announcement like that, of the kind of man who would ever come for an interview should we find a man that we were interested in. There was a definite breach between the people who thought we should make a definite announcement that a woman was what we wanted, for the sake not only of having a direction that people could readily identify us with but also because doing so would save us fifty per cent of the work right off, and those who didn't think this was a good thing at all. But it was a very friendly breach. There was vigorous discussion of the point but no sense of hostility toward each other, and what we finally agreed on was that we all pretty much accepted the fact that we would like to find a woman and if it was possible we would, but we would make no formal announcement saying that was what we were going to do."

Among the striking external changes was that meetings were held, not in seclusion in Boston, but at the Wellesley College Club on the campus,

and that they began, because of the schedules of the faculty and students, about 3:30 on Friday afternoons, went on during dinner in a very informal way, and then resumed as formally as ever after dinner until ten o'clock or, frequently, considerably later. Also, twice in the course of the year meetings were scheduled at which some of the local trustees and the campus members of the Committee reported to all interested members of the college community on the current thinking of the Committee and on virtually all matters except specific candidates.

More effort was made than ever before to elicit suggestions: Barbara *Barnes* Hauptfuhrer '49, President of the Alumnae Association and a member of the Committee, sent a letter to every individual alumna; the faculty members, as had been the usual practice, devised a questionnaire for their constituency, and the student members also distributed their questionnaire and followed up on it; a large number of educational institutions, foundations, and knowledgeable individuals were queried. The result was that many responses were received and, as Mrs. West said, "An enormous amount of secretarial work was done by an alumna who acted as our full-time secretary, with an assistant a good part of the time."

According to Kathie Whipple, although meetings were usually held every week, "What was most exhausting was the thought that went on between the weeks. There was a lot of thought about what we'd said and reconsideration and soul-searching about what we thought were the best ways to get what we wanted and that sort of thing. Then we'd come to a new session with new ideas." In summary she said, "It was a very long process. It took a big personal emotional and intellectual toll. It was a very tiring process."

It must also have taken a considerable physical toll, because the names of approximately 350 persons were suggested, and, Mrs. West commented, "We researched every single one. Our faculty members traveled around interviewing people who knew some of these candidates. The trustees and students also traveled, as nearly as we could in our own areas so that too much wasn't spent flying from here to there. We interviewed, not the people who had recommended them (we knew they liked them), but other people who knew them. Many of us scouted in our own areas and reported back: 'A committee must see this person,' or 'Forget this person; I don't think she's someone that anyone else needs to see.' That was scarey but we all had to do some of that. Then the next step was to send a group—a student, a trustee, and a faculty member, or sometimes two faculty members, one trustee, sometimes two trustees and one faculty member."

Then the group reported to the Committee, in most cases recommending that the candidate be brought to Wellesley to be interviewed by the full Search Committee. In some instances if the Board of Trustees hap-

pened to be meeting at the time the candidate was on the campus, they, too, would have dinner and attend the meeting with her, although they did not take part in the actual questioning. Some ten candidates had interviews with the whole Committee.

One of those, of course, was Barbara Warne Newell, who eventually was asked to become Wellesley's tenth President. In an oral history interview during the first year of her presidency, when she was asked to recall the selection process as it affected her, she spoke of "the extremely active role which the students played. Removing myself from the situation, I would describe the dynamics as one in which the students asked the embarrassing questions or the leading questions, and the faculty and the trustees listened and then would help to probe the areas that were opened by the students. Students played the probing role without the social constraints of the older generation."

Mrs. West totally corroborated this judgment during an oral interview. "I couldn't get over how articulate they were and what good judgment those students had. I think that working together with students taught us a great deal about the students of this College and that it opened our eyes to their capabilities. They were terribly good at interviewing. They asked the most penetrating questions. Like sheep we marched right in the minute the student opened the door. In we went with our further questions! But the students opened quite a lot of questions that I'm not sure we would have had—I hate to use the word 'effrontery,' but I'm not sure that we would have had the imagination to ask."

The various steps so far as Mrs. Newell was concerned were: (1) Mr. Darling asked if she would meet with a small subcommittee of the Search Committee in Pittsburgh; (2) she met with that subcommittee, which consisted of one student and two trustees; (3) she met with the entire Committee in Wellesley; (4) she met informally, at her request, with groups of students in dormitories and at Harambee House, the center for black students, and with clusters of the faculty, tenured and non-tenured, who were selected by the Dean; (5) she met again with the Search Committee as a whole and with Miss Adams at the President's House; (6) the Chairman and the Vice Chairman of the Board, Mr. Darling and Betty *Freyhof* Johnson '44, both of whom were members of the Search Committee, went to Pittsburgh to ask if she would seriously consider accepting the position; (7) she met with the full Board of Trustees. She said: "My own reaction at the time was, and still is, that it was one of the tidiest search committee processes that I had ever witnessed. (I've seen a fair number of them in my day.) They were more than fair, with me at any rate, and very open with me as a candidate. There was a sense of free give and take all the way through."

When asked why she decided to accept the invitation, she said: "I was

extremely impressed. Let me put it more bluntly in another way. I was not looking for a job when the Search Committee subcommittee came, and the major reason I accepted the invitation to come to Wellesley to meet with the whole Committee was that I was upset at what the Seven Sisters hadn't done in the last twenty years. I really do think that as institutions they play a unique and vital role in American higher education. I really didn't care who became President of Wellesley, but I wanted to see somebody who had thought about this role and the Search Committee seemed an appropriate place to register this concern. When I came to Wellesley (as I think maybe the Search Committee will vouch), I really pulled no punches in terms of my concerns in the area of women's education and that this was something that the colleges like Wellesley ought to take seriously and on which they should take a leadership position. I did not see the coeducational institutions with which I had been affiliated really doing anything in the area, and I didn't think they would because on the whole the male administrators did not see the problem. I remember very specifically meeting the Search Committee here at Wellesley and going back to Amherst [where her parents live] and saying in effect, 'Well, I told them what I thought of the world and I was sure I would never hear anything more from them, but I felt better.' So I guess I was extremely surprised that the Search Committee took me seriously. I was not only surprised but in the process I got a sense of the nature of the College. I was particularly impressed by the trustees' devotion to the institution and their sincerity. I think that my reaction to the Search Committee and the trustees was so extremely favorable that they sold the College to me. My trip to the dormitories was fun. It was the first time I had ever been in an institution where the students genuinely tried to convince me to come—and it was as true in Harambee House as in Tower Court, which in itself is interesting."

The reaction of one of four student members of the Committee who took her around the campus is equally interesting: "We weren't trying to get a whole bunch of student leaders together or anything like that; we tried to get people who had pretty diverse interests to talk with her. They envisioned a conversation where they would ask her some questions, and she played the devil's advocate: 'Is Wellesley doing enough?' and that sort of thing. It got people riled up so they wound up doing most of the talking—which was one of the things I found attractive about her in the interviewing process on the three different occasions I was with her."

Kathie Whipple, a member of the subcommittee which went to Pittsburgh to talk with her, remarked, "We were very impressed by Mrs. Newell because of the intelligence of her questions, particularly, and because her record seemed to be borne out by her answers to personal questions.

She really had done a great deal in education and was a crackerjack administrator who still enjoyed teaching." Some students, she said, "mentioned they'd like someone with a family, mainly because of role model considerations, so were glad that she had a nine-year-old daughter; they definitely wanted somebody who had had to buck sex barriers along the way and had come through okay." For the latter reason they especially liked her having been associated with five major universities: the University of Wisconsin, where she obtained the Ph.D. in Economics and, as a part of her course, spent a year in the law school with a specialty in labor relations law, and later was Assistant to the Chancellor; the University of Illinois and Purdue University as a teacher of labor history and industrial relations; the University of Michigan as Acting Vice President for Student Affairs and Associate Professor of Economics; the University of Pittsburgh as Associate Provost for Graduate Study and Research and Professor of Economics. On the other hand, Mrs. West commented that "When we knew that we wanted Mrs. Newell most of all, we were comforted and delighted that she had gone to an undergraduate college very much like ours."

Curiously enough, Mrs. Newell knew Wellesley at an earlier age than did any of her predecessors. When she was just starting school, her father, Professor of Economics at Amherst, participated in the Wellesley Institute for Social Progress several summers, and she thoroughly enjoyed living on the campus and especially swimming and boating on Lake Waban. She also had an unusual assortment of other associations with Wellesley before she assumed the presidency in 1972: as a Vassar undergraduate she took part in 1950 in a joint Wellesley-Vassar Summer Internship Program in Washington; while teaching at the University of Illinois and Purdue University she helped to found Seven College organizations in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, and Lafayette, Indiana, and to recruit students and interpret "the nature and thrust of women's colleges."

When she became Wellesley's tenth President, she undoubtedly had more knowledge of the present day Wellesley than any other President had had, with the exception of Miss Pendleton, who had literally grown up with the College. The contrast between the extent of the information provided her and Mildred McAfee is almost incredible. But if the changes in the selection process—in particular the increasing openness, the concerted effort to obtain the judgment of more segments of the college community, the consideration in great depth of many more candidates—are striking, in Wellesley and other educational institutions, so, too, are the concepts of the role of the president.

This is perhaps shown most dramatically in statements made by Miss Hazard and Mrs. Newell. In 1904 Miss Hazard wrote in an article in *The Congregationalist:* "In our modern world a new and distinct class of

men has arisen. . . . They have the most inclusive duties that can fall to the share of any one man, and in our democratic society they are persons of almost absolute power. The old monarchial theory seems to be revived in modern times for them, for the college president rules truly by divine right. If he technically rules in right of his Board of Trustees, he actually rules by his own force and goodness and power. He has the most absolute control, of any person in our modern life, of the destinies of his associates and of the welfare of his students. In hardly any other relation of life is final decision left so entirely in the hands of one man."

When Mrs. Newell was asked in the oral history interview mentioned previously about her conception of the role of president, she replied: "I first of all see the President as part of a team. . . . One of the outstanding characteristics of this institution is the strong role of the faculty. I guess my administrative philosophy is that the major job of an administrator is to try to facilitate the interests of faculty and students. This question is really one of nurturing, and how do you help support ideas as they come forward? How do you facilitate communication?"

As Nelson Darling pointed out, Wellesley "moved with the times."

Commencement procession in 1950

Mildred McAfee Horton
and Marie Rahr Haffenreffer

Margaret Clapp and
Dr. Palfrey Perkins

CAROLINE HAZARD (1899-1910)
Portrait by Cecilia Beaux
Gift of the Class of 1903

ELLEN FITZ PENDLETON (1911-1936)
Portrait by Ellen Emmett
Gift of Shakespeare Society

MILDRED MCAFEE HORTON (1936-1949)
Portrait by Gardner Cox
Gift of the Trustees

MARGARET CLAPP (1949-1966)
Portrait by William Draper
Gift of the Class of 1930

Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Horton posed happily on the steps of the President's House.

RUTH M. ADAMS (1966-1972)
Portrait by George Augusta
Gift of the Trustees

Presidents Horton, Clapp, and Adams in the Wellesley College Club in 1966.

President Barbara Warne Newell receiving the symbolic keys of the College from Nelson A. Darling, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

The Selection Committee composed of trustees, faculty, and students which nominated Mrs. Newell as Wellesley's tenth president.

ELLA KEATS WHITING

The Faculty

The Faculty of Wellesley College could be the subject of an entire book rather than a chapter. The selection that is required to tell this story in a single chapter inevitably will result in the omission of many persons and events important in the history of the College. The story is one of growth, of many changes, and yet of continuity—a continuity provided by the overlapping of generations of teachers in their service to the College, and also by the fact that the function of the College has remained constant throughout its history, though the ways of performing that function have changed with changing times. That it was originally and still is a college of the liberal arts devoted chiefly to the education of women undergraduates, most of them living on the campus, has influenced the selection of the faculty and the nature of their work.

When Mr. Durant assembled his first faculty there were not many women who were prepared for college teaching; nevertheless, he decided that the faculty should be composed of women. At Vassar College, which had opened a decade earlier, although there were more women teachers than men on the faculty, most of the professors were men. It is interesting to note that the editor of *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* in February 1864 called attention with disapproval to the preponderance of men in the professorships of Vassar College. In the June 1876 issue of the same magazine there is an account of the opening of Wellesley College which contains this statement: "This is a women's college. President, professors, and students are all women." There is no comment; apparently none was necessary. Surely it was a noteworthy achievement on Mr. Durant's part to be able to appoint in the year 1875 a group of women of unusual gifts and abilities.

The first president, Ada Howard, had taught at Western College in Oxford, Ohio, but only one of the original group of professors had had

previous experience in college teaching. That was Frances E. Lord, Professor of Latin, who had taught for seven years at Vassar College. Although several members of this first faculty were college graduates, this was not a requirement. For example, Mary Elizabeth Horton, Professor of Greek from 1875 to 1887, had not attended any college. At the time of her death in 1918 President Pendleton said, "Miss Horton had the nature of the true scholar,—precision, enthusiasm, a keen and original mind, and power of intense application." There were other members of the earliest faculty who, although largely self-trained, were true scholars.

It was to be many years before the Ph.D. degree became the normal preparation for college teaching in the United States. Alice Freeman, who came to Wellesley in 1879 as Professor of History and was made President in 1881, had done graduate work at the University of Michigan. Although she did not complete her thesis, in 1882 the University conferred upon her the Ph.D. degree. The next members of the faculty to hold Ph.D.'s were Thomas B. Lindsay, who was appointed Instructor of Sanskrit in 1886, and Helen W. Webster, who in 1890 joined the faculty as Professor of Comparative Philology. During the first century the proportion of the faculty holding the Ph.D. has increased steadily until today when almost all members of the faculty have earned that degree.

We also find that specialization has gradually increased. Sarah Frances Whiting of the original faculty taught both physics and astronomy for many years. It was in her classes that Annie Jump Cannon '84, who became one of the foremost astronomers of her day, first studied astronomy. Elizabeth Kendall, who joined the faculty in 1879, was first instructor in French, then in German, then in history and political science, and finally Professor of History. Katharine Coman, a friend of Jane Addams, who initiated the study of economics at Wellesley, began in 1880 as an instructor in rhetoric, then having served as Professor of History for some time, she retired in 1913 as Professor of Political and Social Science. It is surprising to the scholar of today to learn that Mary Whiton Calkins, the distinguished philosopher and psychologist, began her teaching at Wellesley in 1887 as a tutor in Greek. People who joined the faculty in later years usually were trained in their graduate work in a single discipline and did their teaching in that discipline. Now, with changes that have brought some fields of knowledge that were once separate into closer relationships, the College is interested in making some interdisciplinary appointments.

The first faculty chosen by Mr. Durant consisted of seven professors, who were heads of departments, and eleven teachers of academic subjects, who were not given the rank of professor. In addition there were a number of administrative officers and teachers of non-academic subjects. All of them were women except Charles H. Morse, Professor of Music.

They all were members of evangelical churches, and all except Mr. Morse lived in College Hall. To college teachers of today this may seem to be a narrow community, perhaps even a dull one, but they should remember the excitement and interest for this group of being called upon to build a new college for women.

Indeed, in the first quarter century many new paths had to be opened. It was in introducing the laboratory method in the sciences and in art that Wellesley was in advance of many colleges which had been established earlier. Susan M. Hallowell, who was appointed Professor of Natural History in 1875, spent her first year visiting universities in the United States and in Europe before returning to Wellesley to open a laboratory. Then in 1876 Mr. Durant appointed Sarah F. Whiting as Professor of Physics and gave her two years to study the instruction in physics at several universities to prepare herself to establish a department here. In 1878 she opened in College Hall the second student laboratory in the United States for experimentation in physics. The only one to precede it was at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Then in 1891 Mary Whiton Calkins established one of the earliest psychological laboratories in the United States and the first in a college for women. Next in 1897 came Alice Van Vechten Brown, who accepted appointment as Professor of Art only when the trustees agreed that work in the studio—drawing, painting, and modeling—could be given in connection with courses in art history. The purpose of this work was to enable students through their own experience in the laboratory to understand better the works of art which they were studying. So began what later came to be known among teachers of the history of art as "The Wellesley Method." These are some of the innovations that show the forward thrust of Mr. Durant's plans and the ability and resourcefulness of the early faculty in realizing them.

The steady growth of the student body during the first quarter century was a product of the times, but surely also the excellent quality of the faculty and their good teaching contributed significantly to this growth. We see fruits of their work in several graduates of the early years who were to become professors in the College. Annie Sybil Montague, who graduated with the first class in 1879, was a gifted teacher of Greek until her death in 1914. In the Class of 1880 there were two women who were to have an important influence upon the young college. Charlotte Fitch Roberts, a chemist who earned her Ph.D. at Yale in 1894, the first year in which Yale granted this degree to women, taught at Wellesley from 1880 to 1917, except for some interruptions for study here and abroad. Her book, *Development and Present Aspects of Stereochemistry,* which was published in 1896, was one of the earliest books on that subject in the English language. Katharine Lee Bates of the same class, author of

"America the Beautiful," poet and teacher, gave a lifetime of work from 1885 to 1925 to Wellesley College where, with the help of colleagues, she built in her day a distinguished Department of English Literature. Although known primarily as a poet, she also engaged in scholarly work, writing numerous articles, editing several English classics, and publishing a valuable study, *The English Religious Drama* (1893). They were followed by Eleanor Gamble '89, who received her Ph.D. at Cornell in 1898. She too spent many years at Wellesley as a beloved teacher and scholar, becoming well known for her research in sensory psychology. Martha Hale Shackford '96, Ph.D. Yale 1901, a stimulating colleague and teacher, brought strength to the Department of English Literature during her long years of service. She published many scholarly articles which were pointed directly toward the enrichment of the courses she was teaching. An alumna who graduated fifty years ago said recently, "I think I learned from Miss Shackford what it means to be a scholar." These five women were taught by the faculty of Wellesley's first two decades and I think a faculty of any college in any period would be proud to number them among its graduates.

I have spoken of the continuity provided by the overlapping in time of the terms of service of members of the faculty. It was not until 1916 that the College lost by retirement the last of the professors who had been appointed by Mr. Durant: Ellen Hayes, Professor of Mathematics, and Sarah F. Whiting, Professor of Physics and later of Astronomy. Perhaps the most striking example of continuity is found in the Department of Physics where Miss Whiting was the teacher of Louise McDowell '98, who served the College as teacher, chairman of her department, and scholar from 1909 to 1945. She, in turn, was the teacher of Janet *Brown* Guernsey '35, now the Louise McDowell Professor of Physics. I think it is worth noting that the work at Wellesley of these three able women spans the first century of the life of the College.

Continuity has been preserved and tradition strengthened by the presence in the administration as well as in the faculty of many graduates of the College. Wellesley has given to itself two great presidents (and I have chosen the adjective with sober care): Ellen Fitz Pendleton '86 and Margaret Clapp '30. For thirty-three years, from 1919 to 1952, the office of Dean of Residence was filled by alumnae who set high standards for the life of students on the campus: Edith Tufts '84; Mary *Cross* Ewing '98; and Ruth H. Lindsay '15, who was also Associate Professor of Botany. Also three academic deans, longtime members of the faculty, were alumnae. Each one used her strength and wisdom for the benefit of the College. Lucy Wilson '09, Professor of Physics, was Dean of Students from 1939 to 1954; Teresa G. Frisch, M.A. '42, Professor of Art, was Dean of Students from 1954 to 1966; and Virginia Onderdonk '29, Professor of

Philosophy, was Dean of the College from 1963 to 1968.

Ever since that first group, which I have described earlier, joined the faculty in the 1880s many graduates of the College have been members of the teaching staff. In the 1930s over twenty percent of the faculty were alumnae, nearly all of them having earned higher degrees in other colleges or universities. Now in the 1970s only about ten percent are graduates of Wellesley. Many of these alumnae have been strong and influential teachers and some have been distinguished scholars receiving wide recognition for their books and articles of lasting value.

Every year the President's Report names professors who are retiring and mentions the length of service at Wellesley for each one. A good many retire having been here for twenty-five to thirty years, but it is impressive to find some who were members of this faculty for over forty years. Some of these I have known and I can testify to their vitality as teachers and scholars throughout their long tenure. Such people help to preserve the best traditions of the College and to provide stability as well as continuity.

But this theme should not be stressed too much because the faculty has been enriched by having here for short periods some exceptional young people who have gone on to important careers elsewhere. Mary E. Woolley, who became President of Mount Holyoke College in 1901, taught for the preceding five years in the Department of Biblical History. It is interesting that a member of the Class of 1901 returning to Wellesley for her seventieth reunion vividly recalled Miss Woolley's interest in the students living in College Hall and her hospitality in inviting small groups to tea in her room. I think of two gifted young men who were here in the 1920s: Alfred H. Barr, Instructor in Art, who later became Director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and Randall Thompson of the Department of Music, who in later years achieved distinction as a composer. An alumna who sang in the choir when he was the conductor still remembers that sometimes he would bring his own new compositions for them to sing and that "it was a very exciting experience." In the early 1940s Julia Henderson, who initiated our Washington internship program, was a lively teacher in the Department of Political Science. She later held the highest post occupied in her period of service by a woman in the Secretariat of the United Nations. Also in the 1940s Paul L. Lehmann, a distinguished theologian, spent five years at Wellesley where colleagues and students were stimulated by his probing mind. After leaving Wellesley he became a professor at the Harvard Divinity School and later at Union Theological Seminary. The search for able young people such as these to fill vacancies has been a constant preoccupation of the presidents and of the senior faculty. Through these appointments the faculty is renewed and refreshed as the new instructors come with the most recent

training in the graduate schools of the great universities. Whether they remain at Wellesley or stay here for only a short time, many in their early years of teaching make valuable contributions to the experience of students and colleagues.

During Wellesley's first century the composition of the faculty has changed drastically. We know that it was Mr. Durant's policy to appoint women and that apparently he appointed men only when he could not find qualified women. I have already mentioned Charles H. Morse, Professor of Music, in the original faculty. He was unusually well prepared for college teaching, having studied at Boston University where in 1876 he received probably the first Bachelor of Music degree to be given in the United States. In 1884 he left Wellesley, and in 1901 became the first Professor of Music at Dartmouth College. Most of the men appointed in the early years were here only for short terms. In 1882, however, William H. Niles came to take charge of geology, sharing his time with Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1895, twenty years after the opening, there were still only two male professors: Mr. Niles, and Junius Hill, who had succeeded Mr. Morse as Professor of Music; and there were four men listed as instructors. During the first century the number of men on the faculty has increased steadily from fifteen percent of the faculty in 1925, to twenty-five percent in 1950, and to about forty-five percent now as the Centennial approaches. There is no indication in the reports of the various presidents that it was a matter of deliberate policy of the College to increase the number of men, although sometimes in some departments this has been the case. We do know that in certain periods it has been difficult to find qualified women because of a decline between 1930 and the 1960s in the number of women in relation to the number of men who prepared themselves for college teaching by earning the Ph.D. degree. The Commission on the Future of the College, which was established by President Adams, reported to the Trustees in March 1971. The report called attention to the fact that Wellesley has a higher percentage of women on the faculty than any of our sister colleges, indeed "probably the highest percentage of any secular college in the country." Because opportunities for women are still limited in most colleges and universities, the Commission recommended that in future years at least half of the faculty should be women. Also President Newell, in discussing plans for the future of the College, has said that the present strong representation of women on the faculty should be maintained.

Another change in the composition of the faculty has been a marked increase, especially in the last twenty years, in the number of married women. To make it easier for married women to serve on the faculty the Commission recommended the establishment of a day care center for children on the campus. In 1973 a fortunate arrangement was made. The

Wellesley Community Child Care Center, Inc. leased facilities at the College. This center serves the children of working mothers in the town and also at the College.

Mr. Durant's religious beliefs have been described in an earlier chapter of this book. We find an expression of these beliefs in the earliest bylaws of which the College has a record, those of 1885, where it is stated that every trustee, teacher, and officer "shall be a member of an Evangelical Church." Because this requirement for the selection of the faculty was not included in the act of incorporation of the College, the Trustees have been free to amend the bylaws. The published records show that this has been done at least three times. In 1898 when the bylaws were next published a change, which had, however, taken place earlier, was included. The requirement of membership in an Evangelical Church was removed, but every teacher was to be "of decided Christian character and influence, and in manifest sympathy with the religious spirit and aim with which the College was founded." In 1954 the statement was revised to read: "The members of the faculty shall be selected with a view to maintaining the Christian purpose of the College." The latest version of the bylaws (1967) simply states that "members of the faculty shall be selected with a view to maintaining the highest ideals of education." The reasons for these changes, although too complex to describe here, stem from changes in the larger society of which Wellesley is a part. As one result the present faculty is far more diversified in ethnic and religious background than the earlier faculty which, except for the European teachers of foreign languages, was composed chiefly of Anglo-Saxon Protestants. It should be remembered, however, that that faculty was also a strong one and suited to its period.

The Europeans on the faculty have brought welcome variety in educational background and in point of view. Carla Wenckebach, who came in 1884, an unusually forceful teacher, built a strong department of German. At the same time Rosalie Seé came from Vassar to take charge of French and she, also, was highly successful. At first instruction in Italian and Spanish was given by part-time teachers, but later these also became full-fledged departments. A signal honor came to the Italian Department when Gabriella Bosano, Professor of Italian from 1930 to 1952, was invited to establish the Italian summer school at Middlebury College. She served as its director for seven years. I wish there were space in this chapter to pay tribute to some of the other vivid personalities and splendid teachers from these four countries. Most of the foreigners on the faculty have been Europeans because of the emphasis in the curriculum on the languages and literatures of Europe. With changes in the curriculum in future years probably there will be more Asians and Africans than now, and thus the faculty will be still more diversified in its composition.

Because of the revolutions occurring in Europe in the twentieth century, several interesting people who left their countries for political reasons joined our faculty. Among them were three distinguished authors of international reputation. Vladimir Nabokov, novelist, came first in 1941 for a year as a visiting lecturer in Comparative Literature and returned in 1944 to be our first teacher of Russian. Friends here still remember his wit and his brilliant use of our language. From the Spanish Revolution in 1936 came the distinguished poet and critic, Pedro Salinas, and in 1940 he was succeeded by another famous Spanish poet, Jorge Guillén, who remained as professor in the department until 1958. From Germany in the Hitler period Hedwig Kohn came to the Department of Physics where she spent ten busy years from 1942 to 1952 as teacher and active research worker. After her retirement from Wellesley she was appointed Research Associate in Physics at Duke University. Of course, Wellesley was not alone in having its faculty enriched by the exodus from Europe of many courageous intellectuals who were seeking escape from totalitarian regimes.

We know that the College began as a tightly knit community with faculty, administrative officers, and students all living in College Hall. As other dormitories were built there were always some resident faculty in each one. In 1900 President Hazard reported that there were sixty-one members of the faculty living in dormitories and that this number, in addition to heads of house and officers of administration, occupied too large a proportion of the available rooms. Upon her recommendation the Trustees increased the salaries of the faculty by $300 and gave them the option of living outside or of remaining in college rooms and paying $300 for the privilege. With this choice available twenty-seven people moved out, but thirty-nine chose to stay. Since then there has been a slow but steady exodus. However, in the 1920s and 1930s a good many senior professors and others still lived in the dormitories, some becoming friends with students through the practice of having faculty tables at dinner and also because of living as neighbors in the corridors. There is a loss for students in the absence of some of the learned people who happily made their homes in the dormitories. I think of Sophie C. Hart, who joined the faculty in 1892, and in her forty-five years here developed a large Department of English Composition. In her rooms in Tower Court, which were decorated with treasures from the Orient, she entertained many foreign students, especially students from Japan. Elizabeth W. Manwaring '02 of the same department lived in a suite in Stone Hall until her retirement in 1947. There she had her valuable library of first editions of the English poets, including many autographed copies of the works of contemporary poets who were her friends. I think also of Elizabeth Donnan, Professor of Economics, who lived in the dormitories

throughout her years at Wellesley from 1920 to 1949. She was an active scholar who was recognized especially for her edition of *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America* (four volumes 1931-1935). She found time to read aloud regularly with small groups of students in her rooms.

As the faculty left the campus those who could afford it either built or bought houses in the village. Then in 1922 the Hallowell apartments were ready for occupancy and in 1923 Horton House opened, a faculty club with a dining room and with suites upstairs. Later a second apartment house was built, Shepard House. These facilities, just opposite the East Lodge, were near the campus and those who lived there could easily participate in events at the College, and some had their seminars meet in their apartments. As the number of married people on the faculty increased more houses for families were needed. President Horton and President Clapp both thought it important to provide living quarters near the College, and during their administrations the housing available to the faculty on the campus and in the town was increased substantially. President Clapp also built the Wellesley College Club for faculty and alumnae, a delightful meeting place for members of the College.

In the first half century there seems to have been on the part of the faculty an unusually strong sense of the College as one community. Perhaps there is no better illustration of "one community" than the legend, based I feel sure on fact, that Miss Calkins, who lived always with her family in Newton, in the formal fashion of the period called on new members of the faculty in all departments, not just in her own. A larger college and changing times have inevitably brought some diminution in this sense of community. President Horton in her last report spoke of "vastly more pull of faculty and students off campus" and commented upon the increasing identification of members of the faculty with projects outside the College. There is in this both gain and loss. Although the College should not be isolated from the town and the city, a valuable part of the experience of undergraduates lies in friendships with some of their teachers who live nearby and have time for them. I think especially of the Sunday "at homes" of Elizabeth Hodder, Professor of History from 1905 to 1942, where both faculty and students found a cordial welcome and good talk. Seal Thompson, an influential member of the Society of Friends, was Professor of Biblical History from 1916 to 1941. An inspiring teacher, she was a true friend and adviser to many students, always ready to receive them in her office and in her apartment in Hallowell House. For many years, 1924 to 1952, Thomas H. Procter, Professor of Philosophy, and Mrs. Procter kept open house on Sunday evenings where there was music and lively conversation. It is interesting to recall that Mr. Procter was affectionately called "Mr. Plato" by his students. Later Henry Schwarz, Professor of History from 1942 to 1970, whose polished

lectures in Central European History were appreciated by his students, with his Austrian wife entertained many students delightfully at their house on Cottage Street.

Although "at homes" and formal "calls" are no longer the fashion, in the present day many members of the faculty entertain students informally in their homes and others use the Wellesley College Club and the Schneider Center to entertain groups of students. Also, the opportunities for students to invite their teachers to the dormitories have been expanded. Formerly one night a week was set aside for this purpose but now students may invite their teachers for either lunch or dinner on any day. Thus Wellesley continues to be a college where teachers know their students outside of their classrooms and where friendships can develop. However, for the faculty this has become more difficult as their involvement in responsibilities outside the College has increased.

From the beginning the heads of departments shared with the President certain responsibilities for the governance of the College, but soon a more formal organization or the whole faculty was developed. The statutes, which were published in 1885, show that by that date there were two faculty bodies. The Academic Council, which consisted of the President and professors and associate professors, had charge of the academic administration and the discipline of the College. A larger body, called "The Faculty," included, in addition to members of Academic Council, instructors and resident officers. This body decided questions relating to the personal life and conduct of the students and the social and religious life of the College. In 1910 "The Faculty" as a separate body was given up and the Academic Council became a single governing body consisting of the President, professors and associate professors, "and such other officers of instruction and administration as may be given this responsibility by vote of the trustees."

When I first joined the faculty in 1928 all instructors were non-voting members of the Council and the debate in the meetings was conducted almost exclusively by senior professors. Although largely silent, the younger members enjoyed the sparring between Myrtilla Avery and Sophie Hart, who seemed to take opposite sides on every question. Julia Orvis was there to prick any platitude with her ironic wit; Louise McDowell to bring order out of confusion; Alfred Sheffield to set us straight on parliamentary law. Mary Lowell Coolidge was Dean of the College from 1931 to 1938 and continued as Professor of Philosophy until her retirement in 1957. During all these years her voice in Council was one of reason and common sense, and many a debate was shortened because of the solutions to problems which she proposed objectively and fairly.

Over the years junior members of the Academic Council have become more courageous about speaking and the voting membership has been

enlarged. When President Horton returned to the College after her service as Captain of the WAVES in the Second World War, she thought that the younger members of the faculty should be given more responsibility. In 1946 the Council voted that all assistant professors and full-time academic instructors in their second year at the College should become voting members. In 1969 a radical change was adopted which extended the vote to members of the faculty on full-time appointment in their first year at Wellesley. Thus the power of the vote was given to people who do not yet know the College well and who may be here for only one year. Also, the trend throughout the country for students to participate in governing their colleges has resulted in the admission of twenty students as non-voting members of the Council. Although they may not vote, they have the privilege of speaking. It is too soon to judge whether or not the presence of students in faculty meetings and on faculty committees in our American colleges will be beneficial. The experiment is, nevertheless, worth making and the results will be watched with interest.

Committees have always been with us. President Shafer in 1893 referred to ten standing committees of the faculty and said "there is no escape from burdening teachers with administrative cares." Although most of the committees were elected by the Academic Council, it is interesting to note that for many years certain important matters were firmly held in the President's hands. In 1900 the President first appointed a Committee on Curriculum and Instruction to serve with her in deciding what courses should be given. Apparently before that time these decisions were made by the President in consultation with the head of each department. Ten years later this became an elected committee with the Dean serving as its chairman. In 1930 for the first time there was a Committee on Reappointments, Promotions, and Dismissals, elected by the Council to advise the President in these important matters. The President was always chairman of this committee until a reorganization of committees in 1968-69 gave the chairmanship to a faculty member while the President continued as an *ex officio* member. Realization of the need for continuity in the chairmanship of this important committee has brought another change. Since 1973-74 the Dean of the College has served as chairman. This committee is no longer advisory to the President but acts with power in voting on recommendations to be made by the President to the Board of Trustees. However, final authority now, as in the past, rests with the Trustees.

Wellesley has not been immune to the tendency of human organizations to become more and more complex as time passes. The ten standing committees of President Shafer's day have increased to twenty-five, and in addition faculty representatives now serve on six committees of the Board of Trustees. Active members of the faculty do not serve on the

Board, but in 1923 the trustees granted to the Academic Council the privilege of nominating one member of the Board of Trustees with the stipulation that the nominee should not be a present member of the faculty. The nominees of the Council have always been scholars with experience in college teaching and all except two have been former members of the Wellesley faculty.

In 1917 a change in the organization of the academic departments took place. Previously there had been a "Head of Department" appointed to that office by the President. Henceforth, department members of Council rank would elect their own chairman for a stated term.

The changes which I have been describing, the widening membership of the Academic Council, the relinquishing by the President of certain powers, service by the faculty on committees of the Trustees, have made the government of the College more democratic. But these changes also have increased the responsibilities of the faculty and the time that they must give to work on committees.

We know that in the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth everywhere in the United States teachers were poorly paid for their work. This was also true at Wellesley and we find that as late as 1920 an instructor began at $1,400 and a full professor retired having attained a salary of $3,500. This was a low scale of payment when compared with the earnings of members of other learned professions at that time. An emeritus professor, who taught during the lean years, said to me recently, "I never felt poor." I think this is worth remembering. In the days of good train service between Wellesley and Boston, automobiles were not necessary and only a few members of the faculty owned them. Television sets and other appliances which are now in every house did not exist. These teachers with their modest salaries were able to buy books, to travel, to live a good life.

Each of the Presidents has tried to improve the economic position of the faculty. After the Second World War President Horton was able to announce a new salary scale to take effect in 1946 whereby the minimum for an instructor was $2,200 and the minimum for a full professor was $5,000. Twenty years later at the end of President Clapp's administration in her last Report to the Trustees she gave the average compensation for each rank. For an instructor it was $7,942 and for a full professor $16,404. And the upward movement has continued in President Adams's and President Newell's administrations. For the year 1973-74 the estimated average compensation including all benefits was $12,615 for an instructor and $26,979 for a full professor. Of course, inflation has been an important factor so that the change in the buying power of the dollar has made these increases less spectacular than the figures would seem to indicate. Nevertheless, there has been real improvement over the years.

Not only were salaries low in the early years, but, also, no provision was made for retirement. We find in President Hazard's report in 1908 that Professor Niles of the Geology Department retired with a pension from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, being the first person at Wellesley who was eligible on grounds of years of service and of age. He was followed by others who qualified to receive Carnegie pensions. It was not until 1927 that the College had its own pension plan, a contributory one for pensions and insurance for the faculty. In 1937 this was replaced by a new plan which involved the purchase of annuities in the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. Over the years the percentage of salary contributed by the College and by individual members of the faculty has increased to provide better annuities upon retirement. Other benefits have been added to include an improved sick leave policy and better life insurance. Thus we see that through the efforts of our Presidents, working in cooperation with the Trustees, and through the great generosity of the alumnae and others who have given so much to salary advancement funds, there has been steady improvement in the economic position of the faculty.

The long years of service of many members of the faculty in the early decades suggests that there was "tenure" for certain members of the faculty in practice although not in legislation. In 1923 the Academic Council voted that "the reappointment of a professor or associate professor for a second term should be construed as establishing in general a reasonable expectation of permanency." In 1942, in President Horton's administration, a Faculty Appointment and Tenure Policy was adopted by the Academic Council and approved by the Board of Trustees. In this new policy tenure could be acquired not only upon reappointment as professor or associate professor, but also upon "reappointment to any professorial rank after at least six years of service as assistant professor." As a result of this change the fitness of members of the faculty for permanent appointment could be decided earlier in their careers when a negative decision was less damaging than if it were made after service as an associate professor. This has led to more careful evaluation of each person's achievement and potential before the acquisition of tenure. In 1973 the legislation concerning tenure was revised to include in the probationary period an individual's years of teaching at other colleges before coming to Wellesley. This provision is in accord with policies recommended by the American Association of University Professors. It should be noted that the decision to grant tenure has to depend not only upon the qualifications of an individual but also upon the availability of openings in his department.

In the United States the concept of tenure was developed to assure freedom in their teaching to college faculties and also to protect them from

dismissal when, as private citizens, they became involved in political or social activities of which the trustees of a college or university disapproved. At Wellesley throughout its history the faculty has been remarkably free from interference by the administration or the Trustees. There have been radicals such as Vida Scudder, Professor of English Literature, and Ellen Hayes, Professor of Mathematics; both were members of the Socialist Party and both actively supported the strike of the mill workers in Lawrence in 1912. In Miss Scudder's autobiography, *On Journey* (1937), she tells of the "deluge" of letters received by the Trustees at this time objecting to her conduct and her presence on the faculty. Fortunately the Trustees did not ask for the resignation of this gifted woman whose teaching at Wellesley had begun in 1888 and continued until 1928. The titles of two of her books illustrate abiding interests of her life, for she was always a social reformer and a deeply convinced Christian: *Social Ideals in English Letters* (1898) and *The Franciscan Adventure* (1931).

I find only one instance in which a teacher may have been dismissed for her radicalism and even that case is not clear. Emily G. Balch began her teaching in the Department of Economics in 1896. She was an authority on questions of immigration and author of *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (1910). An ardent pacifist, in 1915 she went with Jane Addams and other American women to the International Congress of Women at the Hague, and in 1916 she was in Stockholm as a member of Henry Ford's Neutral Conference on Continuous Mediation. After two leaves of absence extending from 1916 to 1918, one of her terms as a professor expired in 1918. At this time the question of her reappointment came before the Trustees who, after long deliberations which extended until April 1919, decided not to reappoint her. It was a close vote and President Pendleton was one who voted in favor of reappointment. In the absence of detailed minutes we do not know whether this action was taken because of Miss Balch's activity as a pacifist when the United States was engaged in the First World War, or because of her long absences from the College to attend to her outside interests. After leaving Wellesley she continued to work for peace, chiefly through the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and was honored in 1946 when she received the Nobel Peace Prize, having been recommended for this honor by President Horton.

It is interesting to note that Henry Raymond Mussey, Professor of Economics from 1922 to 1940, except for a brief absence to serve as editor of *The Nation,* had previously resigned from Columbia University in protest against limitations on academic freedom there at that time. We also know that in the McCarthy era, when Congress was investigating subversive influences in New England colleges, Wellesley stood by its faculty. Louise Pettibone Smith, Professor of Biblical History, was called

before the Jenner Committee because she was chairman of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which was on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. When Miss Smith testified that she had never joined any organization which she considered to be subversive her case was dismissed. Throughout this period President Clapp and the Trustees gave the faculty wise advice and moral support.

The qualifications for promotion have remained fairly constant throughout the years. President Irvine in her Report in 1897 mentioned the promotion of Sophie Jewett to the rank of Associate Professor of English Literature and described it as "a promotion due the teacher, the writer, and the woman." Miss Jewett was the author of a beautiful translation into modern English poetry of the long medieval poem, *The Pearl* (1908). I have quoted President Irvine's statement because it says so much in such a simple and direct way. Because Wellesley is primarily a college for undergraduates, greater emphasis has been placed on teaching ability than on research and publication, although the latter have not been neglected. And the character and personality of the candidate have always been considered important. In 1939 the legislation of the College stated that "qualifications for promotion include enrichment of equipment, teaching power, and personality." In 1946 the qualifications for promotion to the rank of full professor were stated as follows: "It is the policy of the College to expect recommendations of any candidate for the rank of professor to be supported by unusually strong evidence of teaching power and intellectual distinction." Now in the 1970s, although there are slight modifications of phrasing, the standards are the same.

There has, however, been a marked change in the rate of promotion. Whereas formerly it was not unusual for a member of the faculty to serve several years as an instructor and then nine years as an assistant professor and another nine years as an associate professor before becoming a full professor, later it became normal to receive promotion after six years in each of the lower professorial ranks. Also, formerly a young teacher with the Ph.D. degree began service in the rank of instructor whereas now the initial appointment of a person with that degree is at the rank of assistant professor. Of course, this more rapid promotion makes a career at Wellesley more attractive to able young people.

In President Clapp's Report to the Trustees after her first year in the office of President she made an important statement about the faculty: "Wellesley is fortunate in its present faculty. Wellesley has a number of nationally known scholars, a number of brilliant teachers, and a splendid faculty record for effective devotion to the needs and interests of students considered individually. We must maintain that by assisting as much as the budget permits the scholarly careers of our most promising young teachers whom we hope to keep with us; by holding tenure standards so

high that each present permanent member of the faculty can take pride in being colleague to the newcomer; and by so shaping our budget and our attitudes that the higher professorial ranks are considered unusually desirable positions. All of this is easier to say than to do, but it is worth our every endeavor." President Clapp did give her "every endeavor" to achieve the goals described here, and by her leadership she encouraged the senior faculty to cooperate with her by recommending for tenure only those most worthy of it.

In the first quarter century leaves of absence for research and writing were granted occasionally to certain individuals. Then in 1902 a regular policy was established when the Trustees voted that each full professor should be eligible for a sabbatical year on half salary. In 1929 the Trustees extended this privilege to associate and assistant professors and they gave more flexibility by allowing an absence either for a semester with full salary or for a year with half salary. The availability of a semester's leave without any reduction of salary was helpful especially for people with family responsibilities. In President Adams's administration very generous financial arrangements were made for people on sabbatical leave. The College would now guarantee a minimum stipend of $10,000 for a year's leave. But for a person with an especially important research project, who had sought grants from outside sources, the College would supplement such grants to make the stipend equivalent to his full salary if he were teaching.

To carry out her objective of assisting the scholarly careers of our most promising young teachers, President Clapp, with the support of the Trustees, initiated in 1959 a program of leaves of absence for some junior members of the faculty. This was, I believe, the first such program in the country. It helped to make Wellesley attractive to some of the most gifted young scholars by giving them an opportunity to pursue their research intensively without having to wait until they became eligible for sabbatical leaves of absence.

Members of the faculty have used their sabbaticals in a variety of ways. Some have gone to distant lands in pursuit of knowledge. In 1902 Katharine Coman of the Department of Economics went to Alaska and to the Hawaiian Islands to make a study of the economic conditions in these territories. Two years later Elizabeth Kendall, Professor of History, went to India to study the colonial system there. And in 1911 she made her first great journey through central China, travelling alone with her Irish terrier and one Chinese servant. Finally, she crossed the Gobi Desert by cart and at Irkutsk took the Trans-Siberian Railway back to Europe. This bold journey and her record of it led to her election as a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain. Before the days of travel by air these were very long journeys indeed.

Much later Louise Overacker, Professor of Political Science, who taught at Wellesley from 1925 to 1957, having won recognition for her publications in the field of primaries, and also of money and elections, decided to study the government of Australia. After she spent two leaves there her important book, *The Australian Party System,* was published in 1952, and in 1968 a second book, *Australian Parties in a Changing Society.* Miss Overacker's distinguished work has been recognized by her election to offices in the American Political Science Association, and in 1957 she was made a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Harriet Creighton '29, who taught in the Department of Botany from 1940 to 1974, served twice as a Fulbright lecturer: first at Perth, Australia, and later at the National University in Cuzco, Peru. In 1956 she was honored by her election as President of the Botanical Society of America. Bartlett Stoodley, a member of the Department of Sociology from 1947 to 1973, spent two leaves in the Orient. During the first one he was a Fulbright Lecturer at the University of the Philippines where he conducted research on the family and community systems of that country. A second leave was spent teaching at Chung Chi College near Hong Kong and there he made a study of the Chinese student population in that city. Leaves of this kind, spent in countries which are not often visited by most of us, bring to the campus firsthand observations which can be very useful. However, they should not be overemphasized, for the more usual sabbatical year spent in a library or laboratory of a university here at home can, of course, be very profitable for the person on leave and for his colleagues and students when he returns.

Although throughout the history of the College strong emphasis has been placed on good teaching, there has always been recognition of the importance of the research activities of the faculty. In President Shafer's Report for the year 1887-88 we learn that Ellen Hayes, Associate Professor of Mathematics, had spent a leave of absence at the observatory of the University of Virginia and while there she had "determined a definitive orbit of the newly discovered Minor Planet 267." In later Reports of the Presidents we find appreciative references to books written by members of the faculty: "Professor Scudder's scholarly edition of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* has been a welcome event of the year." And in another report: "Miss Calkins' recently published *Introduction to Psychology* reflects honor on the College." Then for the first time the President's Report for 1905-06 contained an appendix giving a complete list of publications of the faculty for that year, and thereafter it became a regular practice to include this list in each President's Report. In 1926, when the College was entering upon its second half-century, six books were published by members of the faculty, each one from a distinguished press, and in that same year numerous articles were also listed. In 1966

President Clapp reported that in the previous two years seventy-nine members of the faculty had published fifteen books and over one hundred and fifty scholarly articles, had edited or translated another seven books and five musical scores, and had written many reviews. Certainly this record gives evidence of a great deal of interest in research and writing in the 1960s.

During the first twenty-five years members of the faculty seem to have supported their own research. It was not until 1902, as I have mentioned earlier, that a policy of granting sabbatical leaves was established. In later years the College not only appropriated funds to aid research in a variety of ways, but it also provided subsidies for the publication of scholarly books written by members of the faculty. In recent decades there has been a marked increase in financial support for research from sources outside the College, from the government and from private foundations. Many members of the faculty have taken advantage of these opportunities, some receiving Guggenheim Fellowships and others Fulbright Fellowships, and there have been many grants to aid research from such government agencies as the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Figures for the years 1966 through 1972 show that during this period research awards from outside the College amounted to more than a million dollars.

It is apparent that in spite of their busy lives as teachers, many members of the faculty have been productive scholars and some have been well known outside the College. The laboratories established originally for use in teaching the experimental methods of science have served as centers for research by members of the faculty—and indeed because of the active research of the faculty many students have been inspired to become scholars themselves. There is space here to name only those scientists whose research resulting in the publication of many articles over a period of many years has been widely recognized outside the College.

In the physical sciences two alumnae have been very active in research. In the Department of Chemistry Helen S. French, after graduating from Wellesley in 1907, studied in Germany and in Switzerland, receiving her Ph.D. at Zurich in 1913. From that time until her retirement in 1950 she published regularly the results of her studies of the structure of organic compounds in American chemical journals and sometimes in the proceedings of the Royal Society in London. Another alumna whose articles appeared in leading journals over a span of three decades was Louise S. McDowell '98, who after earning her Ph.D. at Cornell taught in the Department of Physics from 1909 until 1945. She was an authority in the field of power loss in dialectrics. Twice she was affiliated with the Radio Station of the Bureau of Standards where her appointment in 1918-1919

gave her the highest rank of any woman physicist in the Federal Civil Service.

In the biological sciences the best known scholar in botany was Margaret C. Ferguson, who taught at Wellesley from 1901 to 1932. Her monograph, *Life History of Pinus* (1904), was considered authoritative both in Europe and in the United States. For many years in the Wellesley laboratory she conducted experiments in the field of genetics, studying especially the inheritance of color in petunias. In 1928 she was elected president of the Botanical Society of America. Two early members of the Department of Zoology unfortunately lost their research materials in the College Hall fire. At a later period the laboratory once again became an active center of research with the work of an alumna, Mary Austin '20, who taught in the department from 1928 to 1961. With grants from the National Institutes of Health she conducted research in protozoan genetics and after retirement continued as a Research Scholar at Indiana University. From 1934 when E. Elizabeth Jones joined the faculty until her retirement in 1964 she was one of Wellesley's most productive research scientists. Her work on mammary tumors in mice received substantial support for many years from the National Cancer Institute. Twice she received fellowships to work at the National Cancer Institute in Maryland and twice she presented papers at International Scientific Congresses in Europe.

Mary Whiton Calkins, who has been mentioned earlier in this chapter as the founder of the psychological laboratory at Wellesley, taught here from 1887 to 1929. She was an outstanding scholar who achieved distinction both as a psychologist and as a philosopher. William James once described her as "the first woman of the first rank in the history of philosophy." Like William James she also was honored by being elected as president of two associations: the American Psychological Association in 1905 and the American Philosophical Association in 1918. In the laboratory she conducted experimental studies in several fields, chiefly memory and association, and was the inventor of a method of investigation which is still widely used. In addition to numerous articles she published four books, among them *An Introduction to Psychology* (1901) and *The Persistent Problems of Philosophy* (1907). Her able colleague in the department for many years was Eleanor Gamble '89, who has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. In 1934 Miss Gamble was followed by Edna Heidbreder, Professor of Psychology, who during her twenty years here was one of Wellesley's steadily productive scholars. Her book, *Seven Psychologies* (1933), is still widely used in the United States and abroad in several translations for the study of systems of psychology. Although she is known for her work in several fields, probably of greatest interest to Miss Calkins would have been her experiments, conducted in the Wellesley

laboratory, on the attainment of concepts, which made her an authority in this field. Her work has been recognized by her election to offices not only in the American Psychological Association but also in the National Research Council and in the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

In the social sciences and the humanities, although numerous articles are written, the large research projects normally are presented in books rather than in a series of articles. I have spoken earlier of Louise Overacker's distinguished work as a political scientist. In the same department M. Margaret Ball, who taught at Wellesley from 1936 to 1963 before going to Duke University, was the author of several important books. One of these, *NATO and the European Union Movement* (1959), received first prize in the International Atlantic Community Awards competition. She has been honored by election as a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Leland H. Jenks, who taught at Wellesley from 1930 to 1957, was an economic historian and a sociologist. He was the author of *The Migration of British Capital to 1875* (1927), and *Our Cuban Colony* (1928). An authority on the Caribbean region, in 1934 he was made a member of the Commission on Cuban Affairs. Lucy W. Killough, Professor of Economics, who taught at Wellesley from 1929 to 1962, was a specialist in international economics and in public finance. She was a productive scholar, author of numerous articles and in demand as a lucid lecturer on problems of taxation. She collaborated with her husband, Professor Hugh B. Killough of Brown University, in writing several books on international economics. In 1951 during a sabbatical leave spent in Taiwan she made a study of taxes and markets in that country.

In 1920 the Department of History appointed its first specialist in Near East History, Barnette Miller, who, like her predecessor Miss Kendall, was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain. Miss Miller traveled widely in Arab countries, and in Central Asia she visited Samarkand, the splendid capital of Tamerlane's empire. Her research was concentrated on Turkey where she had lived for some years before coming to Wellesley. She published two impressive books: *Beyond the Sublime Porte: The Grand Seraglio of Stamboul* (1931), and *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror* (1941). E. Faye Wilson, who taught in the History Department from 1941 to 1965, was a well known scholar of the Middle Ages. A Councillor of the Mediaeval Academy of America, she wrote numerous articles for *Speculum,* the journal of the Academy, and she was also the editor of two works by the medieval poet John of Garland. Ernest Lacheman, a member of the Department of Biblical History from 1943 to 1971, was invited by the Harvard Semitic Museum to edit its large collection of the cuneiform tablets of the ancient city

of Nuzi, an Assyrian town of the fifteenth century B.C. These studies have been published by the Harvard University Press in a series of eight volumes, *Excavations at Nuzi* (1929-1962). Mr. Lacheman was the editor of volumes four through eight.

Several alumnae have been mentioned among the scientists; some of our best scholars in other fields have also been Wellesley graduates. Myrtilla Avery '91, who taught in the Department of Art from 1912 to 1937, was a well known medievalist with friends among the scholars of Paris and of the Vatican Library. Her masterpiece was the folio volume, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (1936). Laura Hibbard Loomis '05, member of the Department of English Literature from 1916 to 1943, was another internationally known medievalist. She was the author of several books and numerous articles on the Arthurian legend and on Chaucer's work. The titles of two books illustrate her chief interests: *Mediaeval Romance in England* (1925), and *Arthurian Legends in Mediaeval Art* (1938). Another alumna, Katharine C. Balderston '16, who taught in the Department of English Literature from 1920 to 1960, became a distinguished specialist in the literature of the eighteenth century. In 1933 she received the honor of being the first woman to be appointed a Visiting Scholar at the Huntington Library in Pasadena. After publishing three books on Oliver Goldsmith, she turned her attention to other members of Dr. Johnson's circle. Her important book, *Thraliana: The Diary of Hester Lynch Thrale* (1942), was awarded the Rose Mary Crawshay prize by the British Academy in 1944. The work of another alumna, Dorothy Robathan '19, who taught in the Latin Department from 1931 to 1963, was recognized when she was elected President of the American Philological Association in 1965. Her fields of special interest have been the transmission of classical authors in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and also the topography of Rome. Her book, *The Monuments of Ancient Rome,* was published in 1950.

Among the Europeans on the faculty there have always been some active scholars. For example, Marianne Thalmann, who taught in the German Department from 1933 to 1953, was a student of the romantic movement and has published several books on Ludwig Tieck. Her portrait has been hung in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. Germaine Lafeuille, a member of the French Department from 1952 to 1975, has won recognition as a writer on medieval and renaissance French literature. More unusual for a scholar is her ability to translate the works of American poets into French. She has done verse translations of several women poets, and in 1965 her book, *Marianne Moore, Selected Poems,* a bilingual edition, was published in Paris.

Two members of the French Department, each with many years of service to the College, received the Cross of the Chevalier of the Legion of

Honor from the government of France. Andrée Bruel, who taught at Wellesley from 1927 to 1960, received her decoration "in recognition of her distinguished service to French culture and Franco-American friendship." And Dorothy W. Dennis '14, who spent more than forty years on the faculty, 1917 to 1959, was honored "for her work with American students studying in France."

Several members of the faculty have received prizes for their books; two of them have been mentioned earlier in this chapter. In 1948 shortly before coming to Wellesley as its president, Margaret Clapp had received the important Pulitzer Prize for Biography for her book, *Forgotten First Citizen: John Bigelow,* and later she received another honor when she was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Ola Elizabeth Winslow, a specialist in American literature, who spent the last six years of her teaching career at Wellesley, retiring in 1950, had been awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1941 for her life of Jonathan Edwards. She is the author of several interesting biographies, among them those of John Eliot and Roger Williams. John McAndrew was a member of the Department of Art from 1945 to 1968, and during many of those years he was an unusually gifted Director of the Wellesley College Museum. His book, *The Open Air Churches of Sixteenth Century Mexico* (1965), was cited as the most distinguished work of scholarship in the history of architecture published by a North American scholar in that year. In 1930 the Department of Art was fortunate in its appointment of Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Docteur ès Lettres of the Sorbonne, who later was awarded the Prix Fould of the Institut de France. Her exceptionally distinguished work in the field of Byzantine art was recognized by her appointment in 1946 by Harvard University as Professor of Byzantine Art and Archeology. It should be noted that this appointment was made at a time when there were only two other women at Harvard with the rank of full professor.

Walter E. Houghton, who taught in the Department of English from 1942 to 1970, is well known as a writer on Victorian literature. One of his books, *The Victorian Frame of Mind,* won the Christian Gauss Award in 1957. This prize is presented annually by the Phi Beta Kappa Society for the best book of literary scholarship published by a University Press. In 1964 he was honored by election as a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In recent years he has devoted his time to *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals,* 1824-1900, published by the University of Toronto Press. Two volumes have been issued (1966 and 1972), and there are more to come. Mr. Houghton is the originator and editor of this important work of reference, and his scholarly wife, Esther Houghton, is one of the associate editors. When completed it will contain tables of contents and an index of authors for articles appearing in some

forty major Victorian periodicals. Since most of the writing was done either anonymously or under pseudonyms, the identification of authors is difficult but important because of the distinguished people who wrote for these periodicals. They included, in addition to well known authors, many political leaders, scientists, and philosophers. This impressive work has been supported generously by grants from Wellesley College and from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The fact that Mr. Houghton has given it the title *The Wellesley Index* has brought honor to the College.

At all times in Wellesley's history there have been a few creative artists on the faculty: writers, musicians, painters. Some have been here for short periods but others for many years. The first to receive recognition as an author was Katharine Lee Bates whose work has been described earlier in this chapter. Then in 1889 Margaret P. Sherwood came to teach English Literature. A scholar who was among the earliest group of women to earn the Ph.D. at Yale, she was also a novelist, usually writing under a pseudonym, whose first novel appeared in 1895 and her last, *Pilgrim Feet,* in 1949 when she was eighty-five years old. One composer, Hubert Lamb, taught in the Music Department from 1935 to 1974. His compositions for chorus, orchestra, and chamber ensemble have been performed in concerts at Wellesley and throughout the country. In 1963 the New England Conservatory awarded him the honorary degree of Doctor of Music. The continued success in the Art Department of the program of laboratory and studio work, which had been introduced by Alice Van Vechten Brown, can be attributed chiefly to Agnes Abbot, a distinguished water color artist who taught here from 1920 to 1963, and after Miss Brown's retirement in 1930 supervised all the laboratory and studio classes. Miss Abbot has held many "one man" exhibitions and there are examples of her work in the collections of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and of the Fogg Museum in Cambridge.

In the preceding section of this chapter, I have been reporting on the research and other creative work of members of the faculty whose tenure fell within the first century of the life of the College and upon honors that have been received by some of them. The account is, of course, not exhaustive as many people who could not be named here have done valuable work.

Now, when the College is entering its second century there is every reason to believe that the faculty will be as strong and distinguished as in the past. The ten year fund-raising program, which President Newell has announced, includes increased support for salaries and for aids for research. In the present faculty there are many able scholars who will be teaching here after 1975 and whose work will be recorded in the next history of Wellesley College. There is space here to give only a few ex-

amples to illustrate the wide range of their interests and of their fields of specialization.

In each of the science departments there are faculty members who have received substantial grants from the government and from private foundations. Virginia M. Fiske, Professor of Biology, is well known for her research in endocrinology, research which has been supported generously by the National Institutes of Health. Another recipient of large grants from the same organization and also from the National Science Foundation is Helen A. Padykula, Professor in the Laboratory of Electron Microscopy. Always active in research, most recently she has directed her major effort toward problems in the reproductive biology of mammals.

In the humanities interesting work is being done by scholars who are studying various periods and aspects of our cultural heritage. After the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls a number of well known scholars began to work on them. At this time Lucetta Mowry, Professor of Biblical History, published a valuable book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early Church* (1962). In the French Department there are two versatile professors whose books and articles deal with French literature both past and present. Carlo R. François's work includes numerous articles on French classical drama and a book on Saint-Exupéry. His latest book discusses "the notion of the absurd" in seventeenth century French literature. René M. Galand has concentrated chiefly on literature of the nineteenth century. He has published a book on Renan and one on Baudelaire, and his most recent book is on a later poet, Saint-John Perse. In the large English Department there are specialists working in each of the great periods of our literature. Among them is Patricia M. Spacks, Professor of English, whose field is the poetry of the eighteenth century. Already she has published four significant books dealing with this period; the most recent one, *An Argument of Images* (1971), is a study of the poetry of Alexander Pope. Her colleague, David Ferry, has won recognition as a scholar specializing in Wordsworth and also as a poet whose work has appeared in anthologies and in a number of leading periodicals in this country and in England. He is the author of a volume of poems, *On the Way to the Island* (1960).

Earlier in this chapter *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* has been described. There is another long term scholarly project which also bears the name of the College. This is *The Wellesley Edition,* published by the College, a series of scores of music of early periods which have never before been published. Begun by Jan LaRue in 1950, the series at present numbers fourteen volumes, eleven of them published since 1963 under the direction of Owen H. Jander.

Throughout the College there is a great deal of interest in the con-

temporary period. Mr. Jander, for example, whose chief field is music of the baroque period, is also studying electronic music. It is to be expected that many scholars in the social sciences would be working on contemporary problems. Carolyn S. Bell, Professor of Economics, specializes in the economics of consumption. She is the author of *Consumer Choice in the American Economy* (1967), and *The Economics of the Ghetto* (1970), and of numerous articles. In 1972 she was appointed a public member of the National Advertising Review Board, the advertising industry's self-regulatory body. Marshall I. Goldman of the same department is well known for his articles and books on the economics of Russia. *The Soviet Economy: Myth and Reality* (1968) was his third book in this field. He has also written on environmental problems.

Present members of the faculty, like their predecessors, have received significant honors. Alona E. Evans, Professor of Political Science, a specialist in international law, has published many articles dealing with the legal problems of asylum and other related topics. She has served on the board of editors of the *American Journal of International Law* and in 1971 she received the Achievement Award of the American Association of University Women. Edward V. Gulick, Professor of History, received the Carnegie Endowment Award of the American Historical Association for his book, *Europe's Classical Balance of Power* (1955). More recently he has written chapters for the *New Cambridge Modern History*. An invitation to contribute is one of the top honors for a scholar whose field is modern European history. Curtis H. Shell, Professor of Art, who died in 1974 while still on active service, wrote extensively on the painters of the Italian Renaissance. In 1972 he was decorated with the rank of *Commendatore* by the President of the Italian Republic in appreciation of his work in rescuing the art of Florence after the devastating floods of 1965.

In writing about earlier periods I have spoken especially of alumnae who have contributed in important ways to the College as teachers, scholars, and administrators. It is good to know that on the present faculty there are nine very able graduates of the College in the two upper professorial ranks. Two of them have been involved in work that points directly to future developments in the College. Eleanor R. Webster '42, Professor of Chemistry, has been interested in various aspects of continuing education, the opportunity at Wellesley for study by women beyond the age of the undergraduates. From 1964 to 1972 she was director of the Wellesley College Institute in Chemistry, and in 1969 she served as the first director of Wellesley's new program in Continuing Education. This program has developed well and will be increased in scope in future years. Mary R. Lefkowitz '57, Associate Professor of Greek and Latin, was Vice Chairman of the Commission on the Future of the College which was appointed by President Adams. Mrs. Lefkowitz was the

author of an important section of the report on "The Education and Needs of Women," a matter of special interest to President Newell as she plans for the future of the College.

At Wellesley emphasis has always been placed upon strong teaching. It has not been possible in this chapter to mention the many fine teachers of each generation who have been remembered gratefully by their students. From their classes have come not only graduates who have later become teachers at Wellesley, but many others who have become professors in other colleges and universities. Also the faculty can take pride in alumnae who have entered a variety of important and useful professions, and in others who have held responsible posts as volunteers. A letter from an alumna who is now a full professor in a distinguished university has been received recently by an emeritus professor. The alumna wrote: "I am very much aware of how strongly the spirit of inquiry that, in my experience, was fostered at Wellesley has influenced my sustained attitudes and intellectual values." She expressed gratitude for having begun at Wellesley "the kind of life that has constantly generated intellectual challenges and gratifications." I have quoted from this letter in order to pay tribute to the teachers of all generations in the College.

The history of the faculty in four of our sister colleges (Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Smith, and Vassar) which were founded in the nineteenth century as women's colleges, independent of any connection with a university, is similar in many respects to our own. Wellesley is, however, unique in one respect, for it is the only college in this group that has always had a woman as its president. This has, I believe, influenced the selection of the faculty and may account for the higher percentage of women on the faculty at Wellesley now and reaching back for many years than in these sister colleges.

The faculty of Wellesley College has been fortunate in many ways. The location has always been advantageous, near the theatres and concert halls, the great libraries and museums of Boston and Cambridge. This location has, for exmple, enabled the Music Department to employ members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra as teachers of instrumental music. Distinguished members of the Harvard faculty have always been available for single lectures, and it is interesting to recall that before the regulations of the University prevented professors from giving courses elsewhere, in 1901 and again in 1909 Hugo Münsterberg and George Santayana each gave a course at Wellesley, and in 1905 William James gave a course on "Pluralism."

I have mentioned the availability of the great libraries of Boston and Cambridge, but the advantages of our own library should not be overlooked. As early as 1912 Sarah F. Whiting reported that the physics library was in advance of many college libraries in possessing complete

files of the great periodicals. This is true in other fields as well, so that in the collections of reference books, of periodicals, and of documents, the faculty find many of the tools for their research at hand in the Margaret Clapp Library.

For each generation of teachers there has been the privilege of working in a beautiful setting on the spacious acres of Mr. Durant's estate. There is no better place to enjoy New England's changing seasons than at home on the Wellesley campus.

Throughout the history of the College there have been privileges of deeper significance. The faculty have had in their classes many young women with serious purpose and exceptionally good intellectual ability. Also, there has been the privilege of association with one's colleagues on the faculty, colleagues who could be enjoyed as companions and many who could be admired for their distinction as teachers and scholars. And underpinning all their work, in the College as I knew it for thirty-three years, there was the steady support of the presidents and trustees, and a sense of security stemming from the integrity of the College, an integrity from which the faculty have benefited and which they in turn have helped to maintain.

Opening Convocation, with President Margaret Clapp preceding Deans Teresa G. Frisch and Ella Keats Whiting.

Miniatures on ivory of Miss Brown and Miss Avery by Artemis Tavshanjian

ALICE VAN VECHTEN BROWN

Art

MYRTILLA AVERY

Art

VIDA D. SCUDDER

English Literature

MARGARET SHERWOOD and MARTHA H. SHACKFORD

English Literature

MARY E. HORTON and mother

Greek

MARY WHITON CALKINS

Philosophy and Psychology

SOPHIE C. HART

English Composition

EMILY G. BALCH

Economics

ELIZA H. KENDRICK

Biblical History

ELIZABETH HODDER

History

LOUISE S. MCDOWELL

Physics

MARGARET C. FERGUSON

Botany

ELIZABETH W. MANWARING

English

KATHARINE LEE BATES

English

ELEANOR A. McC. GAMBLE

Psychology

ANNIE K. TUELL

English

SEAL THOMPSON

Biblical History

HENRY F. SCHWARZ

History

THOMAS HAYES PROCTER

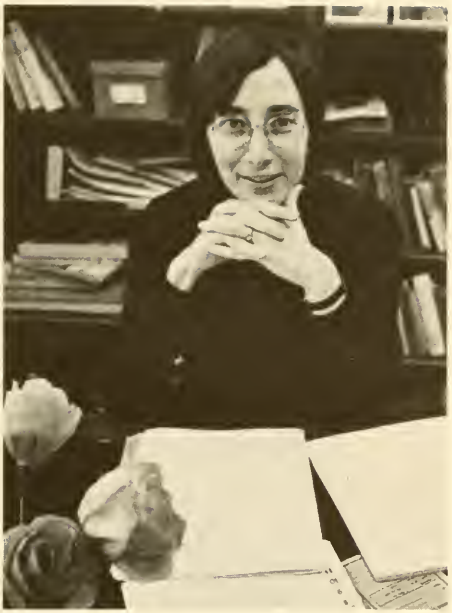
Philosophy

AGNES ABBOT

Art

LOUISE OVERACKER

Political Science



MARY R. LEFKOWITZ

Greek

ELEANOR R. WEBSTER

Chemistry

HUBERT W. LAMB

Music

CAROLYN S. BELL

Economics

ALONA E. EVANS

Political Science

VIRGINIA ONDERDONK

Philosophy

ALICE STONE ILCHMAN

A Footnote to Keats Whiting

If I were asked to characterize the intellectual life at Wellesley College, I might say, as a new academic dean, that it reminds me a bit of Hinduism. Both have an enormous capacity to absorb external values, yet both modify them to the point that they are appropriate and useful to their own contexts. Moreover, like Hinduism, Wellesley College seems to nurture and entertain what appear to be contradictions.

As an example of this capacity to synthesize, to bring together the new and the old, we might look at the impact of graduate and specialized education on the curriculum of the liberal arts college. The pressures on the curriculum at Wellesley or elsewhere to replicate the offerings of a graduate department are constant. Young scholars come from increasingly specialized graduate departments and, of course, wish to teach in their speciality. Although the size of the faculty ordinarily does not expand, our college curriculum expands to allow this expression of virtuoso accomplishment. For instance, the very excellent History Department has managed to expand the thirty-three courses taught by fourteen faculty members in 1962 to a total of sixty-one courses taught by thirteen faculty in 1974. How can this be done? These courses are taught in alternate years, fewer sections of the same course are taught, and topical seminars are given at the introductory level.

This great teaching activity allows for specialization, but can it nourish a common core? There is evidence at Wellesley that it does through the simultaneous insistence on what is enduring. Where everywhere requirements are disappearing and majors are simply a collection of courses given by the same department, Wellesley maintains a core curriculum for most majors, a distribution requirement insuring a broad sample of the liberal arts, and an insistence that the educated person is acquainted with a foreign language.

The impact of graduate education has also made its way into the formal

evaluation of scholars. The assessment of scholarly growth of candidates for tenure or full professor must be a blending of the external and internal judgments. In 1974, the College extended to all departments the practice of using outside evaluators from other institutions to comment on the quality of written work of their candidates for tenure. Not surprisingly, the young candidates for promotion have been exceedingly supportive of this practice. They bring with them the values of their graduate institutions and may find an outsider with similar speciality to be more sympathetic. What impresses me, however, is not that the outside evaluation system was brought to Wellesley, but that it was brought here by those, the senior faculty, whose judgment would no longer be the sole evaluation. To me this demonstrates the confidence, strength of professional commitment, and tolerance of the Wellesley faculty.

This Wellesley capacity to absorb and to synthesize can also be found in the increasing student participation in evaluation of faculty. Faculty are, of course, expected to meet internal as well as external standards for promotion. But "who" gets included in the internal evaluation is the question. Excellent teaching is, and has been, the *sine qua non* for reappointment at Wellesley. It is too important to be assumed, as it is in most research-oriented universities. Colleagues, through class visits and an extensive review process, have made and continue to make assessments of the quality of teaching. However, Wellesley has responded with greater alacrity and acceptance than elsewhere to the student demand for a voice in college governance and especially the opportunity to add their opinion to the judgments of faculty teaching. Where other institutions are enmeshed in deciding whether student letters can even be accepted as evidence for faculty evaluation, Wellesley lends validity to its students' demand by assuring a 100% sample of respondents to student evaluation questionnaires. A student must return her form before an examination can be taken. Alas, for our comparison with Hinduism, a consumer rating on Brahman priests or gurus was not readily available for young Hindus, nor could priests receive terminal contracts. They were born into the job and tenured for life.

In another area Wellesley has the capacity to take an external value and transform it. Paradoxically, there is within the faculty here an increasing recognition of women professors as women professionals. Although Henry Durant appointed only women to the faculty (even if he had to provide part of their training), I would argue that the steady stream of appointments for able women and the nurturing environment of Wellesley College allowed these women to think of themselves more as professionals in a discipline than as women professionals. With the decline of women on university faculties in the 1940s and 1950s, both relatively and absolutely, the successful woman academic was even more con-

spicuous and the Wellesley achievement of more than 50% women on the faculty the more remarkable. The present strength of the women's movement in the country has begun to tap what has been enduring at Wellesley. It is not surprising that on the faculty of Wellesley College are seven women who chair the committee or task force on the status of women for their respective professional associations. They provide example and leadership, needling and encouragement for the concerns of professional women in the American Economics Association, the American Physiological Association, American Society for Public Administration, American Philological Association, American Philosophical Association, Association for Women in Mathematics, and the Association for Asian Studies. At the same time, these women and others on the Wellesley faculty are also thinking of themselves now as women professionals in order that sometime they, and certainly their successors, can again think of themselves as professionals in a discipline.

A note on pronouns is perhaps appropriate here. From my experience at a large coeducational university which was essentially a male university in terms of its faculty and administration, the issue of pronouns or words giving gender was rather tense and often fought over. The insistence in the women's movement on vocabulary to suit expectation rather than reality seemed in the Berkeley context to be symbolic indeed. Why insist on *Chairperson* when the *Chairmen* of all but one of 105 departments were, indeed, men? Changing the title will not change the likelihood. Moreover, our insistence on address in official letters to professors as "he or she" seemed a bit fatuous when "he" was correct 1155 out of 1200 cases. To get a more sexually neutral terminology against heavy faculty objection seemed to me a bit pyrrhic. At Wellesley the reality is different and I have had to adjust the image accordingly. One says "the President, she . . .", the faculty is as likely to be "she" as "he," as is the commencement speaker, a trustee, or the college budget officer. Perhaps the wider academic society can someday be as tolerant and as absorptive of new values as is Wellesley.

If Hinduism is marked by its absorptive capacity, it is also marked by its ability to sustain contradictions. Likewise Wellesley. The more apparent than real contradiction between teaching and research is a case in point. The Economics Department, for instance, stresses the values of a liberal arts college—good teaching and apprenticeships for fledgling instructors—while its faculty have a record for publication that any research university would find enviable. Several departments run placement services for majors similar to those for graduate students in a large university. Indeed so proficient are some departments and individuals in sustaining this contradiction that a continuous fear of this Dean is that a university somewhere will try to steal our superb Art Department or kidnap any number of professors.

Another apparent contradiction is that a women's college has a vigorous and responsible role for men. Henry Durant had said that if men were allowed on the early faculty there would never be a chance for women. Superior men in greater numbers would drive the women out. The recent Wellesley lesson, I believe, is that such is not the case. Men and women together can teach, administer, and work in the same institution—a lesson not yet learned in many coeducational colleges and universities.

In addition to the paradox that a women's college has an important role for men, there are two further paradoxes in my estimation. We have a number of part-time appointments in the faculty and administration with full-time commitment to their profession. Whether this is achieved through institutional loyalty, professional calling or, as some would say, exploitation, I do not know. But its presence here is remarkable. Second, there is the contradiction between teaching and administration which seems to be resolved at Wellesley by turning teachers into administrators, through an extraordinarily demanding system of faculty governance, and giving administrators teaching responsibilities. Like Hinduism, Wellesley College gets its vitality from the tensions that arise from its contradictions.

It is a temptation to expand the metaphor and suggest that, to many young academics in a tight job market, the faculty is like a caste system, hierarchically organized, with upward mobility difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. Although these hardened lines may be representative of a growing number of institutions, an important aspect of Wellesley College in 1974 is that the age and structure of faculty ranks give the possibility not only of making new appointments, but of promoting to tenure a number of young scholars presently on the faculty. In an era when many institutions have large percentages of their faculty on tenure, with few immediate retirements, Wellesley's working agreement of approximately 50% of each department on tenure is serving the College well.

But perhaps the most hopeful prospect the comparison between Hinduism and Wellesley brings to Wellesley at the time of the Centennial is that Hinduism is at least 4,000 years old. The "footnote" by the then-dean would have to be considerably longer!

The scallop shell appeared not only on Miss Hazard's bookplate but on all buildings erected during her administration. She built Oakwoods as her residence, and especially in it the design was employed frequently—as Mrs. Ilchman, her husband, and their two children, who live there now, have discovered with great delight.

VIRGINIA ONDERDONK

The Curriculum

On September 8, 1875, Wellesley College opened its doors to 314 applicants who, "ambitious to become learned women," presented themselves for entrance examinations. College Hall had been built and equipped; a staff of twenty-eight had been assembled, including seven professors and fourteen teachers; and a general plan for the curriculum had been worked out by a trustee committee consisting of Mr. Durant and the Reverend Edward N. Kirk.

Only thirty of the original applicants were found to be fully qualified for the collegiate curriculum—not surprising at a time when there were few places where girls could "join in the high schools in which young men are fitted for college" and "as yet no schools exclusively designed to fit girls for college." (Some, perhaps a large proportion, of the first freshman class had been prepared in their own homes.) The unsuccessful candidates were not turned away. The "mortification and inconvenience caused by wholly rejecting imperfectly prepared students who come from a distance supposing themselves to be well fitted" was avoided by placing those who passed only some of the examinations in a semi-collegiate class and the least well prepared in the wholly separate Academic Department.*

The original collegiate students followed a largely prescribed General Course. Before they graduated they had completed two years of Latin (which presupposed four years of preparatory work); at least a year of either French or German; four terms of mathematics; four years of history, of essay writing, and of literature; three years of elocution; and a

* Five years later the Academic Department, always thought of as a temporary expedient, was given up "for the reason that there is no room in the college for these students."

year each of chemistry, physics, and philosophy. In addition there were daily meetings for Scripture studies throughout the four years. At some point every student was required to take lessons in drawing unless she had already received sufficient training, and all were given instruction in vocal music. There was still room for electives—one for freshmen (Greek in place of French or German), two in the sophomore year, and three in each of the last two years. There were no courses to elect in any social science. A modern reader is struck by the fact that there were no majors. The stated aim was rather to provide means for "the broadest culture," built on preparatory work in mathematics and Latin and (if at all possible) Greek.

The undergraduates at Wellesley were certainly kept busy, but perhaps their days were not quite as full as the list of subjects suggests. Classes were only 45 minutes in length. The college year was divided into three terms,* and not all studies were in full 3-hour courses. Botany, for instance, was a two-term elective in the sophomore year which could be fitted in after the required first term of spherical trigonometry. Elocution, essay writing, literature, and history all met just once or twice weekly. On the other hand, mathematics and language courses for freshmen met four times a week.

No doubt parents worried about the ability of their daughters to withstand the strains imposed by this difficult course of study "such as is pursued in none but the best colleges." Perhaps for this reason the early Calendars included a section on the health of students, which contained the reassuring statement that a resident "lady physician" would instruct their daughters in the laws of hygiene. It also stated emphatically that "diligent study benefits the health of students who regulate their lives by these laws."

To list the subjects studied and the length of time devoted to each is to give only the externals of the curriculum. One would like to know more about the specific content of courses and the methods of instruction. The Calendar sections on instruction provide some clues; still more are supplied by what we know of Mr. Durant's enthusiasms and concerns, for almost certainly he was the main architect of the early curriculum.

He obviously loved the classics. Among the first professors appointed were those in Greek and in Latin. One senses real regret that Greek could not be required for admission like Latin, but the absence of proper "fitting schools" made that impossible. However, the 1876 Calendar an-

* The change from term to semester courses began in 1883-84 when some departments divided their work into "½ years." Class periods were lengthened to 50 minutes in 1917.

nounced that in September 1881 the General Course would be split into a Classical Course and a Scientific Course and that Greek as well as Latin would be prerequisite for the former. Furthermore, prospective students were told that the Classical Course was "considered of much more value than the Scientific Course, and all candidates are advised to prepare themselves accordingly."

Latin and Greek were among the few departments that offered enough work to enable a student, if she chose, to continue her study of either or both subjects throughout her college career. Evidence that the work done was of high level is found in a report of 1883 to the Trustees from a member of the Board of Visitors, who, according to the Trustee Minutes, declared "the attainment [in Latin and Greek] on the part of the young ladies superior, he feared, to anything found in our colleges for young men."

Modern languages also had a prominent place. Though French and German were not required for admission, most students must have offered at least one on entrance, for it was not until 1882 that beginning courses in either appeared in the regular course listings. Since one or the other was required for graduation, it is a relief to find embedded in the rather lengthy section on instruction the sentence: "Other classes will be arranged for beginners." Clearly, elementary language instruction was felt to be somewhat inappropriate for collegiate work. The regular first-year class in German studied three works of Schiller and the ballads of Goethe; in French, "selections from the most noted contemporary authors." It was possible for a student to elect a full course in French or German in each of her four years, and if she did she would be qualified, the departments felt, to become a teacher of the language.

The only other department that offered full courses for each of the four years was Mathematics. It was unquestionably one of the really strong departments, and this in spite of the fact that preparation in mathematics in the 1870s was usually very poor. The Calendar of 1876 complained that girls "are encouraged to 'get through' arithmetic without understanding it and when they study algebra they soon learn to 'hate mathematics.'" It went on to say that "girls who are properly taught usually become very fine mathematical scholars and love the study. No study is more valuable for developing mental powers." Mr. Durant could have written this, for it accords with his views on the value of mathematics. At any rate he was certainly not among those trustees who were said in an 1880 article in *Barnard's Journal of Education* to have "some misgivings with regard to the success of girls in the higher mathematics." The article continued: "It had been asserted for so long that the mind of woman was not adapted to the study of higher mathematics . . . that many of the strongest advocates for the rights of women had their doubts

and fears." Happily, such doubts were soon dispelled, and we are told in this same article that "in this study the college has taken a prominent position. . . . Were it not for the great surprise that awaited us in the scientific department, we should have said that these classes were more valuable than any other in the college." The required work ended with spherical trigonometry. After that the scientifically inclined and those who "love the study" could elect analytic geometry, differential and integral calculus, analytical mechanics, and, in the senior year, mathematical astronomy. "Should anyone wish to pursue this branch further, she can do so in a Post-Graduate course." This statement from the 1877 Calendar is the first mention of graduate instruction offered by a department at Wellesley. It coincides with the arrival of Helen Shafer as head of the department, under whom several new undergraduate courses were also offered. By 1883 President Freeman could say in her Report to the Trustees: "I know of no American college where more intelligent or advanced undergraduate work has been undertaken in mathematics than that accomplished by the seniors [in Miss Shafer's course]." One of them, Winifred Egerton, applied for admission to graduate study at Columbia, and in January 1884 "after much controversy she was finally admitted as an exceptional case and one which was to set no precedent." She received the Ph.D. degree in 1886, probably (according to a later Wellesley mathematics professor) the first woman in the country to take it in mathematics. One other of Miss Shafer's students must be mentioned here—Ellen Fitz Pendleton of the Class of 1886, who upon her graduation joined the department as tutor and later became Wellesley's sixth president.

Some of the trustees may have had misgivings about "the higher mathematics" for young women, but they had none about literature. Though not generally emphasized in colleges at the time, at Wellesley it was considered "essential to woman's education," and until 1882 a 1-hour course was required of all students in each of their four years. A staggering amount of material was crammed into these courses. The freshman year was occupied with an outline history of Grecian and Roman literature, the early literature of Italy, Spain, France, and Germany, as well as the general history of English literature from its earliest period. The range was narrower in the sophomore year: English literature from the Elizabethan age to the nineteenth century. Designated portions of the works of different authors were selected for critical study, but the aim was "to teach the classes how to study the authors for themselves and thus to cultivate correct taste." In the junior year the time was given to the three great poets Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare. Finally, the senior year was devoted to early English literature, especially Chaucer. In addition to all this there was evidently a good deal of systematic extracurricular reading, for the department announced that it would prepare private reading

courses for all who desired them, and presumably also for any of the many reading circles. As the Calendar of 1877 said, "the refining and cultivating influences" of instruction in literature were felt from the outset.

The work offered in literature changed gradually in the first fifteen or so years. By 1882 only two 1-hour courses were required—nineteenth-century English and American authors for the freshmen and an outline history of general literature for the sophomores—and classic English authors became an elective for seniors. There was also the possibility of a special course for the study of English translations of Homer and Dante if enough students wished it. In 1879-80 "Literature" had become "English Literature" in the Calendar, and within ten years all the courses offered were in English authors, except for one term in American authors. The 1885 Statutes of the College recognized "English Language, Rhetoric, and Essay Writing" as a separate department, though its three required courses and its elective in Anglo-Saxon were grouped in the Calendar with English Literature.

Comparatively little was said in the early Calendars about instruction in history, though a 1-hour course was required in each of the four years. Grecian, Roman, medieval, and modern history were taken up in proper chronological sequence. In addition to lectures there were "constant topical studies of the original authorities in the library." As in language and literature courses, essays upon the subjects studied were required throughout the course. Wellesley was a writing college from the beginning. In 1883-84 history was required only of freshmen (one hour of Roman and medieval history) and juniors (a two-term course in the history of civilization), but there were a number of elective courses, among them a semester of political economy and three of political science—the first specifically social science studies at Wellesley. (Incidentally, Miss Freeman shortly after she became President acquired also the title of Professor of Political Science.)

Mr. Durant's impatience with routine learning and his desire that students should observe and reason for themselves are nowhere better exemplified than in his plans for science in his new college. Science at the time did not have a large place in most undergraduate colleges, but from the beginning Wellesley required a year of chemistry of all sophomores and a year of physics of all juniors. Botany, zoology, astronomy, and geology were planned as electives for upperclassmen. Moreover, laboratory practice and work with instruments was to be an important part of each course. This was radical. Indeed, Wellesley was the second college in the country to provide a laboratory for undergraduate work in physics.

The enthusiasm that characterized the planning for science is evident in an account of the beginnings of the Physics Department written by its

first professor, Sarah Frances Whiting. She told how Mr. Durant "caught the idea of student laboratory work" from Professor Pickering of M.I.T. and how with his advice a physics laboratory was added in the only space available in College Hall—the loft above the chapel and the adjacent attic spaces; how the ordering of apparatus was facilitated by the visits Mr. Durant arranged for her to make to a half dozen or so colleges where the professors helped her to draw up lists of items to be ordered abroad. That similar care and energy marked the furnishing of the other laboratories is attested by the editor of *Barnard's Journal of Education,* who asserted in the 1880 article already cited that no college he knew had a collection of physical apparatus superior to that of Wellesley College.

Mr. Durant clearly believed that no liberal arts education was complete without mathematics, chemistry, and physics. Moreover, he and the other trustees soon came to realize that science deserved a larger place than the General Course ordinarily allowed. As early as 1877 a Scientific Course was prepared, to give to women opportunities "substantially equivalent to those given to young men in the best Scientific and Technical Schools." Its aim, however, was not to prepare civil and mining engineers (men only in those areas!), but rather "to meet the wants of teachers; to open the way for future special study; and also to provide satisfactory preparation for those who intend to become physicians." Note that "special study" was to come in graduate school. Undergraduates studied both physical and natural sciences, but no more than two years of work was offered in any one science. In 1881, when it was decided to award the B.S. degree to those who completed the Scientific Course, the strong preference for the Classical Course stated in the 1876 Calendar had disappeared. Instead we read: "The Scientific Course embodies difficult branches of collegiate study and is fully equal to the Classical Course in mental discipline and systematic culture." Mathematics was required for two years instead of the one year in the Classical Course; French and German (until both could be read with facility) were substituted for Greek and Latin; a year of botany or biology was stipulated; but all the other required courses were the same in both programs. Science was expected to be chosen to fill the available elective slots.

It is perhaps significant that the newly added section on instruction in the 1877 Calendar gave more space to chemistry and physics than to any other subject. Language, literature, and history were familiar; science was not, and the candidate needed to know the nature and extent of the instruction. In the first year the chemistry student was taught the properties of elements and their more important compounds (some fifty are mentioned) and the methods of qualitative analysis. In the second year she moved on to quantitative analysis and topics in organic chemistry.

Throughout both years emphasis was placed on work in the laboratory, which had space and apparatus for ninety-six students. After one year of chemistry the student could elect a term of mineralogy and a term of lithology, both taught by the Professor of Chemistry. (Geology was mentioned in 1879 as a third-term course, but not until 1881 was there a lecturer in the subject.) Both stressed laboratory work with use of the blowpipe, the compound microscope, the polariscope, and chemical reagents.

Physics too stressed laboratory work. In the first year the doctrines of motion, force, and energy as applied to visible masses were discussed; the course then turned to "molecular physics," which included light, heat, electricity, and magnetism. There were lectures, but the student was expected to deduce principles from the experiments and to give them mathematical expression or graphical representation. She was also expected to give short lectures on the subjects investigated. In the second year the work was almost entirely in the laboratory. The aim, we are told, was "to stimulate as soon as possible, original research on the part of the student" in the topics studied in the first year. In addition some time was spent on the new subject of photography, in which "positives on glass will be taken suitable for projection by the lantern," and on spectrum analysis, another area that was in its infancy when Wellesley opened.

Astronomy seems to have been regarded at first as appropriate only for seniors. Members of the first senior class could, if they had the mathematics prerequisites, elect a course in mathematical astronomy; but for the next senior class there was physical astronomy, taught by Professor Whiting at the request of Mr. Durant. She had a 4½-inch telescope—for observation only, since measurement was not possible with it—and the apparatus of the Physics Department which could be used for spectrum work. Her goal was to give students "the facts of astronomy that belong in a liberal education," and this included teaching them the principles at the bottom of astronomical measurements and giving them "a conception of the dignity of the law of gravity."

Physics and astronomy were evidently not enough to satisfy the enthusiasm for science of either Mr. Durant or Miss Whiting. Mr. Durant, she tells us, was possessed with the idea that microscopes should be more widely used in schools. He persuaded her to form a "Microscopical Society," a sort of scientific club for students and faculty members, which, she says, was for years a distinct part of the Physics Department, and for which Mr. Durant "would finance anything we wanted to make the meeting interesting." The Calendar for 1877-78 could assert proudly that the collection of compound microscopes (fifty that year and sixty-seven two years later) "is already known as the most extensive and valuable in any college in the country." They were not, of course, used only for the society but played an important part also in the botany and zoology courses.

Botany was the leading natural science in the first decade. While zoology was at first only one of the elective studies for seniors, botany was open to sophomores as early as 1876-77 and thereafter could be studied by juniors or seniors in a second full year course. In 1882 it became the first science in which three years of work were offered. (Anyone tempted to suppose that botany was prominent because it was somehow ladylike should note that the course added in 1882 was in Economic Botany, which hardly suggests a concession to genteel tastes.) Zoology made a slower start. Mr. Durant had expected that both subjects would be taught by Susan M. Hallowell, whom he had named Professor of Natural History, but she almost at once discovered that botany, which she preferred, occupied all her time. The first Professor of Zoology, appointed in 1878, stayed only three years, after which there was a two-year period when no one taught the subject. The real founder of the department was Mary Alice Willcox, and within a few years of her arrival in 1883 zoology had drawn abreast of botany with three full years of study.

The topics taken up in both branches of natural science were the usual ones—anatomy, morphology, histology, animal or vegetable physiology. It was the method of instruction that was unusual. In an account of the College published in the *Christian Union* in June 1880, Dr. Lyman Abbott makes this clear: "Wellesley College . . . is better equipped in many respects to develop individual activity in its undergraduates than any male college in the land. . . . For example, the approved method of studying biology and botany is in most colleges to sit in a lecture room and take notes of the instructions of a lecturer; he tells his pupils what can be seen in a microscope and possibly gives them an occasional glimpse of the microscopic world through a single instrument. In the higher education of women, as represented by Wellesley College, every student of biology and botany has her own microscope and dissecting tools and table. . . . So long as Wellesley College equips the girls for independent study in this respect better than Harvard equips the boys, so long may we expect to hear scepticism and see much shaking of the head at the radicalism of the former institution. There is a great deal of human nature in men and they do not like to see the girls better educated than themselves."

Some indication of the place of science in the first decade or so can be found by examining the number of teachers in various areas. In 1876-77 Latin and mathematics led all the other departments. In 1882-83 Greek, mathematics, and chemistry led, with four in each. Latin and botany followed with three each. Another indicator may be found in the number of degrees conferred. From 1883 to 1895, when the B.S. degree was awarded to those who completed the Scientific Course, about 37 percent of Wellesley graduates won that degree. It is possible that a few of these chose the course in order to avoid Latin and Greek, but it is unlikely

that many would have chosen to double the mathematics and science requirements of the Classical Course unless they found the work good and the course satisfying.

The 1874 announcement of the opening of the College indicated that philosophy would be offered and that it would include logic, psychology, ethics, and the history of philosophy. Indeed, within a few years all were required. The required work for seniors—one term of psychology, one of the general history of philosophy, and one of moral philosophy—appeared in 1878-79, as soon as the new college had seniors. From 1881 to 1891 a term of logic was required of all juniors, and from 1882 to 1890 a two-term course in Christian ethics counted as part of the requirement in Scripture studies for freshmen. The first elective course was announced in the 1884 Calendar—a senior course entitled "Speculative Philosophy, Theism, and the History of Religions." It was typical of the time that philosophy should have embraced not only psychology but also much that would later be thought more appropriate for a department of religion.

For ninety-three years study of the Bible was considered an essential part of the education of all Wellesley students. The religious interests of the Founders, spoken of in an earlier chapter, explain in part the requirement in the early years, but it should be noted that such a requirement was not unusual at the time. Its continuance until 1968 is surely to be explained by the excellence of the work done. Generations of students have said that they found it good, evidently believing with the department that the Bible offers "insights which should not be ignored" and that "as a historical record it is essential to the understanding of Western civilization."

There was at first no department, nor were the subjects to be studied listed in the Calendar. The 1874 Circular and subsequent Calendars merely said, "The systematic study of the Scriptures will be continued throughout the course." This is all until 1882. As far as I can determine, no hours of credit were given for the work, nor were there any faculty members appointed specifically for this instruction. Since the early Statutes of the College stipulated that every member of the faculty must be a member of an evangelical church, it is not hard to understand why, in those days before the "Higher Criticism" was widely known or accepted, any teacher in the College could be asked to take a section of Scripture studies.

Material is scanty about the work done before 1882. There is a history of the department written by its long-time head, Eliza Hall Kendrick '85. In it she says that her recollections are few and her memory is faulty about her undergraduate study of the Bible. She does, however, recall the first Sunday in her freshman year when at perhaps 9:30 in the morn-

ing she betook herself "along with 20 or 30 of her classmates to one of the regular weekday classrooms in College Hall for her first Bible lesson." She recalls further that "the leader was Miss Hallowell of the department of Botany and her talk was on the opening chapter of Genesis, an appropriate topic, which seemed to imply that we were now embarked on a course of study which would bring us, if we were fortunate enough to survive, to the last chapter of Revelation by the end of the senior year. There were then given out references to books in the library dealing with the relations between Genesis and geology as our work for the following week and the liberal and harmonizing hypothesis was offered that a 'day' in this chapter meant not literally a day but an indefinitely long geologic era."

Miss Kendrick's inference that the Sabbath course would move from Genesis to Revelation in the four years was correct. In the aforementioned 1880 article in the *Christian Union* Dr. Lyman Abbott said that the Sabbath course, laid out by the Reverend Dr. Howard Crosby, the vice-president of the Board of Trustees, was systematic and thorough, "extending over a period of four years and covering the whole of the Old and New Testaments." He added that "the studies in this course are made the basis of a regular examination, with all other studies, at the end of the year."

Though Miss Kendrick did not mention it, Dr. Abbott attested that there was also a weekday course, "less systematic and organized for a different purpose." The daily meetings were short—fifteen minutes—and each teacher arranged for her section "a course of Bible study for direct practical and spiritual results." One gathers that these results were not measured by examination.

In 1882-83 there was a decided change. Bible studies became regular credit courses, required for two hours in each undergraduate year. Though the content varied slightly over the next eight years, the main outline of studies was constant. Freshmen usually devoted one hour a week to the Parables and another to a Christian ethics course given by the Department of Philosophy. Sophomores spent the year on "The History of the Jewish Church," i.e. on the historical books of the Old Testament. The work for juniors concentrated on the life of Christ, prefaced by a study of the Prophets. The senior course, entitled "The History of the Church in the First Century," took up Acts and the Epistles, and occasionally added "the poetical books of the Bible," especially Job. President Freeman reported in 1883 that in each year provision was made for at least eight lectures by specialists in the canon of the Old and New Testaments. Still, the regular classes were all taught by non-specialists. The first printed schedule, attached to the 1886 Calendar, listed no names under the heading "Bible"; it merely said, "20 classes, 20 instructors,

Tuesday and Friday 2:20 PM." This means that close to half of the faculty members in that year were teaching Bible.

The first hints of the beginning of a true department of Biblical studies are found in the 1886-87 Calendar, in which the courses listed under "The Classics" included Greek New Testament (two 2-hour courses which could be elected by juniors and seniors to meet their Bible requirements) and Hebrew (one 2-hour elective for seniors). Greek New Testament was the province of Miss Chapin, Professor of Greek, who continued to teach it until her retirement in 1920. The single course in Hebrew, though elected by very few students, nonetheless represented an important step in the recognition at Wellesley of the scholarly field of Biblical studies. Its first instructor, Sara A. Emerson, a member of the Latin Department who had been one of those non-specialists teaching required Scripture, became aware of the rapid development of Biblical scholarship, studied Hebrew, read the works of Higher Criticism as they kept appearing, took what courses she could at Boston University, and became Wellesley's first specifically trained Old Testament teacher.

By 1892 Hebrew was listed separately in the Calendar and included not only the year course in the language but also the English Old Testament courses then required of freshmen and sophomores. This meant that Old Testament study, all under the direction of Miss Emerson, had achieved a place as a separate scholarly field. The New Testament courses for juniors and seniors had to wait a few more years and meanwhile continued to be taught by members of other departments—Philosophy, History, English, Physics.

Long before most other colleges, Wellesley recognized music and art as appropriate liberal arts subjects. It was the first college in the country to offer a major in art history, and in 1909 President Hazard could write: "The Wellesley work in music is in a way pioneer work, since few colleges undertake to do what we do," i.e. to treat it as a subject of serious study rather than simply an accomplishment. But it took some twenty years of experimentation before regular departmental status was achieved in either art or music. Not that they were neglected before 1895. Far from it, though at the very beginning, when instruction in vocal music was given to all students and drawing was a required freshman course, they seem to have been regarded as practical accomplishments. The real programs in music and art started in 1878 and 1879, when semi-autonomous schools were set up, perhaps as part of Mr. Durant's "university idea," spoken of in an earlier chapter.

Music led the way. The model seems to have been the conservatory, for the emphasis was on the techniques and skills of performance. Special students who desired to pursue music exclusively were accepted and after four or five years could earn the diploma of the School. (The B.Mus. de-

gree was mentioned as a possibility for those "especially talented," but was only once awarded—in 1883.) But the distinctive feature of the Wellesley plan was the combination of conservatory work with regular collegiate study in a Five Years' Course. Each student in the course selected piano playing, organ playing, or solo singing as her specialty (later any orchestral instrument could be chosen), and in addition all studied harmony, counterpoint, composition, and the history and aesthetics of music, none of which earned credit towards the B.A. degree. Those who completed the course received a diploma in music and at the same time the B.A. or B.S. degree.

In September 1879 a course of instruction in art was commenced, "upon the same plan which has proved so satisfactory in the study of Music," with work in drawing, painting, and modeling. As in music, the plan was to admit five-year B.A. and B.S. candidates as well as special students who might if they persisted earn a diploma.

The new course in music was, as the next four or five Calendars declared, "deservedly popular and successful," so much so that enlargement of the department became necessary and a new building for it was completed in 1880. The numbers are impressive: 130 students in 1881-82 out of a total college enrollment of 450; 143 in 1884-85 out of 506. The School of Art, as it was called after 1883, attracted far fewer students. While Music in the eighties had a faculty of ten to thirteen, Art had only three to five, and this in spite of the fact that a fair amount of faculty time must have been needed for the required freshman drawing course and for "free instruction in flower painting and watercolors given to all the classes in Botany." In 1884-85 those two groups accounted for 170 of a total of 213 elections in the School of Art. By 1892-93, with freshman drawing no longer required, only forty-three students were doing any work in the School of Art, of whom twenty-five were botanists in watercolor painting, and just three were enrolled in the Five Years' Course. In that same year the School of Music, in addition to thirty-nine non-degree students, counted an enrollment of forty-nine students in the Five Years' Course and fifteen regular degree candidates who were "taking music as an extra."

That last group marked an important change—the recognition of music as an elective counting for the B.A. degree. When the first Professor of Music left Wellesley in 1884 to become the head of a conservatory, his place was taken by Junius W. Hill, who in 1886 offered a year course for juniors in musical history, theory, and composition. In the same year (but quite independently of the School of Art) the history of art became a regular elective for juniors when Elizabeth H. Denio, who had been at the College from the beginning, returned from two years' leave of absence in Europe as Professor of the History of Art as well as

Professor of German. Two semester courses were offered, both supplemented by work in the laboratory. By 1889, with the new Farnsworth Art Museum ready for occupancy, Miss Denio was giving five semester courses in art open to seniors as well as to juniors.

The President's Reports in the following years spoke of the steady gains in elections in the history of art, and also of Mr. Hill's urgent request that a larger place be made for "music as a science"—that is, that more electives in harmony and the history of music be made available to regular collegiate students. In 1896 the Trustees decided that a complete reorganization was needed. They voted that there should no longer be separate schools, but that music and fine arts should be organized like other departments, offering only courses that would count towards the degree. However, the Five Years' Courses were not entirely abandoned. In Art, a footnote in catalogues for the next twenty-five years mentioned the possibility of "giving yearly the time of one full course to studio art" and taking the B.A. degree in five years. In Music, the Five Years' Course, leading to the B.A. and the certificate, as it was later called, continued until 1935, but since the opportunity for "practical music" had been extended to any student who elected a course in theory, its numbers declined rapidly.

Even at the beginning, as we have seen, there were some elective studies at Wellesley. To recent alumnae they will probably seem few in number and on the whole narrowly restricted to further work in the required areas of mathematics, languages, and science. At the time, however, the policy of elective studies was a novelty. George Herbert Palmer, writing of Miss Freeman's administration, said that this policy "stirred strong opposition" (he is, I believe, referring mainly to critics outside the College) on the grounds that it threw more work on the faculty and involved "grave financial difficulties in execution." He added that its stimulating methods were easily mistaken for absence of restraint. Undoubtedly it was expensive and the faculty at Wellesley did have heavy teaching loads (fifteen hours a week was usual), but Mr. Durant clearly felt that special needs and interests had a place. He was ahead of the times here too, and his policy of "wide variations by means of elective studies" was continued after his death. Most of these electives were advanced courses in established departments, but by no means all. Some, like Italian which first appeared in 1882, Spanish in 1883, Political Economy in 1883, and Physical Geography in 1887, were the forerunners of new departments. Others, like Taxidermy in 1881, Sanskrit in 1886, Bibliography (taught by the librarian) and Oriental Civilization in 1887, and Domestic Science in 1890 flourished for a few years and then disappeared.

Not only were there electives within the General Course, there were also alternative courses. (A "course" here means a whole program of stud-

ies.) Mr. Durant had planned them from the beginning. The first published Calendar (1876-77) described the "special parallel courses" which the 1874 Circular had said "will be arranged." They were Honors Courses in Classics, in Mathematics, in Modern Languages, and in Science. In 1877-78 the Five Years' Music Course was announced, and the following year the Five Years' Art Course. "Few colleges in the country had at that time a programme so liberal," wrote George Herbert Palmer, who saw it as further evidence of Mr. Durant's dread of routine and his approval of whatever might arouse individual activity.

Three of the Honors Courses were described in considerable detail in the Calendars of the next five years. They were arranged to allow for what would later be called a major—or a double major, for the Classics candidate studied both Greek and Latin for four years, the Modern Language candidate French and German. In Science, we are told, the course "will depend so much on the tastes and special pursuits of students that details need not be given." By 1878-79 this was no longer an Honors Course, but simply "the Scientific Course," in which four or five sciences were studied, but no single one for four years.

The 1877-78 Calendar said that Honors in Classics had "already been adopted by many students," but as far as I can determine, none of them finished the course. The only students who graduated with honors were three members of the Class of 1880, in Mathematics. A history of the department written by Professor Helen A. Merrill '86 added the valuable detail that the honors examinations for these three students were given on three successive days in June and lasted for 10½ hours. If the Honors Course was the early equivalent of the major, these examinations can, it seems, be taken to be the forerunner of the General Examination, albeit much more extended.

The 1881-82 Calendar said merely that courses for honors might be elected by students of superior scholarship. The next year, honors work dropped out entirely, not to reappear until 1922.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, writing in 1880, before the Honors Courses were given up, said that "the development of the College curriculum into seven co-equal branches was the first step towards the University idea in Wellesley." The second step, he declared, was the addition of a teachers' "annex." He was referring to the opening of Stone Hall as a dormitory for teacher specials, and doubtless also to a plan mentioned in the 1879 Calendar. "When Stone Hall is completed," we read, "it will probably be established as a Normal College with special courses and grant special degrees." This did not happen, but for some years there was a teachers' collegiate course.

Mr. Durant was vitally interested in the education of teachers. The 1877 Calendar pointed out that "by a gradual and almost unnoticed

revolution, the education of the youth of our country has, to a great extent, passed into the hands of female teachers." Mr. Durant expected that many of the graduates of his new college would be teachers, and he wanted them to be "learned and useful." (It was not, however, until Miss Freeman was President, and at her request, that Professor Wenckebach of the German Department offered the first course in the science and art of teaching, an elective for seniors.) He also wanted to give older women who were already teachers the opportunity "to perfect themselves in particular studies." They were received at least as early as 1876 as special students. They were not required to pass entrance examinations, nor did they become degree candidates; they were simply free "to pursue such studies as they desire in any of the regular classes." They could, if they wished, spend all their time on one subject, "reciting daily in three different classes." They could also attend classes in the Academic Department to observe the methods of instruction. According to the 1877 Calendar, this program afforded "privileges bestowed by no other institution during so short a period."

In 1877 a limited number of mature women who were not teachers were also admitted as special students. They, too, were excused from the usual requirements. The only stipulation was that they be capable of diligent study in their selected courses.

The proportion of special to regular students was large in the first ten years. In 1876-77 there were 34 specials, 118 collegiate students, and 153 students in the Academic Department. Two years later when teacher specials were listed separately, they numbered 31 and other specials 33 out of a total enrollment of 361. In 1881-82 the numbers were: 80 teacher specials, 92 other specials, 275 collegiate students (the Academic Department had closed); in 1884-85, 160 specials and 346 regular students. Thereafter the number of specials gradually declined as the number of degree candidates steadily increased. These numbers suggest that the admission of special students not only met the needs of teachers and other mature women to pursue particular studies, often on a part-time basis, but also helped the College to offer a wide variety of courses to classes of reasonable size at a time when the number of regular collegiate students was small.

One might compare special students with the continuing education students of the last ten or so years, though at Wellesley many of those in continuing education are degree candidates, and none of the specials was. In some ways the comparable program in recent times is that for auditors, especially those who arrange to participate in the classes they attend.

Mr. Durant also made provision for graduate students. As early as 1876 the Calendar announced that "graduates of this and other colleges who desire to pursue their studies will be received." Two members of Wellesley's first graduating class earned the first Wellesley Master of Arts de-

grees, both in Greek in 1882. From 1879, when graduate students were first mentioned in the enrollment figures, to 1898 there were a total of 583, but only 57 earned the M.A. in those years. The proportion of successful candidates seems very small until we realize that before 1898 graduate students included a recognized group who had no intention of working for a higher degree. They were simply "special" students who happened to have a B.A. degree. Another and more interesting group, designated by the term "non-resident," consisted of graduate students who were permitted to do all their M.A. work independently (i.e. by correspondence under the guidance of a faculty committee) or "under instruction elsewhere." Graduate work by correspondence was discontinued in 1893, but the possibility of earning a Wellesley M.A. by studying elsewhere remained for decades. The reason for this rather unusual arrangement is clearly indicated by a statement in the 1901-02 Calendar: "Graduate students who have done the entire work for the M.A. degree in non-residence are accepted as candidates for the degree only when this work has been done at some institution which does not grant the M.A. degree to women."

Even in the early nineties, when fifty or sixty graduate students were counted in the enrollment figures, there was almost nothing that could be called a graduate program. Wellesley was and has remained primarily an undergraduate college. Over the years the College continued to admit a small number of graduate students, most of them for special work like that offered in Hygiene and Physical Education or in the Chemistry Institute (both described later in this chapter) or in other departments that could offer them assistantships along with part-time study. Today the M.A. degree is offered only in Art and in Biological Sciences.

Revision and Growth: 1893-1932

Four times in the history of Wellesley major curricular reviews have been undertaken. The first one began fifteen years after the opening of the college. As we have seen, the old curriculum had not been entirely static. Year by year, changes had been made—new courses added, some old ones dropped. But the basic structure worked out largely by Mr. Durant had remained. By 1890 the President and the faculty felt that it was time to rethink the entire program of studies. They wanted especially to lighten the work of the freshman year and to expand the freedom of choice for all students. In 1893 President Shafer reported that a new curriculum, representing three years of faculty discussion, had been approved by the Trustees.

When the discussions began, the freshman program consisted of three full courses (meeting three or four times a week) and five required 1-hour

courses: drawing, elocution, literature, Christian ethics, and Bible. All the latter except Bible now became elective, but a new required 1-hour course in English composition was added. Of the former, only the 4-hour mathematics course remained unchanged. Instead of Latin and Greek (for the Classical Course) or French and German (for the Scientific Course), the new requirement was one full course in a foreign language to be taken at any time in the four years. The required non-credit lectures in hygiene were transformed into a new 1-hour course for sophomores. (Non-credit physical training was required of freshmen three times a week, and by 1905 of sophomores also.) Chemistry, botany, and zoology (and physics after 1898) were opened to freshmen. Instead of the required sophomore chemistry and junior physics, two courses from any of the science departments were to be chosen (but not both from the same department).

Upperclassmen too had fewer required studies. They were still directed to study philosophy, now in the junior year, Bible and English composition in both the sophomore and junior years. Literature and history ceased to be required at any time. In the whole undergraduate course of 59 hours, required work was reduced from 40 hours to 26.

The separate Scientific and Classical Courses were discontinued, and after 1895 the B.S. degree was no longer awarded.

For the first time there were stipulations about an area of concentration. Earlier Calendars had spoken merely of the "opportunity for specialization" through elective work. Now, six full courses were to be taken as follows: "either (a) three in each of two subjects; or (b) three or four courses in one subject with three or two in any one of two tributary subjects."

President Shafer said of the new curriculum that it "offers the widest election consistent (1) with the completion of certain subjects which we deem essential to all culture, and (2) with the continuous study of one or two subjects for the sake of the mental discipline and breadth of view which belong to advanced attainment."

President Shafer and her co-workers on the faculty succeeded in framing a curriculum that stood in all essentials for the next forty years. There were shifts and adjustments, but they were relatively minor. Hygiene was moved back into the freshman year; the required work in English composition came to be four hours divided between the first two years, and in Bible studies four hours divided between the second and third years. In 1915, following a faculty decision to do away with 4-hour requirements, freshman mathematics became a regular 3-hour course, and English composition was reduced to a single 3-hour course for freshmen. Since the Trustees expressed unwillingness to authorize any further cut in Bible study, the faculty voted to make it conform to the standard 3-hour

pattern by requiring a year for sophomores and a semester for juniors.

In 1922 further changes were announced. A required 1-hour course in Reading and Speaking was added for sophomores. The science requirement now specified that students should elect one physical and one biological science, but those who offered two entrance units in science were excused from one science course in college. The requirements in mathematics and foreign language could now be met by satisfactory pre-college work—four entrance units in mathematics in the one case and a demonstrated knowledge of three foreign languages in the other.

Honors work reappeared in 1922. Like the earlier Honors Courses, it was designed for students of exceptional ability who wished to use their electives for concentrated study in what was now named a Field of Distinction. Both the old and the new honors plans culminated in a comprehensive examination taken at the end of the senior year. They differed, however, in that the new plan included three year-hours of research, independent of scheduled courses but under faculty guidance. Honors were first awarded to seven members of the Class of 1923. Until the late forties the number continued to be small, averaging about eight each year. The Dean's reports more than once expressed disappointment that the number was not larger. "The rewards of greater flexibility in a chosen course have not been sufficient to draw many from the conventional course. More special inducement must be sought."

Another way to allow greater flexibility was found in the 350 course, "Research or Individual Study." The Department of Zoology was the pioneer with a course called "Undergraduate Research" introduced in 1920-21. Gradually in the late twenties and in the thirties others followed until every department which offered a major had its "350."

The only other significant change in the "New Curriculum" of 1893 came in 1928, when the General Examination in the major was first given to seniors. In 1930 the Dean reported that although there was "a cry of dismay at first, the purpose is now more generally understood and appreciated." In her opinion, "the General Examination has distinctly strengthened the course."

Though a student of the Class of 1894 would have found, thirty-six years later, a great increase in the number of courses and departments and an even greater change in course content, still I think she would have recognized the requirements for the B.A. degree for the Class of 1930 and felt quite at home with them. How she would have reacted to receiving letter grades in all her courses is harder to guess. For her, as for all previous students, there had been a sort of general pass/fail system. There were grades (numerical at first, then letter grades), but they were not announced to students. Only if a student failed a course was she notified. In 1896, when a distinction was made between "passed" and "passed

with credit" and students were required to pass at least half of their work with credit, it became necessary to report to each student for each course which grade she had received. President Pendleton, in a retrospective report, noted that "it was soon felt that students were too often content if they obtained straight 'credit.' . . . Accordingly in 1905 it was decided that any student who asked for them might obtain at the end of the year her grades for both semesters." In 1912 all students were given their grades, A, B, C, etc., at the close of each semester. (The further refinement of added pluses and minuses did not come until 1946.) It is interesting to see how in the late sixties the direction of change was reversed with the reintroduction of a limited pass/fail system.

Some of the developments within the stable framework of the 1893 curriculum will be commented on here as examples of the kind of curricular growth that was taking place.

English Literature and Psychology (the latter still considered as part of Philosophy) are especially noteworthy because they were the departments chosen to prepare the special exhibitions at the Paris Exposition of 1900 which won for Wellesley a gold medal. The English Literature exhibit consisted of the volumes published by its professors and associate professors ("a very good showing," as Miss Hazard's Report said), together with a descriptive outline, prepared by Katharine Lee Bates, of the work of the department, "of the various courses in Old English, and Chaucer, and through the poets to modern times." In 1900 the department offered twelve full year courses, including one in Old English literature for freshmen, and a 1-hour course in American literature. None of its work was required, but from a student body of 688 there were 418 elections. Thirty years later, just before the next general curricular revision, the department led all others in the number of courses (twenty-three full year courses and seven part courses), the number of elections, and the number of majors.

The Psychology exhibit at the Paris Exposition consisted of four volumes of printed theses, articles by members of the department, photographs of the laboratory and its apparatus, and cards showing graphically the results of experiments. It was, according to President Hazard, "a very unusual and quite wonderful exhibit—one of the fullest records which has ever been made of psychological experiments with women." The credit belongs chiefly to Mary Whiton Calkins, who in 1891 had established that psychology laboratory at Wellesley, one of the first in America. Her appointment as instructor of psychology, also in 1891, illustrates much about the College before the turn of the century. Psychology was beginning to be an experimental, scientific subject; Wellesley wanted to include it and wanted it taught by a woman. Since there were no women psychologists, Professor Mary S. Case, who had herself migrated

from the Latin Department to Philosophy, and who remembered a conversation in which a young instructor in Greek had expressed a deep interest in philosophy, recommended Miss Calkins' appointment. The recommendation was accepted, with the proviso that Miss Calkins take a year's leave to study philosophy and psychology. Here is another example of the policy initiated by Mr. Durant of searching out the right person first and then, if necessary, arranging for further preparation for the position.

Fifty-four students elected Miss Calkins' first course in physiological psychology, and the new laboratory, equipped for experimentation in sensation, reaction times, attention, association, and memory, was hard put to it to accommodate them. The first series of papers on studies done in the laboratory appeared in 1894. In 1895 an advanced course was added, in which students undertook individual investigations of special topics. Ten such investigations were carried on in 1896, three of them published in psychological journals. After 1898, when Eleanor A. McC. Gamble joined the department, the experimental work gradually came under her direction, and Miss Calkins, though she continued to publish articles in psychology and to teach a course in types of psychological theory, taught mainly in the philosophy half of the department. Even as instructor in psychology she had taught philosophy courses (the first full course in Greek philosophy, as well as courses in British and German thinkers), and her title was soon changed to Associate Professor and then Professor of Philosophy and Psychology. When she retired in 1929, having been head since 1898, Miss Pendleton spoke of her department as one of the strongest in the College.

The general reduction of prescribed work brought about by the 1893 curriculum involved cutting required Bible studies from eight hours to four. The consequent drop in the number of students to be taught meant that several of the courses which had been given by members of other departments were withdrawn, and this in turn undoubtedly hastened the emergence of an academic department with a recognized field to be taught by specialists. The process had been begun by Miss Emerson, but since her appointment was not renewed after 1895, the task of organizing the new department was given to the newly appointed Mary E. Woolley. During her five years at Wellesley Miss Woolley taught most of the Old Testament work and in addition a couple of courses in church history. The instructors she brought in for the New Testament work included Adelaide I. Locke, whose course in the life of Christ was especially important, for it was destined to become *the* required course for juniors. Miss Locke also introduced a full year course in the history of religions which, according to Miss Kendrick, was the first of its kind to be offered in an undergraduate college.

Miss Hazard's Reports in the first years of her presidency commented

with satisfaction on the new department of Biblical History, Literature and Interpretation. Noting that in 1900 not only had Miss Woolley left to become president of Mount Holyoke but two instructors had accepted important administrative positions in other colleges, she remarked that "this department seems to have been a training place for future leaders." In 1901 she called attention to the fact that a major was now possible, and in 1902 she spoke of the richness and variety of the department's offering and added that "the growing opportunity for such study excels that of any other college from which statistics have been obtained."

By 1900 the basic curriculum of the department had been established. Some courses were later added but the pattern remained essentially unchanged for the next thirty years. All sophomores studied the Old Testament for a year (2 hours until 1915 and 3 hours thereafter). Until 1915 the requirement for juniors was a 2-hour year course in the New Testament; after that date all juniors studied the Synoptic Gospels for a semester, and those who wished further work (as many did) could elect a second semester course which dealt with other books of the New Testament. One or two years of Hebrew continued to be offered, as did the Greek New Testament courses. For three years (1920-23) Olive Dutcher offered a course in the "Development of Thought in Later Jewish Literature," covering largely Biblical material of the period 300 B.C.-A.D. 100. The only regularly offered electives in non-Biblical material were the year course in the history of religions and Miss Kendrick's "Interpretations of Christianity" (introduced in 1920). Clearly, the department felt that its main task was to teach the Bible, and to make this teaching academically rigorous and intellectually satisfying.

In Music the transition to departmental status, though voted by the Trustees in 1896, was not fully made until Hamilton C. Macdougall came in 1900 to head the department. (Mr. Hill had resigned in 1897, and for three years the offerings in music were minimal.) Under him courses in the history of music expanded greatly, as did those in theory and composition. The department continued to recommend instruction in performing music as an important complement to its credit courses. In addition, for about thirty years it offered for degree credit a number of "applied" courses—"applied harmony," "applied counterpoint," etc.—which sought, "following what might be termed the laboratory method," to "realize synthetically at pianoforte" the principles taught in the theory courses. Mr. Macdougall also introduced in 1900 Wellesley's first non-technical course in the appreciation of music. As choirmaster he gave informal instruction to a large group of students as well as pleasure to the College as a whole not only through the performances of the choir but also through the many recitals and concerts he arranged.

For Art, too, the transition to departmental status was complicated

by the resignation of its former professor. Only two courses were given in 1896-97, by Alice Walton, who soon became a member of the Latin Department, though her art interests continued to find expression in the classical archeology courses that were listed under Classics for many years.

Alice Van Vechten Brown was called in 1897 from the Norwich Art School to head the newly organized department. The combination of "study and practice" that she worked out for the art history courses, often referred to as "the Wellesley method," has continued to this day. "Laboratory work" was required in most art history courses, not for the sake of producing works of art but to sharpen observation and to increase awareness of the constraints and possibilities of the medium used. (In the last few years a separate course, required of majors, in "General Techniques" has replaced laboratory work in nearly all art history courses.) Within two years of Miss Brown's arrival, new instructors and new courses were added and student elections had increased so much that it was necessary to remove from the art building all classes in other subjects. President Hazard in 1900 reported that "the hours counting for the degree have been finally adjusted to include some actual practice in drawing." She was referring not to the laboratory work incorporated into art history courses, but to a separate studio course, introduced in 1898, which could count for the degree after a year course in art history had been completed. Studio work continued and gradually expanded, though it was always limited to those who had studied some art history.

With changing faculty and student interests, course offerings in art history varied over the years, though work in Italian painting seems always to have been prominent. Naturally enough, courses, particularly advanced ones, have appeared from time to time to take advantage of special faculty competence. Harriet B. Hawes, the excavator of Gournia in Crete, and later W. Alexander Campbell, the director of the Antioch excavations, taught courses in ancient art. (Mr. Campbell also introduced a course in Chinese and Japanese art—work that was to continue under others.) Myrtilla Avery was a medievalist, but she is probably best remembered by the hundreds of alumnae who as seniors took her survey history. Alfred Barr, at Wellesley for a few years before going to the Museum of Modern Art in New York, introduced in 1929 a course called "Tradition and Revolt in Modern Painting," the first course in modern art taught in any college in the country. When the distinguished Byzantinist Sirarpie Der Nersessian came in 1930, courses in her specialty were introduced.

In 1930, when Miss Brown retired, President Pendleton wrote, "It is not too much to say that the present department is her creation." She had chosen most of its faculty; she had with them developed a rich offering in art history (54 semester hours); she had introduced studio courses;

and as museum director she had built a collection of choice works of art. She would have agreed wholeheartedly with the statement of a later chairman, Agnes Abbot: "One of the department's basic aims through the years has been to train not only students who go on as art historians and artists, proud as we are of those who have done so, but also to broaden the discrimination and taste of a far larger number, who simply as educated members of a community may so enrich its cultural life."

The curricular changes of 1893 made a significant difference in the pattern of language study. Latin was still required for admission (four units until 1925-26), but with the demise of the Classical Course neither Latin nor Greek was required in college; the only stipulation was that one full course in a foreign language should be elected. Within a few years enrollments in Latin and in Greek dropped sharply, while French and German leapt up. German had always been large (it was, after all, *the* language of scholarship in the nineteenth century), and after 1893 it had a commanding lead which it held until World War I. Then French became the largest foreign language department and has remained so ever since. In addition to language study (which included occasionally philological courses in Gothic and Old and Middle High German in the one department, Old French and Old Provençal in the other), both departments offered a rich fare of literature courses.

Italian, introduced in 1882 by a member of the French Department, has always been a small department. Florence H. Jackson, its sole member from 1890 to 1926, found time in her first fourteen years at Wellesley to teach not only Italian but also, when the need arose, courses for three other departments, among them French epics of the Middle Ages, elementary Spanish, and the history of Greek sculpture. After 1904, when she became associate professor and curator of the Plimpton Collection in the library, and when enough courses were given for a major, she was fully occupied with Italian language and literature.

Spanish, the only other modern foreign language at Wellesley in this period, had a hesitating start. For twenty years after it was introduced in 1883 there were never more than two courses, usually one, and sometimes none at all. It was taught by instructors from other language departments or by part-time instructors until Alice H. Bushee came in 1911. Her arrival marked the beginning of a steady growth, until by the end of the First World War it was the second largest language department.

In 1894, when the new curriculum went into effect, the courses offered both in economics and in political science were included in the Department of History. (Though its name made no acknowledgment of their presence, its head, Katharine Coman, who taught not only history but also four semester courses in economics, had the words "and of Political

Economy" added to her professorial title.) In the following year two courses were added—including one in Social Pathology, "a study of the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes"—that presaged the development of another social science; and in 1897 Emily G. Balch joined the department as instructor in economics and sociology. In 1900, after Miss Coman had served for a year as Dean, she returned to teaching as head of the fully independent department of Economics and Sociology.

The new department flourished; within a few years it had almost as many students and courses as History. Economics may have been regarded as a man's subject in coeducational institutions (there are some indications that this is still so), but not at Wellesley. In 1908 President Hazard, noting that there were nearly 300 student elections in the department that year, said, "A similar marked increase in the number of students took place at the time of the free silver campaign, when it became commonly recognized among students that some understanding of economics was necessary to any intelligent opinion on current national problems. Similarly today, the child labor problem, the Roosevelt policies, so called—the Pure Food Laws, regulation of transportation and of trusts, conservation of coal and woodlands . . . stimulate the desire to study economics and sociology." Monetary policy, public regulation of business, industrial history, the analysis of selected industries (wool and cotton in 1902, lumbering in 1905), principles of statistical analysis, labor economics, and general sociology were all taught, and courses in immigration, consumption, and money and banking were soon added.

Political Science emerged much more slowly. Elizabeth Kimball Kendall, who joined the Department of History in 1888 and became its head in 1902, gave what work was offered, at first only a single course called "Political Science" which continued to be given under the title "History of Political Institutions" until her retirement in 1920. The only other courses were in constitutional law, taught by Miss Kendall from 1891 to 1896, and constitutional government, taught by a part-time instructor from 1912 to 1920. After a two-year gap in which no course at all was offered, Wellesley brought in its first full-time instructor in political science, but it was Louise Overacker, appointed in 1925, who laid the foundations of the present department, adding courses and shifting the emphasis from the history of political institutions to analysis of current problems and organizations. By 1931 it was an autonomous subject within the dual department of History and Political Science, with its own introductory course, a separate major, and an enrollment of about 100 students.

Meanwhile History itself remained strong throughout the period. The 1893 curriculum removed all history requirements, but the department regularly attracted more free elections than any other except English

Literature. Though its courses focused on Western Europe, England, and the United States, other areas were studied. A course in the political history of Russia was introduced by Julia S. Orvis in 1908; courses in the Middle East and in the Far East were taught by Barnette Miller from 1927-28 until her retirement; and the Spanish Department's growing interest in Latin American literature was supported by a course, first given in 1926 by Edward E. Curtis, in the rise of Spanish American republics.

Though the new curriculum of 1893 required two sciences, it no longer specified chemistry and physics, and not surprisingly elections in those departments dropped within a few years to about half what they had been before. It seems generally true everywhere that the physical sciences have relatively small elections among women students. Part of the explanation may be found in students' recognition that it is difficult for a woman to be accepted as a professional in the "hard" sciences. The dramatic increase in elections during and immediately after World Wars I and II bears this out, for in those years the demand for trained scientists, men or women, was great. As Mr. Durant believed, women can do the work, and whether the numbers have been large or small, Wellesley has continued to give them the needed tools.

Providing the tools meant very different things in 1893 and in 1932. The course names often remained the same, and in general the offerings in all the sciences were fairly stable, but the new discoveries coming rapidly in the early years of the twentieth century were reflected within the courses, though often in ways that only the specialist can fully appreciate. Miss Whiting in 1912 spoke of the restructuring of Physics as the result of the discoveries "in the last decades." Wellesley, she said, "has paralleled the development from the battery to the power plant and the radio and the analysis of the atom." As she pointed out in 1916 at the end of her thirty-six years at Wellesley, "Subjects which have interested advanced students in later years did not exist in the earlier days." Course descriptions in Chemistry reflect an analogous development, which might be characterized in general terms by saying that the direction of change was from descriptive to analytic study.

A similar shift can be seen in the offerings in Botany and Zoology, where, for instance, the early stress on taxonomy gave way to developmental morphology and anatomy. In 1895-96 a single seminar called "Philosophical Biology" introduced advanced students to the writings of Darwin and Wallace; within a few years evolution was mentioned in the descriptions of several courses and then became a substantial section in introductory work in both departments. In the 1920s theories of heredity and variation, later called genetics, became the subject of laboratory courses in which students worked on practical problems in plant

or animal breeding. Microbiology appeared in 1908, and today's students may be surprised to learn that ecology, far from being a recent concern, was introduced into the curriculum in 1918.

When the Whitin Observatory, "furnished with the best instruments for advanced work," was opened in 1900, Miss Whiting wrote that it was the finest students' observatory in the country. The newly acquired 12" equatorial telescope led to considerably more sophisticated observations and measurements than were possible with the original 4½" portable telescope, and courses in "practical astronomy" and in "advanced observatory work" were added. Daytime laboratory work, using photographs then becoming available from research observatories, was also introduced, even for elementary classes. In 1905 astronomy was recognized as a separate discipline, its courses no longer listed under Physics or Applied Mathematics but as the offering of an independent department.

From 1896 to 1916 there were two departments of mathematics at Wellesley. The division into pure and applied mathematics was perhaps natural, since from the beginning there had been courses in analytical mechanics and mathematical astronomy. Ellen Hayes, who became head when Miss Shafer moved to the presidency, taught these courses. She clearly was impatient with theoretical work, which she was reported to have called "useless stuff." It is equally clear that the other teachers of mathematics did not agree with her estimate, and the result was the formation of a separate department of Applied Mathematics with Miss Hayes as its sole member. The President's Report of 1896 merely said, "It is desirable to give this side of the subject [i.e. pure mathematics] the full recognition due its central importance . . . and also to encourage studies in applied mathematics and to establish a close relation between the latter work and allied work in Physics, Astronomy, and Geology." The new department, which continued until Miss Hayes retired, was always small, with an average of ten students a year.

A program unique in Wellesley's history was begun in 1909 when the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics was incorporated as a part of the College, and its head, Amy M. Homans, became the director of a greatly enlarged Department of Hygiene and Physical Education. Though the program started as an undergraduate course, accepting as special students those who had been at the Boston Normal School, it was intended from the first to be a graduate professional course to "fit students to become specialists in the field of physical education and health work." It awarded a certificate upon the completion of a two-year course, and from 1923 on awarded the Master's degree to specially qualified students. Wellesley undergraduates were allowed to enter a five-year course which enabled them to earn a certificate or a Master's degree with one year of graduate study. In addition to a varied program in the techniques of teaching

sports (over a dozen were listed), in gymnastics, and in dancing, the department offered degree-credit courses in such areas as leadership in play and recreation, kinesiology, applied physiology, health problems of school and community.

President Clapp's Report in 1953 noted that the department "had pioneered in professional training of college graduates, had helped to win for the profession recognized status in colleges and universities, and was known in the field for its excellent standards." She had also noted in an earlier Report that the number of graduate students in the College as a whole continued to be a small group, adding that presumably "that will always be the case in a college intended primarily for undergraduates, unless Wellesley should wish to pioneer in a phase of education which it considers important and which is not available elsewhere." In 1909, and for several decades after, Wellesley had carried on and strengthened the pioneer work of the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics. By 1951 there were many places offering graduate work of high quality in that field, and the Trustees voted to accept the recommendation of the Academic Council that the program be discontinued in 1953 in order that "the College's energy and resources should be concentrated on education through the liberal arts."

The Second Major Revision: 1932-1965

The next major curricular revision was voted in 1932 to take effect beginning with the Class of 1936. As in 1893, the most important goal was greater freedom of choice. In 1927 Dean Alice V. Waite had written: "It is perhaps not surprising that as individualism increases in the world at large, the young student should show less acquiescence in a system of education imposed rather than elected." And in that year the faculty did vote a 6-hour reduction of prescribed work. The members of the class of 1931 and the next four classes could choose 3 hours in mathematics *or* in philosophy and psychology, and 3 hours in a foreign language *or* in a second science. The logic of these alternatives is not clear, but at any rate the scheme was a transitional one. Under the 1932 revision, the prescribed work was reduced to 9 year-hours: 3 hours in Biblical history, 3 hours in English composition, and 1 hour each in hygiene, speech, and physical education. Exemption examinations were authorized for all these except Bible and physical education. (Physical education meant two periods a week of "practical work" in the freshman and sophomore years.) Instead of the earlier requirement of a course in a foreign language, there was the stipulation that every candidate for the B.A. degree must have a reading knowledge, tested by examination, of a modern foreign language, usually French or German, though Italian or Spanish

could be substituted in cases where the student could show their relevance to her work. (Within a few years this was liberalized by including ancient as well as all modern foreign languages and by allowing the student to meet the requirement by passing the College Board examination with an appropriately high score or by completing a course in college at the second-year level or higher.) The remainder of the 60 hours required for the degree were not all unrestricted, for in addition to the prescribed work the student was directed to elect at least 6 hours from each of three broad curricular areas: Group I, the arts, languages, and literature; Group II, the social sciences, history, Biblical history, philosophy, and psychology; Group III, mathematics and the sciences. Every department of the College appeared in one or another of the groups, and work from two different departments in each group was stipulated. In 1934-35 there were about fifty courses, open without prerequisites, from which the student selected six to meet the distribution requirement. In later years, as the number of courses open without prerequisite to juniors and seniors increased, she had even greater freedom of choice. To balance this wide latitude in course selection, there was an increase in the number of hours for a major. Work for concentration was to consist of a major of 12 to 15 hours with related or supplementary work in other departments of 9 to 6 hours.

It is fair to say that this new curriculum lasted for thirty years, but important modifications within its basic pattern were brought about by a curricular review that took place in the war years between 1943 and 1945. Though the College was much less affected by the war than were the men's colleges, still it had lent its president to the Navy and had introduced a number of special curricular and extracurricular courses. By 1943 the faculty felt that it would be wise to look beyond the immediate needs of the war years. Accordingly a Long Term Policy Committee was appointed and directed to consider all matters that had a bearing on educational policy. It was a broad mandate. The committee did look at a variety of topics from freshman housing policy to the place of graduate study at Wellesley, but only the curricular recommendations are relevant to this chapter. What emerged was a modified group distribution plan and a slight reduction in prescribed work. Both the 1-hour freshman hygiene course and the 1-hour sophomore speech course were dropped. (One result, not unanticipated, was the gradual elimination of 1-hour courses in other departments, many of which were transformed into 3-hour semester courses.) Six full courses were still required for distribution, but the choices within the three groups were somewhat more restricted. Since Biblical history and English composition were required, courses from these departments could no longer be chosen for distribution. Nor could courses in education or speech, the two departments in

which no major was offered. In Group I, one full course was to be in literature (English or foreign); in Group II, one was to be in economics, political science, or sociology, to insure some acquaintance with contemporary social institutions, and the other in philosophy or history; in Group III, one full course was to be in laboratory science. (Psychology, which was placed in Group III, did not count as a laboratory science, nor did mathematics or geography.) The choices were narrowed, but at the same time there was increased opportunity for exemption, so that the able and well-prepared student was allowed to anticipate some of the work for distribution by passing examinations given by the appropriate departments.* There were some changes in the scheme for concentration, including the setting up of four or five interdepartmental majors, but on the whole this curricular review can be taken as a reaffirmation of the 1932 plan. Perhaps the only remarkable thing about it was the unanimity of the faculty vote of acceptance.

Although the curricular framework was essentially unchanged from 1932 to 1965, there were nonetheless a number of significant developments within departments and some departmental reorganization.

In Biblical history, with the requirement cut from 4½ to 3 hours, Old Testament study was reduced in the sophomore course to a single semester in order to make room for the study of the Synoptic Gospels in the second semester. There was, however, further elective work in both the Old and New Testaments. Offerings in non-Biblical material expanded, especially in the area of the history of Christian thought, in Christian ethics, and in Judaic studies, but the study of the Bible itself remained central. For most of the period the department was the third or fourth largest in the College. President Horton, commenting on the Academic Council's decision in 1945 to retain the Biblical history requirement, said, "Its significance lies in the effect it has of maintaining the Judeo-Christian tradition as a dominant fact in the cultural heritage of American students."

Except for Biblical History, the departments in Group II were all double ones, and they were all large. In 1936, for instance, Economics and Sociology, History and Political Science, Philosophy and Psychology ranked 1, 2, and 3 in the number of major students. No doubt the problems of the depression years and the political upheavals in Europe stimulated student interest in the social science courses, though it had been large before. In 1939 the Academic Council voted the separation of

* Later, after the College Board Advanced Placement Examinations had come into being, the faculty voted to give credit toward the degree to students who achieved an honors grade in these tests. This meant that after 1959 an increasing number of students found it possible, perhaps with summer study, to graduate in less than four years.

Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology from their parent departments—not, however, because of size, but rather because the interests and methods of each half of the dual departments had become increasingly different. Political Science, with ten semester courses, and Psychology, with fifteen, had long had separate majors, so that the division meant chiefly that each now had its own chairman. Since there had been fewer courses in Sociology, the separation in this case led to a considerable expansion in course offerings. A new course in the community, which included a study of urban society, another in ethnic groups in the United States, and a third in cultural anthropology marked the beginnings of subjects which were to become increasingly prominent in the later offerings of the department.

Until 1947 English Composition and English Literature were separate departments. Composition had, of course, been responsible for the many writing courses then offered, but in addition its members had over the years offered courses in contemporary and recent literature—drama, poetry, the essay, and fiction—probably because of its importance in providing models for student writers, while Literature had focused on pre-twentieth-century authors. But both taught literature. Moreover, the graduate training of instructors in both was largely the same, as were their interests and aims. Thus, on the recommendation of a large majority of the faculty members of each department, the Academic Council voted that the two should be merged into the single department of English. After a transitional period of some ten years, the work for the major came to be essentially in literature. Workshops in writing—that is, courses beyond the required freshman composition—continued to be offered, but most of the courses and most of the elections were in literature.

There are relatively few curricular changes to record in foreign language instruction, though the language laboratory, new in 1958, did make a difference in methods of instruction, particularly for beginning students of modern foreign languages.

Throughout the period French held a commanding lead among the languages, with an average of about three times as many students as any other language department. A change in admission requirements was marked in 1936-37 by the appearance of a course in beginning Latin, given "on request"; Latin (or Greek) was now only recommended, not required, as an admission subject. Greek, by this time, had become a subject that was almost always begun in college, but the excellence of instruction and the rapidity of student progress were strikingly illustrated by the plays in Greek given usually in the Hay amphitheatre, but occasionally, for a performance of *The Frogs,* in and around the swimming pool.

World War II had a profound effect on several departments. German, which had gradually recovered from the effects of World War I, again declined sharply, and Spanish took its place as the second largest language department. The rapid rise in elections in Spanish may, in part, have been the result of interest generated by the Roosevelt good neighbor policy, but the more important reason was the presence of two remarkable scholar-poets—Pedro Salinas from 1936 to 1940 and Jorge Guillén from 1940 to his retirement in 1958—both exiles from war-torn Spain.

World War II may also have been the immediate reason for adding Russian to the curriculum. There had long been courses in Russian history and politics, but the study of the language came in 1944, when Vladimir Nabokov, who had been at Wellesley two years earlier as "interdepartmental visitor in comparative literature," was appointed Lecturer in Russian. When he resigned four years later there were two full years of language study in Russian and a course in Russian literature in translation. A third year of language study was added by his successor in 1949, and ten years later a fourth course. By 1969 the number of elections was large enough to warrant offering a major.

Changes in the science curriculum came gradually in the period from 1935 to 1960. To describe the constant updating that went on within courses as the sciences themselves developed would require more space and more scientific competence than the writer of this chapter commands. But even the layman can recognize a shift that came after 1960, the result of vastly increased government support of science in the post-Sputnik era. Study commissions in the physical sciences, in mathematics, and in biology led to greatly improved secondary school courses, which in turn made more sophisticated college work possible. Increased competence in mathematics was particularly important, for it meant that calculus, a necessary tool in many science courses, could be given as the standard freshman course at Wellesley. All the sciences benefited, as they did also from a number of National Science Foundation equipment grants. Mention should also be made of the Undergraduate Research Participation program, supported by the N.S.F., which enabled students in chemistry first, and later in biology, to spend eight weeks in the summer working with faculty members on various research projects. A more extended program, also supported by the N.S.F., was the Chemistry Institute (1964-72), designed to enable mature women who had been undergraduate majors five to twenty-five years before to revive and extend their knowledge of chemistry and to earn a Master's degree.

One notices in reading the science sections of the catalogues over the years that subjects which once were taught only on the Grade III level tend to find their way into Grade II or even Grade I courses. Often this

marks a dramatic growth in the subject itself, as well as better student preparation, so that departments seek to introduce underclassmen as early as possible to areas in which further advanced work is offered. Physical chemistry, for example, formerly a Grade III course, now occupies a large section of the introductory course, while one biochemistry course has moved from Grade III to Grade II. Other examples are Grade I microbiology and Grade II courses in genetics and in histology-cytology, all formerly taught only on the Grade III level. One also notices quite new subjects appearing in course descriptions, such as lunar geology and continental drift in the introductory geology course, and in a Grade II astronomy course radio galaxies and quasars.

There have been two important changes in departmental organization of the sciences in the last twenty years. Geology and Geography, in a dual department from the beginning, had grown apart over the years. Geology was and is a "laboratory" science having close ties with both the physical and the biological sciences, while Geography always stressed its relations to economics and history. In 1954 they separated. The work in each continued much as before during the next decade. Then in 1965, after both members of the Geography Department had resigned to take positions elsewhere, only a single course in urban geography was given, and thereafter no geography. Any middle-sized liberal arts college has the problem of deciding how many departments it can support. There are many important and interesting areas that could claim a place, but with limited resources and a relatively small student body it is necessary to choose. Wellesley chose not to try to rebuild Geography, but rather to concentrate on the other sciences which seemed more central.

A second organizational shift came in 1964 when Botany and Zoology merged to form the Department of Biological Sciences. The many common concerns, evidenced by the fact that both gave courses in physiology, genetics, histology, cytology, and both dealt with evolution in several courses, made this union logical and even inevitable. After the merger, common introductory courses were given, and consolidated Grade II courses in genetics, cell physiology, and ecology could achieve new richness and more biological understanding by referring to both plants and animals. Other courses which focused on one area or the other remained —horticulture, for example, and endocrinology, and separate courses in animal and plant physiology. For all majors there are now four semesters of common work, after which students may design a program in general biology or one that emphasizes subjects dealing with animals or plants or microorganisms. In recent years an interdepartmental major in molecular biology, sponsored by Biology and Chemistry, has been added.

A Decade of Change: 1965-1975

Miss Clapp in her Report on the years 1958-60 spoke of the new seriousness in American education that "is bringing to Wellesley a student body each year more nearly ready on entrance for the scholar's idea of 'higher education.' " One mark of this was a new class schedule, voted in 1958, which reduced class time from three 50-minute periods to two 60-minute periods a week for most classes and freed Wednesday and Saturday mornings from all appointments. The resulting increase in consecutive time for individual study was coupled with the expectation of more student initiative and responsibility. As Miss Clapp said, the hope was that "Wellesley students will accomplish as much as heretofore with more serenity, more independence, and consequently with more on-going interest and competence in learning." Most students and faculty members evidently found that the new schedule lived up to expectations. Class meetings were later increased to 70 minutes when the number of weeks in a semester was reduced, but meeting twice a week has remained the norm to the present time.

In her Reports in 1956 and again in 1960 Miss Clapp suggested that in addition to the annual review each department made of its own courses, it was desirable that there be, perhaps every decade, an inclusive examination—one which could cross subject and department lines to appraise the total educational opportunity for Wellesley students. In 1962 a new faculty review committee was elected to do just this. Its report, presented to the Academic Council two years later, was debated at length, somewhat modified, and then adopted to go into effect in 1965-66.

Much was kept from the old curriculum: a distribution requirement, somewhat modified by placing psychology again in the group with the social sciences;* English composition for freshmen, now reduced to a one-semester course; and Biblical history for sophomores, unchanged, though only after a good deal of questioning on the part of many faculty members who felt that other subjects were equally important. The new plan was innovative in the arrangement of the courses and in the stress that it placed on varied methods of instruction and of learning. The most striking change was in the calendar, which divided the academic year into three terms, the first two of thirteen weeks in which the student carried four courses each meeting for two 70-minute periods a week, the third of six and a half weeks in which she carried two courses each meeting twice as often. As Miss Clapp explained, the purposes of

* It had been in Group III from 1945 to 1965.

the change were "to end the unsatisfactory interruption caused by the Christmas vacation shortly before the examination period in the first semester, to permit more variety of ways of learning during the academic year, and to lessen the number of academic interests which the student must maintain at one time without lessening the opportunity for breadth which the five-course program gives."

The "variety of ways of learning" came not only with the change of pace in the academic year, two terms for more extensive work and one for intensive work; it was also one of the motives for the introduction of large lecture courses, in which, it was hoped, the student might develop a kind of independence in learning complementing her experience in the usual, and rightly dominant, small classes. For freshmen there was a 1-term course in the Hellenic heritage; for upperclassmen, a course in the history of China, or in the modernization of traditional societies focusing on Africa, or in turning points in recent scientific thought.

Another sort of independent learning was built into the scheme with the "290" course for juniors and the "340" for seniors. In 290 each junior spent one half of her time in Term III carrying through a project of her own choosing within the major field and outside the context of instruction. In 340 each senior spent half her time in Term III preparing for the comprehensive examination in her major, re-evaluating and integrating her earlier course work.

The new calendar entailed more than merely shifting some courses to the new third term. It was possible now for departments to plan 3-term sequences of courses within the academic year so that students could be ready earlier than before for advanced work in a field that interested them. It also meant that nearly all departments offered 1-term introductory courses, which made it easier for students to explore a variety of fields before choosing their majors. (It should be explained that from now on the standard course is called a "unit" of work, corresponding roughly to what had been called a 3-hour semester course.) A noteworthy example of both trends was a cooperative physical science sequence, in which an introductory unit in the basic principles of physics, important to all the sciences, preceded work in chemistry, astronomy, or geology. To cite another example of the effect of the calendar on curriculum, the Department of Education for the first time found it possible to offer a course in supervised teaching (in the third term), with the result that a student who had taken other courses in the department could earn certification as a teacher by the time she graduated.

It may have been the most innovative and imaginative curriculum in Wellesley's history. The students especially liked having courses end before vacations. A large majority of students and faculty found the 290 independent study unit both exciting and valuable, though there

was much less enthusiasm about the large lecture courses. But the scheme lasted only three years. Perhaps it required too many changes too rapidly. The calendar arrangement itself required many departments not only to devise new sequences of courses but also to restructure existing courses and in some cases to offer new 1-unit introductory work. When by 1968 the M.I.T. exchange program was in full swing, the calendar differences in the two institutions made cross-registration very difficult for many who wanted to take advantage of it. Added to this was the widespread student unrest of the period (much less disruptive at Wellesley than at many other colleges, but nonetheless a factor), one manifestation of which was a general impatience with any required studies.

And so once again the faculty reconsidered the educational scheme at Wellesley and in 1968 yet another "new" curriculum was voted, this one relatively unstructured and on the whole more relaxed than earlier ones. A two-semester calendar was reinstated (which meant giving up 290); Biblical history for sophomores, English composition for freshmen, and the lecture courses were dropped, as was the General Examination in the major (which meant giving up 340). The number of units of work required for the degree was cut from 40 to 32, which entailed a reduction in distribution requirements to three units in each of the three groups.

With the abandonment of the requirement in Biblical history, the department felt it necessary to introduce major curricular changes. The "systematic and serious study of the Scriptures" continues, but now for a much smaller group of students in courses which are wholly elective. Beginning in 1968 we find a notable increase in non-Biblical courses, which in 1975 constitute over three quarters of the total offering.

Work in the department is open to freshmen, who can elect grade I work in the Old and in the New Testament, in Asian religions, or in religion in the modern Western world, or, if the grade II label does not discourage them, any one of three courses in theology. For upperclassmen there is expanded work in theology, both Jewish and Christian, in Asian religions, and in American religious history. Among the new courses are two in the psychology of religion, one in primitive religion, and one in black religion and social protest.

Perhaps the best way to summarize the changes is to point to the new name of the department. In 1968, at the request of its members, the Trustees voted to entitle it "Religion and Biblical Studies." Since then there have been two fairly distinct majors—one in Biblical studies and the other in religious studies.

The framework of the curriculum has remained the same since 1968, but the period has been one of rapid change. The Dean reported that whereas there were 160 curriculum changes in 1968-69, the number in 1972-73 was 284. Only those that seem to mark general trends will be

mentioned here. Two or three of these may remind the reader of courses or programs in the first period of Wellesley's history. In 1890 there was a department of Comparative Philology with courses in Sanskrit and in the comparative grammar of Greek and Latin and of the Teutonic languages; today there are courses in historical linguistics, in the philosophy of language, and in the psychology of language. In 1875-79 the study of "literature" meant reading in translation masterpieces from most of the countries in Europe; and again in the 1970s there are courses devoted to literature in translation, now given separately by the modern language departments as well as by Classics. Providing a place for studio art and performing music was the main function of the old Schools of Art and Music. In the last few years "practical" work, as it used to be called, has achieved a significantly larger place than it had had since the demise of the Five Years' Courses, but now within the regular curriculum. In Music, as many as four units of credit may be given for "intensive study of interpretation and of advanced performance problems in the literature." In Art, a major in studio work is now possible, with eleven semester courses to choose from—in drawing, painting, sculpture, design, printmaking, and photography.

For some of the other recent curricular developments there are no early analogues. Obviously there could be no course in automatic computation in the first decades of the College. That came in the 1960s, by which time it had become clear that all science majors, as well as many in the social sciences, needed to be able to use a computer. Hence in 1968 the statistics laboratory in Green Hall was transformed into a computer center, and an instructor in computer science was added to the staff. Relatively new, also, is the need to introduce courses in science and mathematics, not to be counted in the major, for those who, at home in only one of C. P. Snow's two cultures, are reluctant, or not well enough prepared, to undertake the rather sophisticated work now found in most beginning Group III courses. The non-scientifically-minded student needs to learn something of what goes on today in the rapidly expanding and tremendously important other culture. After all, Wellesley has always believed that any liberally educated person must have some acquaintance with this area of human endeavor. Thus there are courses that presuppose no college mathematics nor any specific secondary school science. In physics there are two such courses, both non-quantitative in approach, entitled "Physics in Perspective" and "Physics of Perception and Esthetics." Chemistry offers two semesters in contemporary problems, one focusing on the properties of water, the other on foods and metabolism. In biology the need is met by a course in the anatomy and physiology of man; in mathematics, by an introduction to mathematical thought and an introduction to finite mathematics. In astronomy, where courses for the major

have always presupposed mathematics and physics, the non-technical introductory course goes back to 1916-17.

Courses dealing with areas and cultures outside North America and Western Europe are not new. The art, history, and religions of Asia have long been studied at Wellesley. But in the past decade the growth of subjects loosely called "non-Western" has been striking. The Department of History leads with some fifteen courses, dealing not only with China and Japan but now with Africa and with the Arab world as well, and there is further work in these areas given by the Departments of Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology, and Economics.

In the spring of 1966 it was decided that Wellesley should offer instruction in Chinese, six units in 1966-67, later increased to thirteen units, and in addition two units of Chinese literature in translation. Since 1970, an interdepartmental major has been possible combining study of the language with courses in Chinese history, art, politics, and religion.

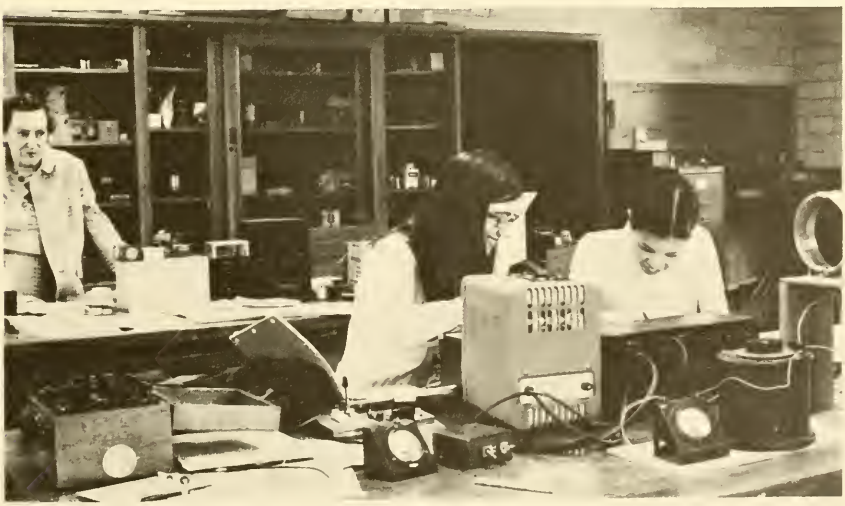
The Black Studies program, greatly expanded since its introduction in 1968, now has departmental status. The 1974-75 catalogue listed twenty-six courses, many of which were cross-listed in other departments —History and Sociology and Anthropology with the most, but seven other departments represented—from which a major can be constructed.

The newest area to be represented in the curriculum is, appropriately enough, Woman. The lengthy debate on coeducation ended when the Trustees voted in 1971 that the College should not grant degrees to men, but it seems to have been what the women's liberation movement would call a "consciousness-raising" experience. (For one thing, student opinion seems to have shifted in three years from strong advocacy of coeducation at Wellesley to general approval of continuing as a women's college.) At any rate, courses on women began to appear in the curriculum, ranging from "The Role of Women in Antiquity" to "Contemporary Woman: An Interdisciplinary Perspective," and including within this time-span courses in women writers in English, the image of woman in French literature, a psychological study of the implications of being female, and a philosophy course in feminist theories.

Flexibility and variation are now built into the curriculum. Most departments offer courses numbered 249 or 349 in which the subject may change yearly to meet student interests or to take advantage of special faculty competence. And if a student's special interest is not satisfied she may, as before, elect a unit or two of independent study. If she wishes still more variation or desires work in subjects like architectural design or electrical engineering not offered at Wellesley, she may, if she has the approval of the department adviser, elect courses at M.I.T. under the cross-registration program which was worked out in 1967, tried by a few students in that planning year, and officially inaugurated in 1968-69. A

shuttle bus runs between the two campuses carrying an average of well over 200 cross-registrants each semester. Majors, too, are more flexible. Some eight interdepartmental majors are outlined in the catalogue, and in addition a student may, with the advice of two faculty members, design an individual major which centers on an area or a period or a subject that cuts across departmental lines.

The laboratory of Sarah Frances Whiting, the first professor of physics and astronomy. Annie Jump Cannon '84, renowned astronomer, was the third student from the left.



A present-day physics laboratory taught by Professor Janet B. Guernsey.

Zoologist Mary Alice Willcox, class, and skeletons in 1883.

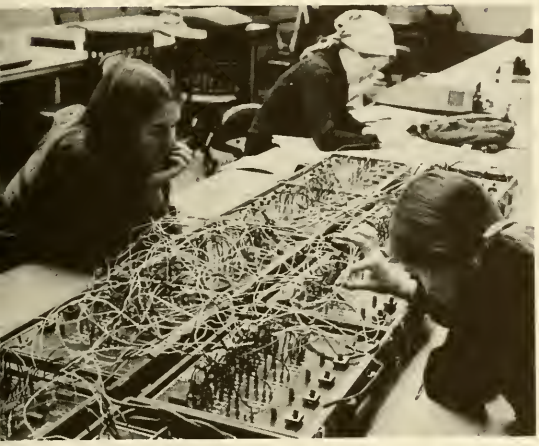
Botanist Harriet B. Creighton in 1970.

Zoologists Gladys McCosh, Harriet Waterman, and Virginia Fiske and skeleton in 1956.

A gymnasium class in 1893.

Language laboratory in the late 1950s.

Computer science laboratory in the 1970s.



Charlotte Roberts '80 and an early chemistry class.

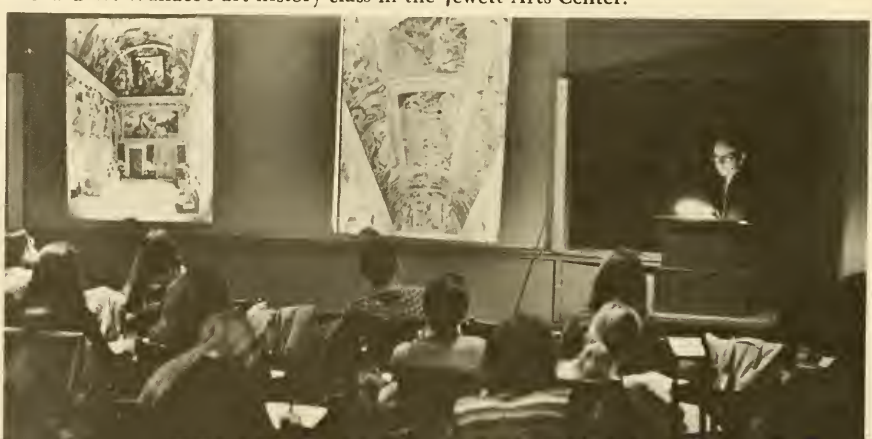
Jean Crawford, Charlotte Roberts Professor of Chemistry, and a recent class.

A House of Commons debate in Elizabeth Kendall's class in government in the 1900s.

A political science class taught by Alan H. Schechter in the 1970s.

Helen T. Lin's seminar in Chinese.

Richard W. Wallace's art history class in the Jewett Arts Center.



A student in a studio art course.

Classes which moved outside Founders Hall on a lovely spring day.

MAUD HAZELTINE CHAPLIN

Students: In the Beginning and Now

I

Considering the span of years and the continuing emphasis on a diversified student body, it is remarkable that Wellesley students can be characterized at all. Certain characteristics have persisted, however, chiefly perhaps because from the very beginning, as the first College Calendar cautioned, Wellesley was intended "for those students only who have vigorous health, more than ordinary ability, and the purpose to give themselves faithfully to the pursuit of knowledge, and to discipline and develop their minds by arduous study." Although these first requisites for admission have been modified in detail over the years, evidence of good health and intellectual competence and interest have remained essential attributes and hence have provided a measure of consistency to the character of the student body.

The very first students were indeed pioneers. For women—faculty as well as students—to have the opportunities which they had at Wellesley was remarkable, as the following account in the *Syracuse Journal* in 1879 of a visit by Lucy Stone, one of the earliest leaders in the women's rights movement, indicates: "At this college 'the cooks are men, the professors are women.' The visitors were invited to look at the microscope work of the school. The girls have more than fifty microscopes constantly in use, and gave an exhibit of animal, mineral and vegetable specimens which was much to their credit. They also have row-boats, each with its own colors, captain and crew. The girls are accustomed to exercise themselves at their oars, in the lake, every evening, and are said to look very rosy and healthy."

It is not surprising that the students were "very rosy and healthy." In the early years great emphasis was placed upon good health because one of the principal concerns of prospective applicants and their parents

was the possible deleterious effect of rigorous study. Mr. Durant, however, was firmly convinced that "the prevailing ill-health of American school-girls is not due to hard study, but is in most cases due to the violation of the plain laws of nature as to fresh air, simple and nourishing food, daily exercise, sufficient sleep and suitable dress." He therefore included in the first catalogue this reassuring statement: "The health of the students is of primary importance. In the construction of the college buildings this was constantly in view. Everything possible has been done to give an abundance of light, sunshine, and fresh air to the inmates. . . . The location is known as the most healthy in the healthy state of Massachusetts"! Reiterated throughout the early history of the College is the Founder's concern for health, his belief in the importance of proper diet and exercise. The first students were required to have one hour of outdoor exercise daily, a requirement which could be met by walking on the campus. But if they chanced to encounter Mr. Durant on such an excursion, they ran the risk of a personal lecture on the importance of deep breathing and the proper way to engage in healthy exercise. It must have been a source of great pride to him that the 1877 catalogue advised students that their wardrobe should provide for "great allowance for increase of size that almost invariably results from life at the college."

Good health, however necessary a condition for good scholarship, was considered, then as now, only *one* factor in a student's education. Recognizing the influence which young people have on each other and desiring to create a residential community in which learning is more than a classroom experience, Wellesley has always sought a diversified student body. In its first fifty years more than sixty percent of the students came from outside the New England area. As early as 1881-82, Wellesley could claim two students from Oregon, two from Texas, and one each from Colorado and California!

Upon being asked not long ago why she chose Wellesley although she lived in the distant state of Montana, Edith *Mills* Purcell '09 recalled: "Being an outdoor person, I did not fancy a postage-stamp campus, and Wellesley's beautiful campus and lake were most appealing. Although used to western scenery and the grandeur of the Rockies, the thought of living amidst New England beauty as typified by the Wellesley campus was most attractive. . . . I liked the history of Wellesley and its early presidents and especially the Wellesley motto and the emphasis placed upon it. I liked the fact that Wellesley stressed the enrollment of students from all parts of the country. Later I was delighted to find classmates from Texas, Georgia, Hawaii etc. to balance those more to be expected from Maine and Massachusetts. Last, but by no means least, the proximity of Boston had strong allure! . . . In retrospect, acknowledging of course Wellesley's preeminence in the vanguard academically, I

would say that the campus and lake and nearness of Boston were the chief factors in making my decision." Wherever students come from, their reasons for choosing Wellesley have not varied greatly over the years. Its academic reputation, the beauty of the campus, proximity to Boston are all frequently mentioned. In addition, applicants often cite the enthusiasm of alumnae relatives and friends. Sometimes, however, the enthusiasm backfires. One alumna daughter, accepted by Wellesley, was unequivocal about her decision to go elsewhere: "Let me just remind you that for seventeen years my mother said, 'If you don't eat your spinach, you can't go to Wellesley.' By the time I learned to like spinach, I just couldn't stomach Wellesley."

Geographic diversity extended beyond the United States. In 1888-89 Wellesley had its first foreign student, Kin *Kato* Takeda, a "Special Student," as was another Japanese student, Tadzu *Sugiye* Tokita '94. The distinction of being the first foreign student to receive a Wellesley B.A. belongs to Jisuye *Koike* Takehara '12.

The Japanese were the first to come, but the Chinese were responsible for our first foreign scholarships. On February 13, 1906, the Chinese High Commissioners of Education came to Wellesley as a part of their inspection of the American system of education. The Dowager Empress of China had expressed a wish that they visit a large college for women, and Wellesley was selected. When the Commissioners arrived at the Wellesley station they were met by a delegation representing the trustees, the administration, the faculty, and the students. "We were so fortunate as to have two students [Lottie *Hartwell* Ufford '06 and Frances *Taft* Pyke '09] who could address them in their own language," Miss Hazard was to comment later. A short tour of inspection of College Hall and the campus ended at the Chapel, where the faculty and students had assembled to hear Miss Hazard's welcoming address and the announcement that the Trustees had voted to provide three scholarships for Chinese students to foster "friendly relations between the women of the oldest and youngest civilizations in the world." In the fall of 1907 three students from China duly arrived on campus, but only one was found to be fully prepared for college work. The other two students went to Walnut Hill for further preparation, returning to Wellesley and graduating a few years later.

In 1946, when few American colleges had come to recognize the need of foreign students for special counseling and orientation, President Horton asked Carol Roehm '22, a member of the Spanish Department, to serve as adviser to Wellesley's foreign students. At the same time she requested Miss Roehm to organize the Wellesley Summer Institute for Foreign Students. This provided orientation to American academic life for students of many different language backgrounds, both men and

women, who came to study in American colleges and universities during the years which followed World War II. When the Institute was discontinued in 1950 it had served as a model for scores of similar orientation sessions on other campuses.

By 1955, students from fifty-four countries had studied here. In that one year there were fifty-six foreign students on campus. In 1973-74 there were ninety-three students from forty-three countries in Asia, Africa, Europe, and South America. As early as 1923 the Trustees voted to provide scholarships specifically for foreign students, and they have allocated increasingly larger sums for this purpose over the years. In recent years the campus has been further enriched by the presence of Slater Fellows, students from abroad who study at Wellesley for a year and then return to their home universities. The Slater International Center, opened in the fall of 1972 in Agora, formerly a Society House, provides a gathering place for all students, both foreign and American, who are interested in international understanding. Both the Slater Fellowships and the Center were made possible through the generosity of Priscilla *Allen* Slater '16 and her husband, Ellis D. Slater.

Geographic diversity is, however, only one aspect of the many kinds of diversity which Wellesley has traditionally sought. In his address on the "American Scholar" delivered at Bowdoin College in August 1862, Mr. Durant stated the premises of his educational beliefs: "The first object and duty of the true patriot should be to elevate and educate all our people" so that national greatness can be assured. The very first College Calendar lamented the fact that there were "many young women of fine talents earnestly desiring to fit themselves for usefulness, who cannot meet even the small expenses of the college," and went on to petition for the provision of funds for scholarship aid.

The charge for board and tuition was placed as low as possible ($250, which even at that time was considered moderate) to encourage applications from students with limited means, and Henry Fowle Durant's preference for "calico girls" over those of "velvet" is well-known. He was also adamant that "those who are wealthy as well as those who are not, are expected to practice economy and to discourage display and extravagance in dress and personal expenditure." To this end he established the practice of domestic work whereby all of the students aided in some of the lighter household tasks. By giving one hour a day, the College Calendar maintained, students enabled the College to keep the price for board and tuition at nearly half what it might have been.

In the spring of 1878, Mrs. M. H. Simpson, a trustee of the College, invited a group of Boston women to her home at Mrs. Durant's suggestion to discuss ways of providing aid to those who could not afford Wellesley's fees. As a result, the "Students' Aid Society of Wellesley Col-

lege" was founded and three of the guests pledged $5,000 each. For the ensuing year the College Calendar was able to state that "Students requiring pecuniary assistance are referred to Students' Aid Society." For 1878-79 four scholarships were available, but this was hardly enough: to meet the wants of the numerous applicants for assistance, one hundred scholarships were needed. Although more scholarship funds became available, both through the Students' Aid Society and through individual donors to the College, in 1893 President Shafer was still obliged to report "that applications for financial aid from students already in college, who have met the various tests of life and work, among us, exceed the means at the disposal of the college and of the Treasurer of the Students' Aid Society." By 1904, twenty-one percent of the student body received some form of scholarship aid, a figure which by no means equalled the number to whom the College would have liked to give aid had the funds been available.

Another means of enabling students of moderate means to attend Wellesley was the establishment beginning in 1886 of cooperative houses in which students assumed greater housekeeping responsibilities for reduced fees. This arrangement, however, defeated the larger goal of having students from a variety of economic backgrounds learn from each other in the informal setting of residential life. In 1952 President Clapp decided to abolish cooperative houses, lest the College "forfeit for all students some of the democratic values which it wishes to uphold and strengthen."

In 1946 the Faculty Committee on Long Term Educational Policy urged that more attention be paid to economic and social distribution to avoid the possibility of Wellesley's becoming a one-class college. Thus far, since most grants had been relatively small, scholarship aid had favored the student of moderate means over the student with limited resources. Roughly twenty-five percent of the student body received between $400 and $500 (the all-inclusive college fee then being $1,250).

One of the goals of the 75th Anniversary Fund Campaign was to increase funds so that the Committee's expression of hope could become a reality. In the end, half of the total amount received through the campaign went to scholarships, and there subsequently was a deliberate effort to offer substantial scholarships to secondary school students who would not even have considered Wellesley previously. However, as Mary E. Chase, Director of Admission from 1946 until 1962, frequently commented, it was difficult to make members of the college community aware of the success of the effort because within two or three weeks of the opening of the College the students who had been selected from low-income families were indistinguishable from other students. This was partly the result of the casual dress on campus, the fact the students paid

no attention to the financial status of their friends' parents (and frequently weren't aware of it), and the fact that Wellesley students were fiercely egalitarian (and still are)!

In addition to providing larger awards for students with extremely limited financial resources, Miss Clapp was instrumental in bringing about two other important policies involving financial aid. On the theory that the student, her parents, and the College should all have a share in financing her education, students from this country received awards that were a combination of gift and loan. After the freshman year, a student was expected to work for from three to five hours a week in college departments or offices. In general, this procedure for making awards is followed today. In 1960, when there was an inadequate supply of good teachers for primary and secondary schools and colleges, Miss Clapp conceived a plan to encourage able students to enter the teaching profession through an arrangement for retroactively converting to gift some or all of a loan of a student who entered the teaching profession upon graduating from Wellesley or after graduate study in arts and sciences or education. The program stimulated a considerable number of well-qualified students to become teachers who otherwise could not have afforded to so. It was discontinued in 1970 when the need for teachers was no longer urgent.

In very recent years more scholarship aid has become available. The Class of 1977 was the first in which no freshman requiring aid was denied it. Freshmen receiving financial aid comprised thirty-seven percent of that class. Also, a new procedure for awarding aid has evolved. When there were not enough funds to meet the need, the Scholarship Committee had to choose among the students requiring aid. The members of the Scholarship Committee, whose name had been changed to the Financial Aid Committee in 1971, became increasingly disturbed that they were making decisions affecting the academic life of a student, because if they failed to award aid to her she might be forced to withdraw from the College. They deemed it more appropriate for the Academic Review Board, which is responsible for reviewing the records of students, to decide whether or not a student should continue at Wellesley. If the student's record, along with the evaluations of her faculty and, often, extenuating circumstances reported by her Class Dean, justified her continuing at Wellesley, the Financial Aid Committee believed that she should be awarded the necessary funds. And as long as sufficient funds are available, financial aid will be provided for any student with demonstrated need.

Aside from economic, social, and geographical diversity, Wellesley students also represent a broad spectrum of religious affiliation and racial backgrounds. Despite his evangelism, Mr. Durant insisted that the College be non-sectarian. Gradually, a deliberate effort was made to in-

clude students from a variety of religious and ethnic backgrounds. The concept which prevailed up to 1947 was explained in that year by President Horton: "to select a freshman class from among candidates fully qualified for entrance in such a way that geographic, racial and religious groups would be represented in proportion designed to provide varied contacts while maintaining so far as possible a prejudice-free community." But in 1947, stimulated by a Fair Educational Practices Act enacted in New York State and proposed in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the College decided that the selection of students as representatives of groups rather than solely as individuals was not necessarily the best way to create a prejudice-free community. Accordingly, it was voted that for the classes entering in the fall of 1949 and thereafter the inquiries about race and religion should be omitted from the application blanks. At that time President Horton commented prophetically: "It is a witness to the tragic state of human relations even in free America that the way to prove good faith toward members of minority groups has to be by studied ignorance of their membership in those groups!" Twenty years later the minority groups themselves asserted a desire to be recognized and identified as separate, and not to be assimilated without first gaining recognition for their own cultural contributions. Accordingly, religious minorities have experienced a resurgence of interest in traditional rituals; and, similarly, racial minorities have formed associations in which they can join together in observances of their ethnic heritage. Black students may join Ethos, an organization designed to promote black awareness; and Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians have organized Mezcla, which supports and encourages activities on and off campus that contribute to the College and stimulate cultural identity.

Because the records of the College are not maintained according to race, there is no way of learning with certainty the number of black students who have attended. From 1880 to 1960 Wellesley, like most colleges, was largely content to afford black students equal opportunity to enter and to qualify for financial aid. There was an effort, only moderately successful, during the 75th Anniversary Fund Campaign to seek funds specifically for "Negro Students." The first black student, as far as can be ascertained, entered as a member of the Class of 1884. Among other early black students was Harriet Rice '87, who went on to become one of the first women physicians in the United States. A special effort was initiated in 1963 after a series of White House meetings called by President Kennedy and designed to emphasize the urgency of developing educational and employment opportunities for blacks.

In response to this critical national problem, Margaret Clapp conceived a program to permit able students at predominantly black South-

ern colleges to take their junior year at Wellesley. At that time, President Clapp reflected: "We have not been able to locate as many qualified Negro women students who wish to come to Wellesley as we would like to have. We think it important that our white students live and work with some Negro students, for the same reason that we try to have all kinds of diversity (except in integrity and basic ability) in the student body—as a means to help all to learn how inadequate are most of the clichés and generalizations about groups of people, to learn from each other the problems and hopes of different regions and cultural backgrounds, and to make a wide variety of personal connections which so few people can do easily outside of this type of campus. These guest-juniors will bring a new dimension to us, and, possibly, if we can afford to maintain the program for several years, may through talks in their home communities lead in due course to our receiving more applications from qualified southern Negro girls for the four-year course." This "Junior Year in the North Program," which continued for three years, was named in memory of Catherine *Hughes* Waddell '20, chairman of the New York Women's Committee of the Negro Colleges Fund, who had given much of her life to the advancement of educational opportunities for blacks.

In 1966 Miss Clapp conferred with the presidents of the United Negro Colleges Fund and concluded that a post-baccalaureate program would be more beneficial. Waddell Fellowships were awarded to women graduating from member colleges of the United Negro Colleges Fund, who, as undergraduate students, had prepared themselves for certification for secondary school teaching, and who wished to add a year of advanced study in specified fields to their background for a teaching career. By 1972, when there was a substantial undergraduate black population on this campus, the Waddell Fellowships gave way to the Catherine Hughes Waddell Program for study by Wellesley students at African and Caribbean universities.

As the number of black students on campus increased, so did their sense of identity and of fellowship, from which arose the organization of black students at Wellesley known as "Ethos." In May of 1968 members of this group met with President Adams and, as had their counterparts on other campuses, demanded that more black students be admitted. Miss Adams agreed that every effort would be made to enroll up to twenty-five additional qualified black students in the fall of 1968, but despite a variety of summer recruiting efforts, only one additional black student could be enrolled. It was simply too late in the year.

In the fall of that year, however, Wellesley students, both black and non-black, participated in an intensive recruiting effort, supported by alumnae recruiters and interviewers and a newly-hired black staff member

in the Admission Office. The Class of 1956 with the support of other classes established and contributed generously to a Coretta Scott King Fund to help meet the financial need of these students. Of the 104 black students accepted, fifty-seven of them chose to become members of the Class of 1973. Thirty-five of these students were considered "uniquely qualified" applicants—that is, they were for social and economic reasons disadvantaged educationally but had demonstrated evidence of talent, strength of motivation or character, and potential for intellectual growth.

However capable and highly motivated these new candidates might be, in most cases they had neither the customary preparation nor even sometimes a common language of experience to share with their classmates. Therefore, at the same time, an Office of Educational and Community Services was established to help provide both educational assistance and counseling help for those who found Wellesley to be more of a challenge than they were immediately able to derive benefit from. Of these thirty-five, twenty-one graduated with their class in June of 1973. One more graduated in October, and two more the following June. Another is presently a member of the Class of 1975. Only four were dropped by the College for academic reasons. Ten withdrew, two in order to transfer to other institutions. Of those who completed the degree requirements in four years, one was a Durant Scholar and elected to Phi Beta Kappa. The others included a Wellesley College Scholar, a freshman class Vice-President, seven Senate Representatives, a House President, and other student leaders. More important perhaps is that, of the thirty-five students chosen principally for their potential, three are in medical school and eight others are doing graduate work in business administration, in theology, in public health, and in comparable fields.

Wellesley, of course, was not unique in actively searching out minority candidates in the late sixties. Partly in response to the assassination of Martin Luther King, partly with the aid of increased Federal funding, partly as the conscience of a nation was aroused, private colleges and universities began to acknowledge an obligation to provide increased educational opportunities for minority groups. Since the response came not only at the college level but at the preparatory school level as well, the number of minority candidates applying for admission to Wellesley who met conventional admissions criteria gradually increased. Although the College's special effort to reach candidates from different backgrounds and the more inaccessible corners of America still continues, there is now a reasonably large pool of black students who present credentials comparable with those of the "traditional" Wellesley candidate. More recently the search for other deserving minority candidates, including Chicano, Puerto Rican, and American Indian, has been intensified.

Since 1968 with the inception of the Wellesley-MIT Exchange Pro-

gram, men have appeared on campus as students, although not as degree candidates. The original purpose of the Exchange, "to extend the diversity of educational experiences now available to the students in the curricula and in the environment of both institutions," has been eminently fulfilled. Between two and three hundred students take courses each semester at the other institution. The two institutions complement each other in course offerings. Even where there is an overlap in fields of instruction, their emphases differ. Thus, in art, Wellesley tends to stress history and studio art; MIT offers courses in architecture, form, and design. Wellesley's Psychology Department emphasizes social psychology, personality, and child development; MIT's, physiological psychology.

A group of male students took up residence in 1970 as Wellesley entered into another cooperative program, the Twelve-College Exchange. (This consortium includes Amherst, Bowdoin, Connecticut College, Dartmouth, Mount Holyoke, Smith, Trinity, Vassar, Wesleyan, Wheaton, and Williams.) Designed to provide students with a variety of academic and residential options, the Twelve-College Exchange is a residential program in which a student can attend another college for a year or, in some cases, a semester, thereby experiencing a different environment (such as co-educational) or an academic department with an additional facility or emphasis (such as the Kiewit computer at Dartmouth or the National Theater Institute at Connecticut).

A still different kind of diversity which has enriched the college community since 1969-70 is the Continuing Education Program. Offering qualified women the opportunity to elect courses on a part-time or full-time basis, whether as candidates for the degree or simply to supplement their educational experience, Continuing Education now includes over one hundred students. The different perspective offered by these women, ranging in age from twenty-two to sixty, enlivens the classroom and often provides a realistic stimulus for the younger undergraduate.

The importance of diversity is, of course, not merely a matter of varying geographical or ethnic background, age or sex, or even the more embracing category of socio-economic beckground. The diversity which Wellesley seeks is the diversity of a group of people coming together who can share different values and beliefs, and discover that there are issues on which reasonable people can differ (reasonably). In this sense Wellesley has always sought diversity, but it is also important to recall that this diversity has always presupposed a community of interest in the world of the mind. From the beginning the search for diversity has presupposed the search for excellence.

Over the years the number of qualified applicants for admission has increased, in large part owing to the efforts of loyal alumnae, so that the Admission Office finds itself faced with the need to be increasingly se-

lective. In 1950 it was able to offer admission to 66 percent of its applicants; in 1960 to 33 percent. Among those entering in the fall of 1960 and for whom a rank in class was reported, 182 were among the top four in their graduating class and 87 of these were valedictorians. By the time the Class of 1969 entered, 221 out of a class of 524 (or 45%) were among the top four of their graduating class, and 102 of these (21%) were first in their graduating class. Over a quarter of the Class of 1977 were first in their graduating class, and more than half were in the top four places.

Lest these figures suggest that academic excellence manifested by superior secondary school performance has become the sole criterion, or even the most important criterion, for admission, it should be emphasized that these figures demonstrate only the generally high quality of the applicant pool. Admission to Wellesley today requires the same two qualifications that were required for the Class of 1879: good health and ability to meet the very high academic requirements. Beyond that, however, the Board of Admission seeks a variety of talents and qualifications; it searches for motivation, intellectual curiosity (whether theoretical or practical), character, creativity, evidence of concern for others, and also unusual interests and abilities. And the success of its efforts is perhaps attested by the fact that approximately 76% of the freshmen remain to graduate—a percentage strikingly higher than the national figure.

II

Although in the first years of the College, organized extracurricular activities might seem to have been almost precluded by the specified hours for study, for exercise, for prayer, and for domestic work, it did not take students very long to establish "traditional events," as Miss McCarthy recounts in her chapter on the subject, and to form associations of various kinds. In addition to three daily classes, students' schedules included six hours for study, two twenty-minute quiet periods for meditation, a chapel service, and an hour each for exercise and domestic work. The ten o'clock "lights out" regulation provided for eight hours of sleep. Apparently Mr. Durant also wished to encourage learning in a less formal atmosphere than that of the classroom, and so in 1876 he founded two literary societies, Zeta Alpha and Phi Sigma. Membership was limited and coveted. In addition to their intellectual function, these first societies clearly served as important centers of fellowship and fun. In 1881 both Zeta Alpha and Phi Sigma were discontinued, the faculty having concluded that they interfered too much with the academic work of the members. They were reorganized eight years later, apparently at the behest of President Shafer and upon the vote of the faculty.

The only society not to fall under the ban of 1881 was Shakespeare, which had been founded in April 1877 as a branch of the Shakespeare Society of London. From its beginning, Shakespeare provided a vital outlet for the dramatic impulse, for this was an era when Wellesley students were forbidden to attend the theatre during the college year. Although amateur theatricals were in general looked upon with disfavor by the early administration, dramatic representation of selected scenes from Shakespeare's plays was allowed at the Society's monthly meetings on the premise that it was one of the best ways to study the poet's work. From that point it was easy to conceive the idea of presenting an entire play once a year for an outside audience. The first, in 1889, was *As You Like It.* Thereafter performances of Shakespearean plays were given outdoors at Commencement every year until 1912.

In 1889, a charter was issued to the Art Society of Wellesley College in order "to give opportunity for additional study of art, to offer a stimulus to scholarly work and to promote good fellowship among the undergraduates." Five years later the members of the Art Society assumed the Greek name Tau Zeta Epsilon. In 1900 TZE presented to a college audience its first studio performance of the living representations of classic paintings for which the Society was to become justly famous.

The active interest of Professor Katharine Coman in social and political questions led to the organization of Agora in 1891 for those interested in the study of politics. Alpha Kappa Chi, founded in 1892 as the Classical Society, adopted its Greek letter name in 1897. It too combined an academic interest with the sense of fellowship which all the Societies provided.

Since membership in all of the Societies was limited, they became the focus of continuing controversy, for the egalitarian element in the Wellesley student body opposed the idea of any form of exclusion. Throughout the thirties and forties there was a growing feeling that Societies were too "exclusive." At that time juniors and seniors were elected after a series of formal teas which any junior or senior might attend. As membership fees became increasingly expensive, they appeared to discriminate against the less wealthy. In response to this criticism, in 1950 the Intersociety Council introduced a policy of admission to one of the Societies for any senior who wanted to join, but the student had to agree to accept an assignment which was not necessarily her first choice. The Societies still had a nominal academic purpose and an occasional program meeting, but their basic purpose was now avowedly social. In the next two decades interest waned—in part as it became easier to attend functions off the campus, and in part as the Well, the Recreation Building, and finally Schneider College Center came into existence and provided places to entertain informally. By the early seventies, three of the Societies had

voted themselves out of existence: AKX, renamed Harambee (meaning "working together" in Swahili) House, had become a cultural center for black students; Phi Sigma was serving as the headquarters for Continuing Education students and the Counseling Center; and Agora had been converted into the Slater International Center.

Another early organization, the first of the departmental clubs, was the Microscopical Society. Established in 1876, its purpose was the "Pursuance of Scientific Research by the Aid of the Microscope." At early meetings papers were presented on lenses, their preparation, limitations, and defects. Each active member was required to spend one hour per week in "research." In 1879 the members added to their equipment a new section cutter, a case of forty slides, and twelve Zeiss dissecting microscopes. Papers were read on various subjects, such as "Importance of a Course in Microscopy as a Regular Study in Our Schools and Colleges for Females." The Society disbanded in December 1891 because the members decided that the time for original work was too limited, and the work that could be done was necessarily too much a repetition of classroom experience.

The first organization to embrace all members of the community was the Christian Association, which combined a number of smaller organizations upon the recommendation of President Freeman. The history of this Association is treated in some detail in Miss Hawk's chapter, but it deserves mention here as the earliest all-college organization.

The origin of student government can be traced back to the second year of the College. When a student cheated on an examination, other students responded by enacting their first regulation: it expressly forbade the use of "a translation, or key in the study of any lesson or in any review, recitation or examination." Signed by the presidents of the classes of 1879 and 1880, this rule became effective on February 18, 1876. Literally imposed by the students upon themselves, it recognizes the most universally accepted principle of behavior in an academic community, the stricture against academic dishonesty.

In 1887 a formal conference between representatives of faculty and students took place in order to consider questions of class organization, an incipient form of student government. The next year, 1888, students first received permission to justify absences from scheduled appointments by having "a true, valid and signed excuse." In 1890 the idea of personal responsibility was extended when the Students League was organized to take over the task of maintaining order in college buildings. An article in favor of student government written by a member of the Philosophy Department appeared in *The Wellesley Magazine* of November 1892, and two issues later a student wrote a concurring article. But it was not until March 6, 1901, that students voted at a mass meeting to petition

the Academic Council for self-government in all matters not academic in nature. Thereafter events followed in swift succession: in April 1901, a student-faculty committee conferred, the faculty committee being headed by Miss Pendleton, then Secretary of the College and an ally of the student cause; in May the constitution was submitted to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees and an election conducted for a president; on June 6, 1901, the agreement was signed by the President and Secretary of the Board of Trustees and by the President of the College. On the following day, June 7, 1901, the Student Government Association was officially and ceremoniously established at a joint meeting of the faculty and the student body in the Chapel. The agreement was read aloud and then signed, first by the Secretary of the College and then by Frances L. Hughes, first President of the Association, May Mathews, President of the Class of 1902, Margaret C. Mills, President of the Class of 1901, and Mary Leavens, President of the House Council of College Hall. As the College *News* in its first issue of the 1901 college year jubilantly reported: "So the executive branch of the government is seen to be simply constructed and effectively assembled, while the Association finds its judicial seat in the breast of every girl at Wellesley."

The advent of student government was not a succession of grimly-fought battles for student power. On the contrary, the right of students to govern their affairs seemed self-evident to both faculty and administration. Then, as is often true now, a president of the College or a member of the faculty appears as the staunchest advocate for the participation of students in the management of most college matters not strictly curricular in nature. Therefore, the reorganization in 1917-18 of the Student Government Association, in which direct representation was supplanted by a representative form of government in which students, faculty, and administration participated in one joint body, seems appropriate and reflective of the way in which the system actually worked.

In 1922 the student body became dissatisfied with the provision in the constitution which lodged both the judicial and the executive functions in the Senate. A separate Judiciary was created. (The chairman of the Judiciary was, and still is, a student, and the position of Chief Justice ranks second only to that of President of College Government in authority and prestige.) This was the only important structural change in a system of self-government which lasted until 1971.

The rights and powers which were entrusted to the College Government Association included the regulation of "all matters not strictly academic concerning the conduct of students in their college life, excepting those pertaining to public health and safety of the students and the management of college property in buildings." Included within Senate's original domain were such matters as registration, absence from col-

lege, regulation of travel, permission for Sunday callers, rules governing chaperonage, and the general conduct of students on the campus and in the village.

A greater departure from the situation existing during the opening years of the College, when almost every aspect of student conduct was strictly regulated by the administration, could hardly be imagined. Two recollections of this earlier period illustrate the degree to which student life was circumscribed by rigid regulations. An alumna of the Class of 1880, Harriet *Blake* Pingree, recalled: "Students living near were allowed one day at home during a term. We could not receive young men callers. Our only nocturnal outing in my four years was permission to leave the college [i.e. College Hall] at 7:00 p.m., two by two, escorted by teachers, to march across the campus to the conservatory, in and past the night-blooming cereus, then in blossom, and back to the college." Another alumna has recalled: "On Friday morning students were permitted to write queries on manners and conduct, which were answered by Miss Howard, à la Mrs. Post, at morning chapel. I recall only two questions, though this broadcast was always anticipated with interest! 'Is it proper to eat cheese with a knife?' This question was laid aside without comment. 'Is it *au fait* to wear a gymnasium suit all day?' Answer: 'If one wore a gymnasium suit all the time, it would be necessary to have more than one.' "

Accordingly, once the students had been given the authority, they turned their attention to the gradual liberalization of the various restrictions. One of the first to go was "ten o'clock lights-out." By 1907 students were proposing a relaxation of the Sunday prohibitions against boating, pleasure-driving, traveling in "either railroad or electric cars," and receiving guests. In 1914 undergraduates were permitted to entertain their fathers (but no other men) on Sunday, and then, in a succession of small steps, the rigorous Sunday regulations and those concerning absence from the College were relaxed.

The big issues in the 1920s and 1930s were the system of chaperonage, smoking (where and when), late permissions, and the use of the Society Houses. The fight for new freedoms became the self-imposed responsibility of each new generation of students, as was vividly recalled by Margaret Clapp '30 in an oral interview concerning her days as College Government president: "We wanted more liberal rules. Anybody worth their salt wants that. We wanted more places to smoke. Virginia Onderdonk was president the year before me, and they had won the great battle to be allowed to smoke inside the College in certain places, and we wanted extensions. I remember calling on Miss Pendleton about that, and she had tears in her eyes. I was shocked, because she was the great figure above, the Buddha whose expression never changed. And she said, 'You

girls are never satisfied.' Of course we weren't thinking about anything except that it was almost our obligation to try to get a little bit more."

The first warning of strain upon the system which had prevailed since 1918 came in 1964 in Miss Clapp's President Report: "Responsible students, who constitute the large majority, are groping for a new formula or revised pattern of residential life which will offer more gradations of personal independence across the four years, without undercutting either the encouragement to serious academic work and the concept of personal and community moral responsibility which have marked Wellesley or the institution's obligation to provide a frame of reference."

The restless students of the late sixties, accustomed to considerable freedom in their homes and personal responsibility in their secondary schools, would not be confined by what they perceived to be an outmoded constitution. In the fall of 1969 the question of unrestricted visiting hours in the students' rooms was brought up in Senate. The parietal discussions, seemingly endless to those who participated, became the focus for the much larger issue of a student's right to have complete autonomy in her social activities. Soon thereafter Senate voted uniform twenty-four hour parietal privileges for all students except freshmen. Those who did not wish this privilege (and responsibility) had the option of living on separate corridors. This was the beginning of a profound alteration to the Faculty-Student Agreement of 1918.

In an amendment dated October 15, 1970, the Preamble to the Agreement between the Faculty and Students of Wellesley College concerning the Wellesley College Government Association and defining its somewhat limited powers was deleted in its entirety; the paragraph substituted for it provided that "the Association shall be entitled to legislate in the areas of residential and dormitory life." Although the President of the College continued to have the responsibility for "the public health and safety of students in situations of emergency, crisis, or neglect," College Government now assumed the entire responsibility for regulations pertaining to community life which were not academic in nature. Even more of a break with the past was the decision of Senate that its members from the faculty and administration would be non-voting, so that the only power left to officers of the College was that of persuasion. In actual practice, this change has not made much difference. Lucy Wilson, Dean of Students from 1939 to 1954, recalls that in her experience over the years, there was never a sharp, clearcut vote with the faculty and administration on one side and the students on the other. Readers of the current student handbook will soon discover that there are very few rules and regulations other than Federal and State laws and some very basic health and safety restrictions. By and large, again, this has meant very little difference in the actual behavior of students: common sense, respect for the rights of

others, and reason usually prevail.

Student life, of course, never has been entirely devoted to serious purposes. A survey of use of time made in 1944 suggests that the average student at Wellesley achieved a very reasonable distribution of her week, with an average of 46.4 hours spent on academic work, 22.4 on relaxation, 6.5 on exercise, and 6 on the so-called "extra-curricular activities" (plus war work). Next to academic work, then, relaxation in its many and various forms consumed the most time, and indeed many organized extra-curricular activities had originated as nothing more than the urge for fun. The first president of Barnswallows (the college dramatic association), Mary E. Haskell '97, frankly allowed: "We began sheerly for lack of jollity and social chance in general non-society student life,—restricted to annual class histories, the Christian Association reception, Float, Tree Day and the Monday concerts and lectures. The Shakespeare Society play was the only one yet a custom, Commencement entertainment was thin and gray,—the Society parties were limited affairs. . . . We adjured the Trustees by Joy and Democracy to bless our charter, to be gay once a week, and when they gave the Olympic nod we begged for the Barn to be gay in—and they gave that, too. It was a grim joy-parlor: rough old floor, posts bristly with splinters, few windows, no plank walk, no stage, no partitions, no lighting. We hung tin-reflectored lanterns on a few of the posts—thicker near the stage end—and opened the season with an impromptu opera of the Brontës." The "entertainments" given in the Barn soon became polished productions complete with wardrobes and make-up. In 1921 the students decided to reorganize Barnswallows into an exclusively dramatic organization for which try-outs would be competitive. For a good many years all roles were played by women (and the Boston reviews of *Beau Brummel,* given by the Class of 1915 in order to raise money after the Great Fire, were extremely enthusiastic about the skill of the female players in depicting male roles). But in 1928, with the production of *Arms and the Man,* men for the first time appeared in the production: they were Amherst students imported for the occasion. Their appearance, however, did not establish a precedent, and Wellesley students continued to play the male roles much of the time until the 1940s.

The recent history of Barnswallows has witnessed its change to the Wellesley College Theatre with productions professionally directed and designed, the director since 1955 being Paul Barstow. The plays and policy, however, are determined by students. Experimental Theatre since the mid-1950s has also presented productions—often one-act plays, sometimes written by students—which are directed and designed by its members. Usually the Wellesley College Theatre performances are in Alumnae Hall and those of Experimental Theatre in Jewett Auditorium,

but it was the Wellesley College Theatre which in 1959 inaugurated the use of the Jewett Arts Center for dramatic performances with *All's Well That Ends Well.* The repertoire of the Wellesley College Theatre has included a wide variety of plays, among them *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (a frequent visitor to the Wellesley stage), *The Way of the World* (1968), *The Rivals* (1972), *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1967), and *Marat/Sade* (1968). Actors now come to Wellesley from many neighboring colleges, and M.I.T. and the exchange programs have provided some in residence—a great convenience for rehearsals.

Another form of relaxation, music, has always played an important role in college life. The Beethoven Society, organized in 1876 and transformed in 1897 into the Choral Society, was the first of the singing groups (although when the talent was available it also included a string quartet). The Choral Society was reorganized under the impetus of President Hazard in 1900 as the Wellesley College Choir, an organization which continues to this day. Miss Hazard took a special interest in the Choir, and its very first processional took place in September 1900 when the students, garbed in choir robes, marched through the rooms of the President's suite in Norumbega while she played "Jerusalem the Golden." Her choice of choirmaster, Professor Hamilton C. Macdougall, was clearly a superb appointment: he had been at the College just ten days when he had the first choir ready for a Sunday service, and soon thereafter he and Miss Hazard instituted the custom of fortnightly vesper services with special music (often composed by him). In more recent years Choir, since 1952 under the direction of William A. Herrmann, has often combined with choral groups from various colleges for men, and although there are no longer fortnightly vesper services, there is still the traditional Christmas Vespers. College musicians and professional soloists combine to present biennially a distinguished Dober Memorial Concert in the Chapel, and occasionally the Music Department has held Reindel Concerts in the Jewett Auditorium, often featuring compositions by Hubert Lamb and other members of the faculty. From time to time collaboration between music and theatre has resulted in notable performances. For example, the American premiere of Gluck's opera *Alceste* was given in 1938, *Dido and Aeneas* in 1972, and the twelfth century liturgical drama *Miracles of St. Nicholas* in 1974.

Orchestra, which had been founded in 1904, in the late 1930s and early 1940s under the direction of Malcolm H. Holmes performed many full-length concert pieces and some previously-unfamiliar music which he had photographed from original manuscripts in Europe. In 1958-59 the Wellesley College Orchestra was succeeded by the Chamber Music Society, which has presented concerts not only in Jewett but also in dormitories on Sunday afternoons. March 21, 1971, marked the formation of

the Collegium Musicum Wellesliensis, a group of faculty and students who perform early music on such instruments as lutes, harpsichords, recorders, and viole da gamba. Two specialized singing groups also enable students to participate in the musical arts: the Wellesley College Madrigal Group, composed of sixteen proficient student musicians who cultivate the art of unaccompanied singing, and the Ethos Choir, established relatively recently, which performs frequently on and off the campus. More informal music has been provided over the years by groups which have had particular appeal for their generations. The Glee Club and the Banjo Club were formed in 1889, and the Mandolin Club came into existence about the same time; their modern (though very different) counterparts perhaps are "Octets"—which usually have from twelve to twenty members, never eight—such as the Tupelos and Wellesley Widows.

Literary interests have shown perhaps the greatest diversity in form and appearance. Journalism has had the most stable history, commencing with a section devoted to items of college interest in the local newspaper, *The Courant,* from 1881 to 1889. In 1889 the students produced their own publication, *The Prelude,* succeeded by the *Wellesley Magazine* in 1892, a monthly, later an alumnae publication. *The College News* launched nearly ten years later has continued as a journalistic commentary on college life and on the world outside, frequently assuming the role of the crusading reformer as well as the righteous teacher. In an editorial on January 30, 1902, the first year that *News* was published, the editor berated herself and her fellow students in the monitory tone which was to become part of its prevailing style. "We are a rather sorry lot when mid-years are in progress. The freshmen cannot be blamed for meeting their mid-years with a goodly amount of fear and dread. But, for the upperclassmen, there is no excuse. By them, the good example should be set, of encountering the examinations with peace and calm of mind. Women can never hope to be truly scholarly until they learn to do their work with less subjection to their nerves." Through its editorial pages the *News* has campaigned for student rights, usually in more outspoken style than the somewhat deliberate student Senate. Other topics which have appeared frequently in its editorial pages are the Honor System, student apathy (or "lethargy" as it was referred to in the twenties), athletics at Wellesley (whether too much or too little), and a recent favorite, feminism. An editorial of 1902 mentioned campus reaction to a speech by President Eliot of Harvard in which he extolled the life of service as the best possible and the most rewarding. The editor declared: "The indignation at the speaker for his supposed conclusion, that the only place for woman was her own kitchen, was immediate and widespread. . . . Why is it that the very words 'Woman's Sphere,' are to the American college girl as a red flag to a bull? Are we ashamed of being

women? Are we trying to cast off the heritage of womanhood and become as men? Indeed, no. . . . We believe honestly in the equal education of men and women. Then let us use all our strength to prove that we are right, and waste none in childish resentment at the criticism which must come." Her counterpart seventy years later "is convinced that until women are fully accepted as equals to men—not by law, but by custom—and until women receive the same job opportunities, wages and prestige as men, there is a vital role for women's colleges. . . . The women of Wellesley must take a stand." An unofficial publication of the College, *News* has enjoyed the unique position of being responsible to no one but its own editorial board, and hence its pages do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the majority of students, but they do provide a chronicle of the topical issues.

Another group which provides news and entertainment to the campus is radio station WBS. The first independent station in a women's college, it began broadcasting in 1942. Students prepare their own scripts and direct and produce their own shows.

Literary magazines have had less staying power. *The Literary Review, Boar, Counterpoint, We* (in the forties and then again in the seventies), and *Freshman Focus* are but a few of the periodicals in which many a future illustrious writer has first seen publication. The quality of these publications has often been very high, and the variety of articles, stories, poems, and essays appearing in them manifests in yet another way the diverse points of view represented by the undergraduates.

The first *Legenda,* published by the Class of '89, was more a record of the College as a whole than the class book which it became later on. In addition to pictures, there was a remarkable collection of lists: the trustees, the faculty, students, and a complete roster of the alumnae. Even the college library was described in every detail, including the exact number of volumes and a complete list of the periodicals to which the College subscribed. Each college class thereafter tried to produce a unique and worthwhile publication, and some in their effort to be original produced valuable historical records. The Class of 1894, for example, included a section on the Founders of the College and preserved information about Mrs. Durant not readily available elsewhere; the Class of 1906 attempted to reconstruct the history of the College and of student life, again providing a chronicle of the early years; the Class of 1896 chose to make their volume a literary number, and was so successful that it went into second and third editions! After the Second World War, pictures began to occupy more space than the printed text. Several of the *Legendas* published in the last dozen or so years have omitted almost entirely the printed word and have virtually become photographic essays.

For more active recreation, students have always seemed to enjoy the pursuit of a variety of athletic activities beyond the required Physical Education program. In the early years crew, or rowing as it was then known, was the most popular sport, closely followed by golf and basketball. At first participation in crew was largely a "social event. . . . Since they rowed only until they were tired, various members of the crew might be seen resting languidly on their oars while the others stroked on courageously," according to an article which appeared in 1895 in *Ladies' Every Saturday*. Initially crew members were selected as much for their singing as their rowing ability, but by 1893 President Shafer was able to report that "crews are no longer selected because of their vocal talent, but because of their general physical fitness. . . . The emulation is the healthy [sic], since it is not for speed, but for skill and grace. Racing is not allowed, hence there is no temptation to overstrain." *Ladies' Every Saturday* noted two years later that "The sport has now become so popular at the college that the crew begin training on rowing machines in February each year; and in April, as soon as the water is free from ice, the oarswomen may be seen upon the lake. There are now six eight-oared shells in use." Today's crews are equally enthusiastic, displaying their zeal on many an early spring morning with mittened hands and sleep-heavy eyes.

In 1896 an Athletic Association was formed which combined into one organization clubs for practice in the various sports. According to an article in the April 1897 issue of *The American Athlete,* "Its object . . . [was] to assist the students in their intellectual life by offering them natural, healthful recreation." Much of this interest can be attributed to the dynamic leadership of Lucille Eaton Hill, Director of Physical Training, who tried to instill in every Wellesley student a sense of the intimate relationship between good health and the good life; as one alumna put it, few of us "have ever worn unnatural shoes, gone deliberately without sleep, or grown round-shouldered, without a guilty sense of having fallen below Miss Hill's standard of intelligent living."

Since the days when Mr. Durant imported tennis equipment from England because it was not available in the United States, Wellesley has always had unusual facilities for sports. And of course most important of all has been the campus itself, with Lake Waban and with hills whose contours have permitted the construction recently of a practice ski run and tow. Even without elaborate facilities, the sheer variety of recreational sports has always been impressive. The first students played games such as "Fox and Geese," "London Bridge Is Falling Down," and "The Last Couple Out," in addition to rowing, tennis, golf, cross-country walking, and running. Soon after the turn of the century twenty-two sports were offered; today's student has the choice of more than thirty activities

including, along with the more traditional sports, ballet, scuba-diving, yoga, backpacking, and trampoline. Although for many years Wellesley eschewed competitive intercollegiate athletics, students can now compete in as many as twelve different sports on an intercollegiate basis. And even though walking around the lake is as active as many choose to be, one Wellesley student was among the entrants in the 1974 Boston marathon!

One of the most unusual activities was the Wellesley College Verse Speaking Choir, founded by Cecile de Banke in March 1933. At first solely an extracurricular activity, three years later it was also the basis for a course in the Speech Department. Trained by Miss de Banke in the art of choral speaking, the students recited poetry selections from an extensive repertoire. The novelty and skill of their presentations extended their reputation beyond the campus, and in 1935 they were invited by the English Verse-Speaking Association, of which John Masefield was president, to give a recital at Oxford. Being unable to go to England, the Choir gave a round-the-world short-wave radio broadcast instead, the first of its kind. In the forties the group produced a series of spoken poetry festivals, combining their talents with those of many distinguished poets, including May Sarton, William Rose Benét, David McCord, and Archibald MacLeish. The choir was finally disbanded in June 1948, after a long history of public appearances, radio broadcasts, and educational demonstrations.

Not all of the many extracurricular activities which, at one time or another, have commanded the interest and energies of Wellesley students can be included here. Some, like the Bird Club established in 1917, in which Isabel Bassett, the president, won the annual competition by sighting sixty-eight birds, were short-lived. Others, like the various departmental clubs, have had long lives, but with undulating membership curves. While the conception of what constitutes a good time has undergone considerable transformation, there has always been a strong demand for unorganized social life, for recreation that serves no other purpose than having a good time. The first students, for whom transportation was limited and college regulations seemingly unlimited, were largely thrown upon their own resources for amusements and conviviality. In mild weather, picnics, excursions to various places of interest in the vicinity, tennis and boating, walking parties and sketching clubs were all popular. If Harvard students could be lured out to help gather firewood for beach parties, so much the better. In the winter ice-skating, ice-polo (or "shinny"), parlor games, dramatics, and candy pulls were very much in favor. On Monday, the recreation day, no classes were scheduled, so many students took the opportunity to go on daytime excursions to Boston for shopping. A magazine account of Wellesley life

in November 1890 reports that "there have been maidens brave enough to walk all the way to Boston, fifteen miles away; but that is a feat not often performed, though few girls who enter Wellesley do not promise themselves to accomplish it before they graduate"!

The perimeter of Wellesley social life soon extended beyond the confines of the campus. The advent of the automobile and the gradual relaxation of social regulations have created a much less self-contained community, although along with the relative ease of transportation to other campuses has also come an increasing interest in social activities on campus. Alumnae who remember primarily the big off-campus weekends, such as the Dartmouth Winter Carnival, Yale boat races, Princeton house parties, and comparable events at Wellesley such as class proms, might be surprised by the number of men now attracted to the campus by the variety of events offered throughout the year. Major cultural presentations in Alumnae Hall, the Jewett Arts Center, and the Chapel which are made possible by the Treves Fund, the Baum Fund, and the Mayling Soong Foundation, lectures sponsored by the Wilson and Finnigan Funds, and "traditional" events such as Spring Weekend attract a good many dates. Movies and house dances and parties have helped to make the campus increasingly a center for student social life. "Study-dates" in the library are still popular, but since the construction of Schneider Center, students and dates are likely to gravitate to the vicinity of the snack bar. Providing lounge areas, entertainment, a menu which caters to collegiate tastes, and, most recently, beer and wine, Schneider has become a social center for the entire college campus. Run by the Schneider Board of Governors, composed of students, administration, and faculty members, the building, imaginatively designed, provides an informal atmosphere for college activities ranging from speakers to rock concerts. It also has a mini-store where many a hopeful diet has been undermined by the immoderate purchase of penny candy! More important, it serves as a gathering place where students can lunch with faculty, bring their dates, watch TV, study, or enjoy informal entertainment in the coffee house room.

The danger over the years seems not to have been a dearth of activities but rather, as the Dean of the College as long ago as 1907 queried: "Can the academic work compete successfully with the various non-academic interests which claim the attention of the college student?" In one form or another this question had been repeated over the years. Supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation Fund for the Advancement of Education, a study was undertaken with the assistance of the Elmer Roper Organization in 1953 to evaluate student life outside the classroom. Among other findings, the survey revealed that before they graduated four out of five students actively participated in one or more organiza-

tions, and that more than half of the alumnae who responded felt that students who did not participate in extracurricular activities "missed a great deal." An interesting discovery was that the most adverse criticism of individual organizations came from the most involved members. The historical record substantiates the conclusion of the authors of the study: a study of student life "gives an over-all impression of an alive, alert, loyal body of students who, on the whole, are finding outlets for their energies and interests."

III

There are many differences which immediately separate the Wellesley student of today from her counterpart of one hundred years ago. Necessarily the changes in the society at large are manifested in both the individual and the institution. But, in the long view, continuity is more striking than change. The period in the late sixties when students were clamoring for change does not, in perspective, seem so very different from an alumna's recollection of the days of Miss Howard in 1880: "No one could have had a more difficult task than our first president . . . dominated on the one hand by the masterful personality of the founder and beset on the other by the hundreds of students, already clamoring, even as now [this was written in 1924 by Edith S. Tufts, then Dean of Residence] for freedom of self-expression." There has always, in short, been a little bit of the reformer in Wellesley students. But, after all, reform was one of the moving ideals of the founder. "All of our plans are in outspoken opposition to the systems and the prejudices of the public. Therefore, we expect everyone of you to be, in the noblest sense, reformers," spoke Mr. Durant in College Hall Chapel the year the College opened.

There have indeed been periods when students were bent on internal reform, and other times when their zeal was directed towards vast social reformation. But these periods have been sporadic and hardly characteristic of the student body as a whole. Normally it is the academic side of college life which provides the focus. In very recent years this has been especially true; students have shown a pronounced absorption with their studies and a renewed sense of commitment to them.

Some of the incentive for this recent enthusiasm may be attributed to innovations in the academic requirements of the College. Students have often contributed to curricular changes, most recently in 1970, when a group of interested juniors and seniors wrote the "Walrus Report." This document discussed such topics as the introduction of self-scheduled examinations (soon thereafter instituted by vote of the Academic Council), more flexible course loads, interdepartmental courses, and a credit/noncredit grading system as an alternative to the pass/not-pass system already in existence. Many of these topics were already under discussion

by faculty members; others soon found their way to the agendas of appropriate committees. All of the suggestions eventually became implemented, although one of them, the credit/non-credit grading system, was actually a revival of a system used from the beginning of the College until 1905 (when, as Miss Onderdonk points out in her chapter, students could, for the first time, know their grades). The system of letter grades was retained until 1967, when a very intensive study of grades and grading systems was undertaken by a committee of the Academic Council. As a result of that study, the faculty voted to institute a pass/not-pass system of grading as a possible alternative to letter grades. This alternative allowed the student to receive a "pass" for work considered to be the equivalent of the letter grades A through D; "not-pass" meant that the student did not receive credit for the course, a fact which appeared on her transcript, although when her grade-point average was computed, only letter grades were counted. This system was in part designed to encourage the student to be more experimental in her choice of courses by removing the stigma of a poor grade in an untested area of study.

For some students, the system was eminently successful and enabled them to perform at their highest level, free from concern over grades. Others were quick to admit that they needed the stimulus of grades to encourage their best effort. Still others admitted that, despite their best intentions, they tended to neglect their pass/not-pass courses for the sake of their graded courses, and hence were not using the system in the way intended. Faculty members also exhibited a wide range of feeling in their evaluation of this option. Almost all, however, were concerned about the fact that a very minimum performance might receive a "pass." Accordingly, in 1971-72 the Academic Council voted to replace the pass/not-pass option with a credit/non-credit system. Credit is given only if the student demonstrates satisfactory familiarity with the content of the course and the ability to use this knowledge in a satisfactory manner (the standard which also defines the grade of C). It is true that if a student does not receive credit, the course is expunged from her record—a fact which led one professor, in a memorable moment of the Academic Council, to liken this system to the sundial which records only the sunny hours. However, it does have the advantage of assuring that to obtain credit for a course, a student must have at least a C in it. Students who prefer grades can eschew credit/non-credit (and in increasing numbers they are doing so); those who are thinking of graduate and professional schools are urged to use it with caution, or even better, not at all; and those who work best free from the competitive and evaluative shadow of grades can elect the system in its entirety, knowing that it is essentially the same as the one which served Wellesley's first (and some of its most illustrious) graduates.

Another development in recent academic life is the increasing number of students who, discovering that they can meet the requirements for a major in two departments, choose a double major. Considerable latitude in the choice of courses, along with the decision of the Academic Council in 1967-68 to abandon the General Examination, have made this option feasible, and in a world of shrinking job markets, attractive. Still another option now available to students is the individual major. With the approval of two faculty members and the Committee on Curriculum and Instruction, a student may design a major program which crosses traditional departmental lines.

Even more recently the academic life of the student has expanded to include one more role, that of the teacher. In its most modest form, the student teaches herself by an alternative method of learning, "The Keller Plan," utilized by the Psychology Department since 1971-72 and more recently by the Astronomy and Chemistry Departments. The Keller Plan originated in 1964 when psychologist Fred Keller and his colleagues instituted an individually-paced, mastery-oriented, and student-tutored course at the University of Brasilia. Essentially the student works, with the help of a reading list and a study guide, on a unit of material until she feels she has mastered it; then she demonstrates her competence in that unit on a short test administered by a student tutor. Although tests are not graded and may be taken whenever the student feels prepared (and retaken in the event that her first, second, or later performance is inadequate), she cannot move on to the next unit until she has mastered the previous one. This plan, offered as an alternative method of learning for a five-week period in the introductory Psychology course, has been elected by a varying number, ranging from forty to nearly one hundred percent of the students enrolled in the course each semester. And over eighty-five percent of the students who participated said they would do it again, given the opportunity.

Students may also participate in a variety of programs in which they have the opportunity to teach other students. The Economics tutorials initiated in 1959 by Professor Richard V. Clemence offer selected senior majors in the department an opportunity to take part in a weekly tutors' seminar in which they plan a program of research and independent study. As part of this program, each senior tutor also meets twice a week with a small group of freshmen who have elected the introductory Economics courses. They follow the sequence of material taught in the course, but also offer supplemental material. Faculty members do not attend these sessions, which are in no sense remedial but rather provide an opportunity for freshmen to ask further questions and to explore some topics in greater depth. The senior tutors soon discover that the very best way to learn is to try to teach someone else.

Two other tutorial programs have also been offered recently, both open to all students, both avowedly remedial, and neither for academic credit. In a tutoring program for students whose preparation has been inadequate, advanced students, recommended by the various academic departments, tutor students in introductory courses. Once a student has been assigned a student as a tutee, she works out a careful plan with the instructor of the course and meets her tutee one or two hours a week. The tutor is paid for her assistance but does not receive academic credit. For most tutors it is a very gratifying personal experience, and many have either been attracted to a teaching career by their tutoring job or have found a teaching position because of it. The second of these tutoring programs is an experimental writing course first offered in the spring of 1974. The student tutors are selected on the basis of samples submitted to the instructor, who trains them in the techniques of teaching writing skills. Then, in conjunction with him, these students tutor other students in expository writing. Both the tutors and their pupils learn through this program, and now that English Composition is no longer required, it meets a real need.

Another recent innovation in academic life at Wellesley was the introduction in 1969 of a leave of absence policy which has permitted a student to take time off from the four-year sequence for a variety of reasons: to attend another institution, to work, or simply to sit back and take a look. Students who have taken leaves are almost without exception enthusiastic—glad that they have experienced a different mode of life or of learning and even more appreciative of Wellesley once they have compared it with other institutions.

In our consideration of some of the factors which seem both to reflect and augment the renewed interest in the academic life, we should not omit a practical one. Part of the reason students are concentrating on their studies is the desire to perform well in order to be accepted by the best professional and graduate schools. There have been dramatic increases in the numbers of students who enter college intending to prepare for a medical career and of those who during their college years evince interest in a career in law. In the fifties and before that time most students took it for granted that they would marry although they might also have a career; students in the seventies seem to take it for granted that they will have a career (though this by no means precludes marriage; sometimes, however, it precludes children).

One of the results of this career orientation has been the stimulation of interest in field work and internship programs. The oldest of these, the Washington Internship Program, began during the winter of 1942-43 when fuel shortages caused an enforced winter vacation for Wellesley. At that time the participants were all political science majors,

but now the program takes place in the summer before the senior year and is open to students in all departments. Fifteen members of the Class of 1974, including an Art History major (who worked at the Corcoran Gallery), a Philosophy major (working for the Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project), as well as History, Economics, and Political Science majors, interned in Washington during the summer of 1973. Another program, an Urban Politics Summer Internship, was initiated in 1970, largely through the efforts of Thomas Atkins, a City Councilman in Boston and then the instructor in a course in Urban Politics at Wellesley. This program was redesigned in 1972 with the help of Los Angeles alumnae. One group of interns now goes to Los Angeles and is affiliated with the Coro Foundation, which conceives its program as a "laboratory in urban affairs"; another group of seven participates in the Boston Urban Internship Program, all in different capacities but all concerned with urban area problems. In 1970-71 the East Boston-Wellesley College Cooperative Program (known as Eb-Well) was initiated as another opportunity for students to combine service with study in an urban situation. Although the program was discontinued in 1974, it provided one more opportunity for students to acquire pre-professional training during their college years.

Along with an increasing interest in pre-professional training and career plans, Wellesley students have become increasingly aware that they are women in a world defined largely by men. They seek a redefinition of their roles and their aspirations. For the most part, they are sympathetic to the women's liberation movement and wish to participate in and benefit from it.

But this is not the only message they are hearing. Unlike her male counterpart who is nurtured by the conviction that to be a male in American society means to achieve success, the young woman of today hears conflicting signals. She is encouraged to achieve, and yet she is urged to remain "feminine." If becoming a wife and mother is what she aspires to, she may well feel she has betrayed her heritage. Whether for this reason, or for others, students in the late sixties expressed a strong desire for more counseling services in addition to academic counseling. In response to this wish, existing services, such as Class Deans, faculty advisers, and the Career Services Office, have been expanded, and Wellesley also now has as specialized counselors a Clinical Psychologist, a Human Relations Consultant, and three part-time psychiatrists. (Wellesley, incidentally, was the first of the women's colleges to have a psychiatrist on the medical staff: Dr. Elizabeth L. Martin, who was appointed consultant in Mental Hygiene in 1926.)

The variety of personal counselors is indicative of another trend which has emerged comparatively recently. In almost all areas, students

have felt a stronger sense of individuality than of the community. Instead of a community religious concept, for example, there is a denominational approach to religion, equally vital but more private and individual; in addition to the Chaplain, almost all of the traditional religious groups now have their own part-time advisers. Speaking to this issue, Carolyn *Bartel* Lyon '28 said in an oral history interview: "When I was in college, the individual was willing to accept a sense of community experience in terms of a group relationship so that, for example, when you went to Chapel, you had counseling, but it was group counseling. You never knew, when you went to Chapel, when somebody was going to say something that met your needs for that particular day." Today's student perceives her problem as unique and individual, and counseling is structured much more in terms of immediate personal needs.

Another aspect of community life which has changed the attitudes of students is their new involvement in the decision-making process of the College. By vote of the Academic Council in 1969, students are included as voting members of major college committees, including Admission and Curriculum and Instruction, and they also serve on many of the Trustee Committees. Although their contribution is often that of another intelligent person, rather than representative of "the student point of view," it is nonetheless valuable. As one student put it, "There is no easily identified or quantified student opinion on many relevant issues," but there is student perspective and often a student can anticipate ambiguities or problems not so immediately apparent to a faculty or administrative member. Since they now have an active voice in policy-making decisions of the College, students have taken a less active role in many student organizations—unless they are fairly professional ones, such as theatre, or are connected with academic departments, such as the traditional Greek play and music concerts. Activities outside the classroom tend to be either supportive of the academic life or perceived as pre-professional training.

Although it is always difficult to date precisely a dramatic change in the attitudes and basic assumptions of a college population, there would probably be general agreement that these changes began to take place in the mid-sixties. Although the restlessness of that period has given way to a new sense of purpose, to a focus on the academic life and, for many students, a desire to exemplify the ideals expressed in Wellesley's renewed commitment to the education of women, certain bridges with the past appear to have been broken. No longer is it self-evident to this generation that experience and office possess a certain authority. Such authority was recognized, for example, in the earlier period when a student going to the office of her class dean always put on a skirt and tried to

make herself "presentable," however casual her normal dress code might be. Beginning in the late sixties students appeared in the dean's office with bare feet, cut-off jeans, and an old shirt tied around the midriff.

Startling at first to those who knew an earlier generation, this seeming lack of respect for office was in reality an inchoate attempt to express the very sincere belief that appearance did not matter and that what was truly important was the "inner man" (or woman). It made life more difficult for harried administrators because respect had to be earned—it was not given. Students did respect competence, integrity, the ability to listen and to hear; they respected intelligence and wit and imagination. But they did not take it for granted that those in authority possessed these attributes. And although almost always courteous, they pursued, sometimes gently, sometimes more vigorously but always with relentless energy, what they considered to be their rights. Students of this generation were nurtured by a society which had so grossly manipulated language that the "free world" imperceptibly had grown to include some of history's cruelest dictatorships, and it was commonplace to describe the struggle in Vietnam as a "bad war," thereby implying that normally wars were good. This was a generation brought up by TV. Before they could read they were enticed by television commercials deceptively presenting a variety of playthings, and they soon learned that they had to distinguish between the real article and its television blow-up. As they grew older they were confronted by pictorial advertisements extolling smoking while simultaneously proclaiming (in small print) "Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health." It is no wonder that they became distrustful of words and images, and often demanded immediate action as evidence of good faith. It is harder to estimate the impact of the continuation of the war in Vietnam, which threatened the lives of their male counterparts without promising a better or more just world for their sacrifice, but it was clearly a factor. And the affluent society which preached instant gratification in order to consume what appeared to be an inexhaustible supply of superfluous goods also had its effect. Finally, the assassinations of Martin Luther King and President Kennedy not only revealed the undercurrent of violence in their society, but also incited the Civil Rights movement to more active measures. The really extraordinary aspect of the late sixties, which can only be seen in retrospect, is how typically Wellesley solved its problems: by endless conversation, by mutual respect, by consideration for the rights of others. To those who were confronted with one "crisis" situation after another, it did not appear to be an easy period. But there was no violence, no destructiveness, and the rights of the silent minority were never overlooked.

In each generation Wellesley students have exhibited a variety of characteristics and attitudes. For this reason, and also because they are selected in part for their diversity, any particular statement about them may not correspond to an individual alumna's recollection of her own college generation. There have always been—and there will always continue to be—exceptions, but some generalizations hold true across the years. The Wellesley student is remarkably earnest, and she is earnestly egalitarian. She wants in some way to be of service to society. She takes her work, herself, and her fun seriously, although not always in that order. Above all, she is interested in her studies and works hard at them. She wants to learn. And she is convinced that learning, together with her sense of purpose and of social responsibility, provides "the beginning of a new life."

The 1889 crew (left) and the 1888 crew posing before rowing; those classes also held a tennis tournament, according to the notation on this old picture.

Golf, basketball, and the Bicycle Club about the turn of the century.

A student room in 1880

Lyman Abbott, the honorary member of the Class of 1877, and his wife sat with dignity at the Junior Tree Day of the class while President Alice Freeman and Professor Eben N. Horsford observed the ceremonies from a window in College Hall.

The editors of the 1892 *Legenda,* the yearbook.

A midyear spread in 1894. (Notice the cat which preferred photography to a tidbit.)

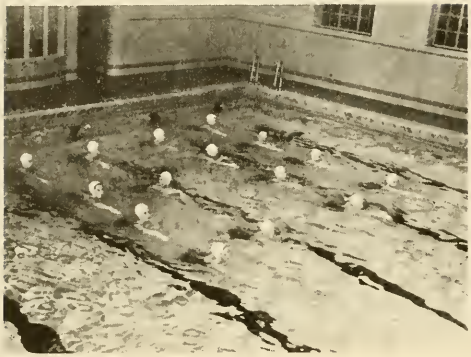
The Banjo and Mandolin Club in 1892-1893.

The pioneers of WBS in 1942.

Members of Barnswallows dueled realistically in an early production of *Monsieur Beaucaire*.

Backstage in a Barn play, from the 1935 *Legenda*.

Synchronized swimming in the Davenport Pool in the Recreation Building.



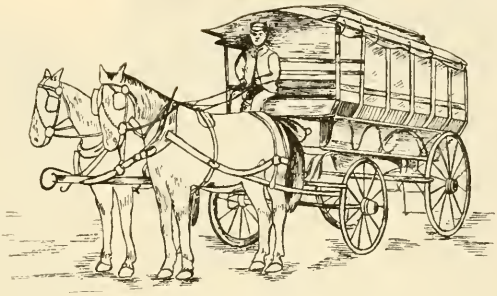
A Senate meeting of College Government held in CH II in the 1950s.

The Wellesley College Choir rehearsing in the Chapel in the 1940s. (An incidental fashion note: saddle shoes prevailed, but a few avant garde loafers were in evidence.)

Sailing on Lake Waban in the 1970s.

Choir, from the 1909 *Legenda*.

An exciting transformation: Billings auditorium as it looks now in the Schneider College Center.



"ALL ABOARD!"
Tom Griffin's "Barge"
fare 10¢ to R.R. Station

From the 1898 *Legenda*.

The opening of the Slater International Center in 1971. Ellis D. Slater, the donor, is on the right.

The baccalaureate procession marching through the great arch of Green Hall.

Elegance was the word for 1939's prom in Alumnae Hall.

Paramecium Pond attracts student artists as well as ducks and skaters.

For many years a favorite place of Wellesley students: the Reference Room of the Library.

Harambee House, the center for black students.

A student room in 1974.

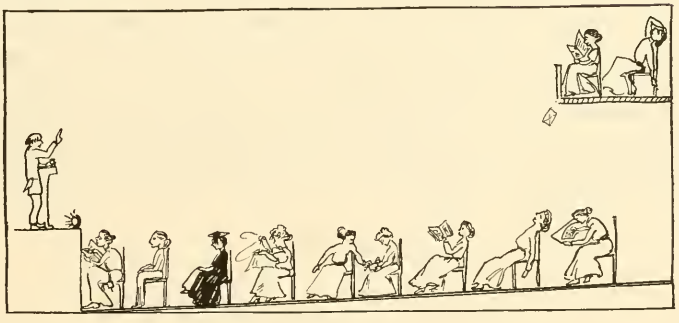
Has this ever happened to you ?

From the 1923 *Legenda*.

(Left) Dean of Residence Mary Cross Ewing entertaining students in the 1930s, President Mildred McAfee in the 1940s.

(Below) President Margaret Clapp talking with students after a dormitory dinner in the 1950s.

President Barbara W. Newell greeting freshmen in the 1970s.



Required Lecture

From the 1909 *Legenda.*

GRACE E. HAWK

A Motto in Transit

Wellesley College has been fortunate in having a motto as durable as *Non Ministrari sed Ministrare.* Through changing times, it is true, it has been variously appraised and implemented (occasionally, it must be confessed, made a subject of jest, in versions ranging from the early "not to be ministers but to be ministers' wives" to the "non ministrari sed intoxicari" of the 1961 Junior Show). Yet somehow it remains the "honored tradition" that President Hazard called it in 1909. She added, "Its wording is translated into contemporary language from generation to generation," a remark that rings true almost seventy years later. At the start it was built into the fabric of the College to remind onlookers of Mr. Durant's admonition that they live "an earnest life of Christian usefulness." It hung among Biblical texts on a wall of the College Hall chapel. Engraved in the Houghton Memorial Chapel, in the stone of a chancel arch not far from the Durant memorial windows which represent "The Call to Service" and "The Life of Service," it still conveys its message. It was adopted in 1882 as an essential feature of the college seal. Sermons, speeches (especially at Commencements), college papers from *Courant* through *News, Legenda,* reunion booklets, the *Alumnae Magazine*—all have used it in some way.

An attempt to measure exactly the motto's impact on any one college generation is sure to be futile, but enough alumnae remember and share their own reactions, both during and after their undergraduate days, to indicate the trend of their times. Some affirm an immediate and lasting call to action and some deny that they reacted at all. The majority in every decade until the late 1960s agree with a graduate of the 1950s: "We were very conscious of the motto . . . wanting to *do* something worthwhile with our great privileges but assigning action to the future. We felt too young at the time, were concerned with preparing ourselves for something often not definable, . . . and thought that intellectual

growth was a great end in itself." Even alumnae to whom the motto meant little in their undergraduate days believe that "something of its spirit must have filtered into" their later, serviceable lives. The late 1960s and the 1970s wanted "action now."

The First Twenty-Five Years

Mr. Durant's expectations for his young ladies, consonant with the motto, called for Christian charity, practiced by each one with the zeal of a "reformer in the noblest sense of the term." Two organizations were established at once, a Temperance Society and a Missionary Society. Charlotte Conant '84, an enthusiastic supporter of both prohibition and evangelism, was at the same time the kind of student whom Dean Tufts recalled as "already clamoring for self-expression." Her letters home provided an outlet for her feelings about too-frequent missionary meetings. "Hallowe'en," she wrote, "the girls were planning quite a time, but Miss Howard kindly provided a missionary meeting instead." And again, seething with indignation over a delay in granting a class constitution, she closed her remarks with "If *not* granted, how provoking. No Tree Day, no class, no Commencement,—nothing but grind and missionary meetings." That her activities were in fact well balanced she makes plain in her accounts of spirited debates and speeches, of pursuing topics like the Unity of Races, to which she was introduced during a Lenten service, of first steps toward student government, parties, and off-campus social services. She especially enjoyed a Thanksgiving visit of one hundred students to the Women's Reformatory in Sherborn, a three-year-old "tradition" which was destined for a long life. "We carried over," she said, "about 400 little bouquets, each with a printed text, and distributed them to the prisoners." There was an entertainment: "Singing, Recitations, and Piano Music." Everyone had a good time.

As the scope of undergraduate social concerns broadened, the titles of their two organizations tended to be so misleading, not to say cramping, that President Alice Freeman suggested their reconstruction as a single body. Naming the resultant "umbrella" society was easy since, to quote Louise *McCoy* North '79, the whole College was already, in fact, "a Wellesley Christian Association." In 1884, a statement of principles, laws, and regulations was ready for adoption, and the long career of a powerful all-college organization began.

Pledge cards issued to potential members (that is, everyone) of the organization from 1884 to that "time of stress," World War I, stated: "You do, in uniting with this Association, declare your belief in Jesus Christ as your Lord and Savior and dedicate your life to his service. . . . You will cultivate a Christian fellowship with its members, and, as op-

portunity is afforded, endeavor to lead others to a Christian life." But on the reverse side of the card cherished by Anne *Paton* Goodman '18 there is reassurance: "This pledge was adopted in its present form with the express understanding that its interpretation was to be left to the individual thought and conscience. All who in their own judgment can honestly subscribe to it have always been welcomed to membership in the Association." A new statement issued during Mrs. Goodman's term as president of the organization softened the wording to read: "to deepen one's own spiritual life, in cooperation with all Christian workers within and without the College; to stimulate the Christ-like life; and to express this life in His service."

Membership in the Christian Association was from the first nondenominational. The Reverend Dr. Noah Porter, President of the Board of Trustees and of Yale University, in his address at the cornerstone laying of Stone Hall placed sectarianism high on his roster of the "foes of Christianity." The Durants and the majority of the undergraduates were of the same mind. In 1905, when the organization was invited to join the national YWCA, it declined because acceptance would have meant cutting down the Wellesley membership to Evangelical sects; and when, in 1913, Wellesley did join the national association, finding it by that time more liberal, "she retained her own pledge and her own constitution."

Every area of the College's social concern was benefited by the reorganization of 1884. The campaign for temperance was carried on, partly by the bringing to the campus of such well-known lecturers as Frances Willard and so enlisting student workers. A Missionary Committee provided speakers for numerous meetings, founded a Student Volunteer Band, contributed to the support of a missionary in India, and gave some backing to a city mission in New York. Out of contributions of $1400 for "the missionary cause" in 1887-88, all but $150 was spent for the "spread of the gospel in all lands."

"Promotion of religious life in the college" was reached through the selection and entertainment of Sunday preachers (President Freeman conducted the weekday services); the sending of delegates to the annual Christian Association conference at Silver Bay on Lake George, New York; and entering into those "other branches" of service in which the goal of "the arousing of intelligent interest in social reform" was an inseparable partner. Mr. Durant's words, "The cause of God's poor is the sublime gospel of American freedom," reinforced the college motto.

The President's Report for 1887-88 listed among "services undertaken by the General Work Committee": "the Saturday evening club of the factory girls of South Natick, and the Sabbath-School in Charles River Village," then a factory town. Soon another club was organized consist-

ing of South Natick women who were workers in a shoe factory on Lovewell Road, now Cottage Street, and who boarded in an adjoining house. Later, when the factory moved away, the house became a freshman residence, Eliot House, and in the summer vacations students managed it as a resort "for hundreds of working girls." In 1891-92 a new project was inaugurated for women workers, this time workers on campus. "The Protestant girls employed in different houses," President Shafer reported, "have been taught systematically each week, and Sunday evening sings and King's Daughters meetings have been held with them. To reach those of another faith is more difficult, but we shall find ways." (This proselytizing bent was deplored by Vida Dutton Scudder of the English Department and other liberals.) A room had been "comfortably furnished in College Hall," its everyday name "the maids' parlor," its site, beneath the gymnasium, its capacity, "space for more than thirty women servants." The students had "arranged several social evenings in which they should learn harmless games and music." A library was started and a sewing machine donated for the maids' use.

While Wellesley students in 1892 were devoting most of their charitable funds and efforts to the local community and, of course, to foreign missions, their social concerns had broadened, so that recipients of the $1700 collected that year included a North Carolina school for mountain white girls, a French Catholic school in Springfield, Hampton Normal School and Tuskegee Institute for Negroes. Chapel furnishings were supplied for a hospital that cared for epileptic children, and boxes were prepared for the victims of calamities in the Dakotas. Clothing was sent to Indian children in an Oregon school, and money helped to provide homes for Alaskan Indians.

According to the President's Report, interest in the Indian question had been "deepened by a report of 20 years' work among this people and by the stirring appeals of the Indian Rights' Association." The Progressive Era, sensitive to oppression of all kinds, had begun. Campus discussions and alumnae meetings tended to center on topics like settlements, "great American cities," sharecroppers, immigration, child labor, sweated labor, women's suffrage. An Ivory Tower syndrome, experienced at its mildest as discomfort, at its worst as self-blame, was spreading. Tender consciences that had not to any great extent felt the impact of the motto as it applied to religion proved to be responsive to sheer human need. Many Wellesley women beginning in the 1890s were led by sympathy for the poor to join the Settlement House Movement. When Jacob Riis lectured on "Children of the Poor," he "made the listeners' hearts to burn." Interest in local working girls continued, along with work in refuges like the Dedham Female Asylum for released prisoners.

This active involvement of undergraduates of the time belies the

image presented frequently in contemporary magazines of campus life as a not quite real world without cares or worry, a charming setting for athletics, plays, and the creation of entertaining traditions. H. G. Wells, gathering material for *The Future of America,* to be published in 1906, was told by his Boston hosts that when he visited the College he would be reminded of Tennyson's *Princess.* And so he was. He described "that most delightful, that incredible girls' university . . . set in a broad park with a club house among glades and trees." Tongue in cheek, he wrote of the girl students "fitting themselves for their share in the great American problem by the study of Greek" and of his state of "mighty doubting" as he leafed through the calendar of courses. Still, he left the scene with his "hope" that some usefulness would emerge, and also with his "blessing."

Mr. Wells on this visit met only briefly with certain members of the Wellesley faculty who were doing rather more than their share toward solving America's problems: Professors Balch, Coman, Hayes, and Scudder. Some years later, when Emily Balch thought over her career as a teacher, she referred to her diary for details and was surprised to find that Wells had found fault with her course on the history of socialism, his ground being that her students were "still reading Marx." "As if," she exclaimed in the diary, "one could discuss that history without doing so!" As for Katharine Coman, she was simply mentioned as a teacher of industrial history. Yet that course and Miss Coman's later courses in economics turned many students into social activists. One of them described her ability to "give insight into principles and practice so that students, in whatever field of social work they entered, would recognize the concepts that came to be generally accepted as to the relationship of class to class, of man to man." She shared with them her experiences as a census-taker, as a caseworker for the College Settlements Association, as a member of the Strike Committee during the 1910-11 strike of the Chicago Garment Workers. A dedicated member of the Consumers' League, she managed in 1909 to found a Wellesley branch whose projects ranged from entertaining three hundred workers on the shore of Lake Waban to TZE's backing the League's crusade for purchasing only union products.

H. G. Wells mentioned Miss Scudder only as a teacher of English Literature. He might have been interested in President Julia Irvine's calling her "a detriment to the institution" since she was also a labor unionist and a Socialist. When the question of college acceptance of Standard Oil's "tainted money" was disturbing the Wellesley liberals of 1900 (as it disturbed other colleges and also the Protestant Board of Missions), Miss Scudder, according to her autobiography *On Journey,* joined, if she did not instigate, a vehement "movement of revolt and

inquiry among faculty and students . . . naturally disconcerting to the Wellesley Trustees." She asked her bishop whether she should resign. He said, "No, . . . not until they force you out. Loss of the radicals would spell death for the college." She was not "tipped out," since Wellesley was "always liberal toward their most troublesome teachers"—except for Miss Balch, as it later turned out. In 1912, when Miss Scudder supported and spoke at a strike in Lawrence, Katharine Lee Bates, as head of the English Department, was obliged to deal with protests, including a demand for her dismissal which appeared in the *Boston Transcript*. Both Miss Bates and Miss Scudder were idealists; both, in the opinion of Florence Converse '93, who not only wrote a history of the College but for many years shared Miss Scudder's home in Wellesley, had "a good deal of the rebel in them." And so, in the end, Miss Bates merely pointed out that the radical ideas in which Miss Scudder believed so strongly "would involuntarily seep into her lectures" and that she "was employed to teach English Literature, not Economics." It was agreed, however, that for at least a year she should not give her greatly loved course "Social Ideals in English Letters." When the course resumed, it was, as always, "a heartfelt arraignment of modern society" in which the Communist Manifesto was read as "illustrative material."

Professor Ellen Hayes, a partner in Miss Scudder's Lawrence activities, might seem to have had very little chance of introducing her social ideals into her teaching of astronomy and applied mathematics, and for some years after her appointment in 1879 she did not do so. Then she became an ardent Socialist, a fearless suffragist, an experimenter in adult education for working girls, an innovator who, according to M. M. Randall's *Improper Bostonian,* the biography of Miss Balch, "dragged the Communist Manifesto into her lectures on astronomy."

There were, of course, other instructors bent on social reform. In the English Department, Sophie Hart encouraged a cosmopolitan view of society; Margaret Sherwood wrote even-tempered, impressive novels based on the social wrongs of her day. But it was Miss Balch who outdid all the rest of the faculty in the scope of her influence. In 1897, when Miss Coman invited her to take a half-time position, at first mostly to read papers, she was already in some ways a citizen of the world and an immovable pillar of the causes that she supported. She had been acting as a "sort of apprentice" to a social pioneer in Boston's North End, filling her diary with experiences that she shared with "the ardent and enthusiastic" Vida Scudder and other members of the little group that had opened Denison House, and it was during a year as head worker at Denison House that she summed up her observations of Boston's poverty: less indecent than that of Glasgow and London's East End but as cruel. Trade unionism, which was still economic heresy for men and non-exist-

ent for women, was a magnet for Emily Balch. In 1894 she wrote in her diary, "joined Federal Labor Union under American Federation of Labor." On Sunday afternoons she and Vida Scudder drew mental stimulation from discussions with members of the Central Labor Union, and she herself was a delegate of the Cigar Makers' Union at one of their conventions. A controversial figure always, she was finally denied reappointment as a Wellesley professor in 1919. (See page 100 in the chapter on the faculty.)

It was no wonder that, with progressive teachers and with visiting lecturers like Mary Simkovitch, Jane Addams, and Ida Tarbell, more and more students were caught in the national upsurge of social reform that lasted until World War I. Their first publications, the *Courant* (1888), the *Prelude,* and the *Wellesley Magazine,* complemented course work with articles like those of Mary Wriston '89 on union as a possible remedy for the plight of the working girl, of Mary Conyngton '94 on a strike in New Bedford, others on the Pennsylvania coal strike, the Homestead strike, and the scandal of child labor. Miss Coman contributed an article on "The Transition in the Industrial Status of Women." The lectures of distinguished visitors (a steady stream) from Great Britain were reported in detail, notably a series on "The Development of Socialism in England" and "The London Working Classes." Recurrent topics were the Single Tax, Women's Suffrage, and Settlements.

Agora, a college society founded in 1891, directed its work program toward a viable understanding of political issues and systems. Knowledge was to be followed by action, as the quoting of *Non Ministrari sed Ministrare* at every ceremony of induction made clear. Meetings in a given year might be centered on municipal reform or on current trends within the national government or on comparisons of political movements at home and abroad—for example, a series on Communism in France, England, and the United States. Fifteen minutes were always allotted to one or two *ex tempore* speakers who gathered news from all over the world. In 1895, topics like "The Tramp and Out-of-Work Problems," "The Poor, Sick, and Infirm," and "Rescue Work" were well received. The year ended with a talk by Miss Coman, a member since the beginning, on "The Tenement House."

The Early Twentieth Century

When jubilant bells ushered in the twentieth century, they accompanied a hopeful spirit and a steady rise in the Progressives' influence as reformers. Colleges tended to carry over from the 1890s their zeal for social betterment; the radical students stood "only a little left of center" and "the liberals not far away"—a description applicable to Wellesley. There,

social action progressed at a reasonable pace, enlivened by occasional outbursts of indignation. Faculty members listened to disagreements, suggested paths to reconcilement, and at times found themselves at the center of a controversy, as when, in 1900, their salaries seemed to concerned students to call for investigation whereas faculty votes were almost unanimously against joining a teachers' union. Social work continued into the new century at such institutions as Denison House, where the "philanthropic angle" was partly replaced by "genuine democratic contacts," most notably through the founding of the Circolo Italiano-Americano. (Italians had replaced Irish as the neighbors closest to Denison House.) The Circolo, whose president was Miss Scudder, spread its enterprises throughout the city, and its spring and summer fiestas at Wellesley were favorite schemes for breaking down barriers. Some of the foreigners "at home in Denison House" were able, through a simple lecture or a few visits on campus, to make an unforgettable impression "of anguish inherent in privilege unshared and of glorious opportunities for sharing in America." Miss Scudder was particularly moved by the eloquent lectures and the "electric" personality of Catherine Breshkovsky, know as Babushka, the exiled grandmother of the Russian Revolution. On one of Babushka's return visits to the College, "some lucky girls," invited to the President's House to meet her, were in doubt about what to expect—"probably a fanatic, pouring out inflammatory talk." Instead, they saw a joyous old woman, simply dressed, so happy to see them that she had to dance a little *pas seul* on a terrace above Lake Waban. Then she talked informally about her life and, Miss Scudder reported, "conviction grew that the worst prison in the world is privileged class consciousness." Partly in response to such contacts, a study group on Russian and Chinese revolutionary trends and practices met from 1910 to 1912.

In their search for a democratic society the undergraduates formed and re-formed study groups, each with a faculty adviser or two. Meetings, especially those of the Social Studies Club, supplemented class and field work. The Debate Club favored topics like "The Merits of Federal Ownership of Railways." A Socialist Club (including young faculty and villagers as well as students) met regularly at the home of Professor Hayes. The numbers attending were so great that, according to Geraldine Gordon '00, who later bought the house and lived in it for many years, one entry had to be widened and an extra one built. In a 1915 Boston parade of suffragists, Miss Hayes was one of the Wellesley contingent, an affiliate of the National Equal Suffrage League, which was widely known on campus for its several well-attended lectures a year.

The Service Fund Committee moved with the new century, improving its structure, increasing, year by year, the size of its budgets, and broad-

ening the scope of its allotments within established classifications. The heading "Education" still embraced native and foreign schools, grouped as "white," "Negro," and "Indian," now more numerous and more widely scattered than before. Half of the schools for whites were located in the South, especially the Carolinas; most of the rest were in Montana, Wisconsin, and Massachusetts. All of the schools for blacks were in the Carolinas and in Georgia, where a favorite of the Wellesley community, Aunt Dinah (i.e. Dinah W. Pace), directed the Reed Home and Industrial School. Aunt Dinah's spirited letters so far outdid the average appeal that Agora invited her to speak at one of their meetings and reacted strongly to her vivid descriptions of the school's ups and downs. Among the foreign schools, the majority were related to Wellesley's missionary connections in Smyrna, Constantinople, and India. Yenching College for Women, outside the West Gate of Peking, received its first allotment in 1908 and was formally adopted as Wellesley's sister-college in 1919. Tsuda College, in Tokyo, Japan, also became a favored recipient for many years.

As social activism on campus increased, evangelism declined without weakening the religious life of the College. In 1913-14, the Christian Association, almost completely in the students' control, had 1297 members. Student volunteers, under the direction of faculty members, led Bible and Mission Study groups, and weekly meetings for worship on campus and in St. Andrew's Church in the village were run with great proficiency by student and faculty leaders. Alumnae speak nostalgically of the regular and special chapel services, the Christmas vespers initiated by President Hazard, and the inspiring preachers who "covered the college circuit." Silver Bay conferences were carried on as usual except for wartime changes in subject matter and for gaps in attendance. At the same time, Quakers were provided a meeting place in the Observatory, and Roman Catholic students became affiliated as a group with the local parish church.

In the prewar years the Wellesley students also did what they could for peace. Some of them demonstrated in parades with Veterans of Foreign Wars banners and posters. The whole College "made a great thing of Henry Ford's Peace Ship, and a procession of seniors cheered Miss Balch as she left to board it." From 1914 to 1917 campus groups inevitably turned from peacetime commitments to an attempt to "alleviate the sufferings of war." French and Belgian orphans were adopted by dormitories, money was raised for various relief organizations, and workrooms were established for sewing, bandage making, and knitting. According to Kathleen Elliott '18, "There was knitting in the classroom and outside the classroom (the *in* influenced by the effect that dropping needles had on the instructor)."

World War I

After the entrance of the United States into World War I, these activities were accelerated and expanded, and students who had not previously taken part in projects inevitably became involved in them. Miss Pendleton and the presidents of the other colleges in the Seven College Conference and Goucher joined in a resolution sent to President Wilson in April 1917 pledging wholehearted support to whatever measures he undertook and placing at his disposal "any service which we and (as far as we are able to speak for them) any service which the thousands of trained women whom we have sent from our colleges may be able to render." (Ruth *Altman* Greene '18 wrote her mother: "President Pendleton has offered Wellesley body and soul to the country, and we are going to turn our green meadows into potato beds and the geranium beds into onion patches." The War Farm under the supervision of Professor Margaret C. Ferguson of the Botany Department that summer employed forty-eight students in squads of sixteen, thirteen in the field and three in the "back-up housekeeping groups.") The Wellesley College War Relief Organization initially had charge of much of the volunteer work; then Miss Pendleton in the spring of 1918 appointed a War Council composed of six faculty members and five students to have general oversight of all organizations and committees for relief work and patriotic services. A Red Cross workroom was established in Agora Society House, and to spur the production of surgical dressings the juniors and sophomores held a competition which resulted in 19,600 dressings in one week.

Two members of the faculty, Eliza Newkirk '00 of the Art Department and Margaret Jackson of the Italian Department, served overseas with Wellesley Units. (Miss Newkirk was also appointed by the Army Educational Commission as the only woman on its architectural teaching staff; among her duties was touring soldiers through first Paris and then Genoa, pointing out buildings and objects of art.) The four Wellesley Units were staffed primarily by alumnae and, Kathleen Elliott has noted, "To the Wellesley community of World War I years, reports of their work proved an inspiration which led to more dedicated efforts on the campus." Of special interest on the campus were funds raised for the Frances Warren Pershing Ambulance, given in memory of the member of 1903 whose husband was the commanding general of the American Expeditionary Force; the Edith Wharton Tubercular Hospital in France; a bed at the American Hospital at Neuilly, France; the "soldiers' boxes" presented to John Masefield, who aroused great enthusiasm for English causes when he came several times to Wellesley to read his poetry. (On one of these occasions he established the John Masefield prizes for Wellesley students excelling in prose writing and verse.)

Zest and spirit normally devoted to such "traditions" as the Harvard-Wellesley Choir Concert, May Day, Garden Party, and Senior Prom, which were patriotically cancelled, seem to have been transferred to fund raising events. Witness this account of such an affair in the spring of 1918 as described in a letter by a senior: "Yesterday we had as beautiful a celebration as I've seen since I've been here. The College, which is raising money to back the Wellesley Relief Unit in France, gave an exhibition to the village, charging fifty cents admission. The whole college marched from the college green, up Central Street to the Athletic Field—first the flag carried by soldiers from Fort Devens, then all the college employees, the Freshmen and Sophomores in middies and bloomers, the Juniors in white and the Seniors in cap and gown. Last came the faculty in full academic dress, their Masters and Doctors hoods of every color under the sun. Imagine the pageantry of it, streaming along in the sunlight! As they filed past us we all broke into a deafening clap and cheer and I wish you could have seen their faces—dear Doctor Lockwood with her Yale-blue doctor's hood, beloved Mary W. Calkins with her cap over one ear, the good old dean with a chic quirk to her hood. And the grand old Macdougall, gorgeous in his rose velvet music doctor's hood, leading the Star Spangled Banner. President Pendleton, who was a thing of wondrous stateliness and beauty, presented the town of Wellesley with a three-hundred-starred service flag. A portly alderman accepted it. The band struck up a lively jig and we all danced on the green and ate ice cream cones."

Although primary emphasis was on wartime activities, social service interests were by no means abandoned. Elizabeth *King* Morey '19 in an oral history interview in 1973 recalled that "There was a good deal of pressure put on us to go to Denison House. I had a little bunch of Greek children. I knew less about little Greek children than anybody living could possibly know. I had them all out for a picnic and they all went swimming in Longfellow Pond." She also remembered the importance of "helping the labor movement" by wearing only underwear with the union label—and finding it so coarse and crude that she "spent loads of time putting fancy lace and ribbons on it." But, she added, "The real social conscience in our class was not in my group but in other people who were and have continued to be identified with movements and organizations." In these years of war work, the motto was recognized as a major influence, according to alumnae of that era.

The Twenties

After the war, however rapidly Wellesley mores may have changed in the Jazz Age, for social activists the doctrines inculcated during the Progressive Era still formed a sound basis for protests against newly power-

ful enemies of the people: racism, at its worst in the Ku Klux Klan; fundamentalism as it was exhibited in the Scopes trial; restriction of immigration; anti-intellectualism. The College was not alarmed by William Jennings Bryan's claim that it was a dangerous place because of the teaching of the Bible Department. Nor was it daunted by taunts flung at it during the Sacco and Vanzetti trial in Dedham. Accused of radicalism, students and faculty alike went to the hearings; the students sent a petition to the Governor of Massachusetts, asking that justice be done, and in 1926, at the age of seventy-six, Miss Hayes made another of "her appearances in the headlines" by picketing against the execution, as Miss Scudder said, "of those martyred men, condemned not for murder for for being alien."

Among innovations that promised well for their developing social consciousness, the freshmen's establishment of a Service Council in 1922-23 stands out. With seniors as their counselors, they not only followed the traditional lines of work in Boston settlement houses and the Wellesley Convalescent Home for Children but branched out into the North Bennet Industrial School, the Institute for the Blind, Boston dispensaries, and—to learn about case work—the Boston Society for the Care of Girls. Some Christian Association officers of the same generation at Professor Sophie Hart's suggestion inaugurated a social and educational Cosmopolitan Club. Each foreign member had an American sister. Harvard and M.I.T. students were invited to some of the meetings, adding greatly to the Club's popularity. Agora, true to its socio-political aims, surpassed itself in the '20s by its work toward the development of harmony among children of the neighboring schools. Profiting by discussions of their plans with Hunnewell School teachers and with boys and girls from Grades 4, 5, and 6, some of them immigrants, they decided on themes for a series of plays, all related to citizenship. Illustrative "field work" consisted of excursions, three times a year, in and around Boston. Junior and senior high school classes were brought to the campus for pleasure and "indoctrination"—they were proud of the word. In 1923-24, the basic program for this age group was reshaped, its climax a crowded meeting in Alumnae Hall where pupils illustrated Negro contributions to American culture through skits, music, painting, and modeling.

Immediately after the war, the College had set about modernizing the Christian Association. To begin with, in the words of Barbara *Kruger* Way '23, "a sort of offspring . . . escaped from the protecting wings of the parent organization" to join an Intercollegiate Community Service Organization. In her senior year she was president not only of the Wellesley branch but also of the combined Eastern women's colleges, eighteen in all. Government of the association was entirely in student hands. Mrs. Way remembers that, together with outstanding social workers and teach-

ers, she spoke at meetings in New York and Washington and had as her individual assignment visiting a Lithuanian family every week to teach them "enough English to get needed supplies and to communicate with the doctor who took care of their crippled child." The group as a whole worked so faithfully in three settlement houses (Denison, Hale, and South End) and in Chinatown that they began to feel worthy of course-credit.

The Christian Association, meanwhile, was busy responding to complaints. One, often heard, objected to the pledge, which was therefore abandoned. Others were accompanied by directives toward moving "from piety to dynamic living." Midweek services, decried as "ineffectual and uninteresting," were replaced with fewer, more "relevant," and better-attended meetings. Small groups, some short-lived, were formed: denominational clubs, early-morning meditation groups, and a Round Table of faculty and students that was apparently close kin to the "rap" sessions of the 1960s and 1970s. Complaints of "too little student participation in the chapel services" were met by providing more speakers from outside the ministry, giving over some services to carol-singing, and energizing the daily meetings. Carolyn *Bartel* Lyon '28 recently described the religious base of it all as "very liberal." Harry Emerson Fosdick's preaching of his social gospel at Christmas vespers was one of her "most dramatic memories" and "an experience symbolic of the spirit of the whole place at the time."

Susan *Shepherd* Sweezy '29 not long ago wrote an appreciative account of the Christian Association activities in which she was most interested—those "with Christian motivation although the general tone, especially in the Student Industrial Committee, was one of sociological sharing and challenging of each other." Inspired by the motto, she wrote editorials for the *News,* "attacking the 'soft' life of the College." As a freshman, she helped to promote mutual understanding with women shoe workers in Brockton through an exchange of over-night and weekend visits, joining in games, and holding conferences. The following summer, at the Silver Bay Conference, where "there were talks about everything from brotherhood to sex," she listened spellbound to two leaders whose ideas "were stirring up the colleges"—William Simpson and Frank Buchman, head of the Oxford Movement, later known as Moral Rearmament. Their practical interpretation of Jesus' and St. Francis' teachings was supplemented for her by Bible courses and by friendly talks with Miss Scudder, Henry R. Mussey and Elizabeth Donnan of the Economics Department, and Annie K. Tuell of the English Department.

Zella *Wheeler* Nichols, also '29, noted that Wellesley's horizons were steadily widening, perhaps most perceptibly in the territory of the Christian Association and its closely allied Service Fund. Through its affilia-

tion with the YWCA, the Wellesley Association had become a member of, and contributor to, the National Student Christian movements in forty-five countries. The interests of the Service Fund, both nationally and abroad, were constantly being extended by Christian Association's World Fellowship Committee. Together they responded to "appeals for relief which no college girl wished to slight."

With the expansion of their projects both organizations took on a most businesslike air. In a typical year, 1925, the Service Fund *News Extra,* published in the opening week of college, included reports on the previous year and budgets for the new year, articles by alumnae and undergraduates who knew and respected some of the applicants, and letters from "characters" like Aunt Dinah, whose story was centered on crops "all parched over" and, more happily, on boll-weevils that "didn't trouble the cotton" one mite. The Sunday morning collection in chapel belonged by tradition to the C. A. Central Committee. In 1925 it was turned over to a Japanese Relief Fund for the earthquake-devastated island of Honshu. Chapel talks, occasional flyers (some on the subject of unpaid pledges), and the *Alumnae Magazine* kept alive the subject of giving.

Religious, humanitarian, and educational aims were becoming less and less separable as guides to the allocation of funds. The C. A. Committees on World Fellowship and Foreign Education and the Service Fund Committee were in general similarly motivated. C. A. had missionary obligations of long standing such as the Women's Board of Missions, the Student Volunteers, the Movement of Foreign Missions, and the salaries of individual missionaries like Dr. Ruth Hume '97, a surgeon at the American Marathi Mission Hospital in Abednegar, India. (In 1925, Dr. Hume also received $700 to replace her balky Ford, "Ellen Fitz," itself a replacement for a team of oxen, with "Ellen Fitz II.") The medical profession appeared on the lists in various contexts: for example, the International Grenfell Mission, the Chinese Mission of New England, a Mission to the Lepers (devoted to discovery of a cure), a local Community Health Association. Among educational institutions given allotments, many were becoming obligations, if they were not so already: Piedmont College, Atlanta University (for blacks only), settlement schools (Hindman and Pine Mountain, for example), the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, a girls' school in Spain and an International Institute for Girls (the only place in Spain offering college education to women)—and so on around the world.

The Service Fund Committee's recommendations leaned a bit more than those of the Christian Association toward the causes of American Indians, Negroes, immigrant and migrant communities—without ignoring the needs of "suffering lands" abroad, including Serbia, Armenia, Smyrna, the Near East, and Central Europe. To Tsuda College in Tokyo, it allot-

ted not only a substantial gift to speed its recovery from the earthquake of 1923 but also a scholarship fund to support a teacher of English. In 1925, the teacher was Yoshi Kasuya '23, later President of the College. One of the Committee's responses to the calamities of war was its financing of care for French orphans in private homes.

Another kind of Service Fund giving was really an exchange of service for valuable experience. Ida *Craven* Merriam '25 was one of a succession of Wellesley students to serve as an assistant teacher in the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Working Women in Industry. She found everything in the school exciting but "most exciting of all, the exceptional and unusual persons—adventurous, independent, and with qualities of leadership." The student neophytes learned, to their surprise, that "the laboring 'class' is not a homogeneous group." The largest allotment of 1927, $5000 to Yenching College, covered the salary of a visiting professor, Jane Newell of Wellesley's Sociology Department, and much rebuilding and modernizing of the campus as well.

The Depression Years

Only two years later, in 1929, "the Crash" put an end to a sharply defined, open-handed, era. The depression that followed was unprecedented in length. The *Nation* thought that colleges and universities were in danger of a reaction from "frivolity toward insipid, smug sobriety." Fortunately, neither of these extremes applied to Wellesley, where austerity and common sense had the upper hand throughout the period.

Alumnae of the depression years, as many and as unified in spirit as respondents of the twenties, agree that they felt singularly fortunate though relatively poor. They volunteered for service in campus organizations, accepting leadership however burdensome it might be. And in trying to find the best means of turning thought into action, they "re-invigorated their social thinking." The Christian Association and Service Fund Committees faced staggering lists of requests for help, all valid but, as a whole, impossible to meet. They had to break many precedents and some rules such as an early agreement that none of the Service Fund should go to a campus organization. In 1931-32, $500 went to Students' Aid. The Christian Association reduced more drastically than in the 1920s its allotments to evangelical causes, at the same time valuing its obligations to Yenching and to Dr. Hume as almost equal to the emergencies of Unemployment Relief and Social Service in the United States. In 1932-33, unemployment relief became the business of a separate committee, supported by advice from the Service Fund Committee. And the lists of emergencies of all sorts grew and grew, taking in, for example, the schools of Wellesley, Natick, and Framingham and also Natick's own Relief

Committee. The usual Boston allotments were curtailed to allow for help to the Massachusetts Emergency Committee on Unemployment and to the American Friends' Service Committee. The Wellesley Relief Committee especially favored Lawrence among the state's industrial cities, but its greatest undertaking, as the Springfield *Republican* put it in 1933, was "the adoption" of Millville, a factory town near the Rhode Island border.

With its factories closed, its town government in disarray, and state aid nominal at the start, Millville would have been altogether helpless if its unpaid teachers had not been models of charity and of patience against all odds. To back them up, Wellesley furnished a clinic, school meals, and vegetable gardens, and also tried to meet individual needs that the student committee and two faculty advisers discovered during frequent visits until well into the 1940s. At Christmas, there was much industrious campus knitting (and re-knitting by experts before delivery), dressing of dolls, and collection of games, candy, and clothes for distribution at a school party—all families and teachers invited, as well as the town steering committee. In its third year, the Unemployment Committee could budget for the town only two-thirds of its earlier allotments, but a State Commission kept its promise to pay for a Public Health nurse if the College went on with such contributions as it could afford. Year after year, the students could watch encouraging changes: employment restored with some W.P.A. assistance; some rebuilding, though not enough to meet hygienic standards; increasing health education; better school lunches, thanks to help from the Kellogg Foundation.

In 1935 and 1936, the New Deal's creative years, an end to the Depression began to seem possible. Yet there was no decrease in the number of decisions that faced the Unemployment Relief Committee. New arrivals in the budget included the Works Progress Nursery School in Wellesley, Red Cross Relief in Cochituate, an Anthracite Coal Area Committee. (Elizabeth Sickler '37 wrote after a summer in Pennsylvania about the miners' families trying to keep warm on pickings from the slag-heaps.) The Church World Service Committee was just as urgent in its appeals on behalf of child laborers and of a migrant community of crop-pickers from eight states made barren by dust-storms. The World Student Christian Federation was one of the obligations that had to be dropped, to be taken up again in better times.

In and outside classrooms, upheavals in the capital-labor relationship, poverty, welfare, and the New Deal were the subjects most discussed during a good share of the 1930s, according to alumnae whose careers were founded on these concerns. Wilma *Dubin* Marlow '38 mentioned, as especially influential teachers, Professors Mary Treudley of the Sociology Department, Seal Thompson of the Bible Department (expressing her

belief in the one-ness of men), and Marion Stark of the Mathematics Department, who was a "power-house" in the Service Fund's management. Then, as the decade neared its end, the Christian Association, Forum, Agora, and informal gatherings of students and faculty were speaking for world peace above all else. Forum was by then an all-college organization, in a position to stir into action more followers than its predecessors (the Liberal Club and the International Relations Club) had inspired. Among the optimists there were many whose faith that peace could be preserved outlived the time when the United States began to provide England and France with the materials of war. The Christian Association was the last to give up hope.

Throughout the troubled years the students added to their personal services a variety of projects patterned on traditional lines and unrelated to the Depression. In Boston they took on extra work: the Floating Hospital for Children, for instance, and the placement section of the Children's Aid Association. Also, there was always apprentice work to be done for Service Fund recipients such as the Grenfell Mission in Newfoundland, the Reformatory for Girls in Sleighton, Pennsylvania, New York settlement houses, children's camps, and the School for Women Workers in Industry, which had been transplanted from Bryn Mawr to the Hudson Shore. They attended as many conferences as possible, two lucky ones going to a meeting of the World Student Union Federation in Switzerland.

But the most rewarding of the summer meetings must surely have been those held on the Wellesley campus: the Institute of International Relations (1931), and the Institute for Social Progress, founded by alumnae in 1933. The Institute of International Relations drew representatives of all ages from all walks of life: "clergy, missionaries, farmers, bankers, settlement youth, economists," all eager to "study the Good Life of religion, honest skepticism, economics, and political points of view . . . Anti-Nazi Germany, Italian Fascism, China, Japan, Southern sharecroppers, leaders of corporate industry, the negro race, organized labor . . . social work . . . all instruments to fend off another war." The Summer Institute for Social Progress followed a single line of questioning: "What Are the Fundamentals of Good Social Order and How Are They To Be Realized?" It was founded with the understanding that it would be self-supporting. Professor Mussey of the Department of Economics aroused the interest of his students in the venture, and Professor Katharine Balderston '16, of the English Department, was an alumna member of the founding committee. Dorothy Hill '15 was the director of the institute, whose topic for the first year was "The Direction and Control of Our Economic Future."

The first time Massachusetts colleges were confronted by a loyalty oath

was in the fall of 1935, and, as would be true some twenty years later when a similar situation arose, Wellesley was in the forefront of institutions expressing opposition. The General Court had passed the preceding spring a bill requiring teachers to take an "oath of affirmation" to the Constitutions of the United States and the Commonwealth. When the Commissioner of Education notified the College that the "oath slips" must be filed before December 1, "the widespread feeling of the college community . . . was expressed in a written protest signed by one hundred and forty-nine members of the faculty and sent with the oath slips to the Commissioner," according to the President's Report for the year. Moreover, "A motion to send a second protest was passed unanimously on February 27 at a meeting of the Academic Council. At the hearings which were subsequently held at the State House, the President and representatives of the faculty, together with officers of neighboring institutions, appeared and spoke against the bill requiring the oath." The protest, which was prepared by Professor Edward E. Curtis of the History Department, began by stating, "We feel that the requirement of the oath is an unwarranted reflection on the patriotism of the teachers of the Commonwealth," and concluded: "We concur with President Conant of Harvard University in regarding the oath as 'unnecessary, unwise, and unfortunate' and we advocate the immediate repeal of the law." President Pendleton pointed out that its passage had been a "depressing effect of a national malady, the Red Scare," to which the College was almost entirely immune.

World War II

In 1939, with war clouds on the horizon, *Legenda,* with the *Non Ministrari* motto decorating its parchment fly-leaf, gave considerable space to Christian Association's reminders of opportunities to "become sensitive to life's significance through worship, thoughtful discussion, and purposeful activities." This yearbook indicates that even the tea parties were centers for talking about the unemployed, the plight of prisoners, the oppressed minorities in Germany, Spain, and China.

The mood of the college community and the attitude of students toward the issues raised by the war which had broken out were expressed by Miss McAfee in her President's Report for 1939-40: "Students all over the United States were criticized in the spring of 1940 for their skepticism and apathy in regard to the European and Oriental situations. It is true that many undergraduates found it difficult to readjust their thinking from a strong anti-war basis to an assumption that some things are worse than war. There was no exuberant rush toward involvement in the war across the seas, and there were undoubtedly some students who were

carelessly unresponsive to the challenge of the war conditions. On the other hand, there was a vigorous group of highly sensitive and intelligent students who were tremendously concerned about their relations to the fast-moving events abroad. . . ." She could also point to the fact that when, shortly before Commencement, announcement was made that the College had offered the use of its campus and buildings as a temporary shelter for refugee children, and students were invited to volunteer to return if they were needed, within twenty-four hours almost four hundred students submitted application forms. (Actually, it was the following year that the College entertained for the summer months a group of British children, with student volunteers assisting in their care and recreational programs.) Another indication of the desire to aid refugees was the Faculty Fund for Dispossessed Scholars, which in 1939-40, for example, made possible visits for short periods by seven foreign scholars and for longer periods by two others.

A Committee on the National Emergency was established in the summer of 1940 to act as a coordinating agency for the many kinds of activities which developed. Its report issued in May 1941 stated that the part of its program which is "educational in nature has been the logical outgrowth of a desire for correct information in an intelligent group; on the other hand, various activities have resulted from the demands for both social and relief work, most of which have also had important educational aspects." Sewing and knitting produced in a workroom for war relief, and money raised through Service Fund, resulted in substantial contributions to the American Red Cross, British War Relief Society, China Relief, Greek War Relief Association, and the YWCA and the American Friends Service Committee for relief work in France.

Then on December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. At a crowded chapel service the following morning, President McAfee urged the avoidance, on everyone's part, of hatred. The Christian Association registered its "deep compassion for [the nation's] enemy." The *News* declared editorially, "As war news swept over the campus suddenly a generation of adolescents passed into maturity. A generation who were previously seeking to find themselves stood ready to receive responsibility."

Kathleen Elliott '18, an undergraduate in World War I and an administrative officer of the College in World War II, has said: "Many of our activities on the campus were the same in both wars. We once more had workrooms for sewing and surgical dressings, and knitting needles clicked once more." Again, most students and faculty took part in projects, this time including gardening, Air Raid Protection, USO, farming, ground maintenance, and donation of blood. In the WAFEE (Wellesley Auxiliary for Extra Energy) five hours in the workroom made one an

ensign, ten a lieutenant. (Navy terminology was part of the Wellesley idiom; after all, President McAfee was granted leave to become the Director of the WAVES, and on the campus the Navy Supply Corps trained officers who slept in double-decker bunks in Cazenove and Pomeroy Halls, had a galley and mess hall in Alumnae Hall, and marched to classes in parts of the Recreation Building and Mary Hemenway Hall.) Some of the usual program of social work continued, and there were such new activities as dances for enlisted men in the Recreation Building and entertainments provided for the soldiers stationed at Camp Devens. In a less organized fashion the students also helped to entertain the Supply Corps midshipmen; the men's free time was usually restricted to a few minutes after dinner, and the Wellesley girls sometimes walked them back to their dormitories in time for them to start classes again at 7:30 in the evening. The officer in charge, Commander Ernest C. Collins, USN, was the husband of a Wellesley alumna and was as cooperative as possible, according to Dean Lucy Wilson. She recalled in an oral history interview that when he "found that the students thought that the men were pretty aged, the next group was younger, much younger. Then the word from the Wellesley undergraduates was, 'Well, perhaps they would be of interest to the freshmen and sophomores, but certainly not to the seniors.' Ultimately the ages in the different groups were fairly well spread, and I think that a few romances developed, but not many." And in a similar interview Mildred McAfee Horton chuckled over the sudden coolness she experienced on her first visit to the campus after the arrival of the Supply Corps. She said, "I couldn't put my finger on the cause of the coolness until finally someone came and asked me why I had arranged that all of these men should be married. I was very much amused because of course I had had absolutely nothing to do with the assignment of anybody for anything, and that they thought I could run it that way from Washington was very flattering to me—but pretty silly!"

Virginia *Beach* Hoyt '47 commented, "The war helped us to focus outward to the world," and so said one Forum president after another. A chapter of the United World Federation was founded, and a two-day conference of eighteen colleges was held on International Service, with Eleanor Roosevelt as the keynote speaker. (Topics centered on the impact of war on Life, the Pocketbook, Freedom of Speech, and the Job.) In the President's Report for 1943-44 Captain McAfee declared: "If there was ever a cloistered life on the campus, the war has certainly altered it." Among "expanding community relations" she noted the Sociology Department's cooperation "in a survey on problems of ethnic relationship for the Cambridge Community Council" and its "important interviewing in Wellesley for the Committee on Food Habits of the National Research Council"; solar observations for war use made by the Astronomy Depart-

ment; plans to hold in the summer of 1944 the Wellesley School of Community Affairs "to work on questions of intercultural relations within the American community under the direction of Dr. Margaret Mead"; the establishment of the Wellesley Reconstruction Work School, which she termed "an elaborate name for an important effort to meet a labor shortage in the neighborhood while introducing students to farm and factory work during the vacation."

The Mayling Soong Foundation had been established in 1942 in honor of Madame Chiang Kai-shek at the time of her twenty-fifth reunion "to interpret China and the other nations of the East to American college students," and in 1943-44 Madame Chiang contributed $25,000 to it and alumnae $42,100. In March 1943, shortly before Madame Chiang addressed a joint session of the Houses of Congress, she made a historic, truly legendary visit to the campus. Her radio address from Alumnae Hall was carried all over the world.

The Service Fund Committee raised $15,471, of which $7,500 was allocated to war relief through the Committee on War Activities. With Forum that committee sponsored a series of lectures on postwar reconstruction. It also collected clothes for European relief, conducted paper salvage drives, continued to supervise the workroom for knitting, sewing, and surgical dressings, and participated in two war loan drives which resulted in the sale of bonds and stamps totaling more than $100,000. By selling war stamps for admission to the Faculty Show, "The Thing Is the Play," the faculty added $1,445 to the effort of the Committee on War Activities.

Some students prepared to serve after graduation with the Red Cross or the armed forces, and a considerable number of the younger members of the faculty and maintenance staffs entered the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. As had been true in World War I, some members of the Academic Council used their professional expertise for the "war effort": Dr. Marion Loizeau was on the staff of the English Hospital of the British Emergency Medical Services; E. Elizabeth Jones of the Zoology Department participated in a secret war project at the Harvard Medical School; M. Margaret Ball of the Political Science Department worked with the State Department on various assignments. Not closely related to her discipline, Biblical History, was the work of Louise Pettibone Smith, who spent much of a sabbatical leave with a unit of the Greek War Relief, six months of the time at a Greek refugee camp in the Gaza Strip where she was in charge of a surgical ward. Gwenyth Rhome and I were among the people who combined with our usual occupations totally unfamiliar chores on the three to eleven shift at a factory in Waltham.

Ann *Campbell* Campbell '43 perhaps summarized well the views of her contemporaries when she wrote: "We were thoroughly immersed in the

war, and whether fund-raising, helping to entertain servicemen, or supporting our own particular men, we felt we very much lived out the motto. No gasoline for pleasure, an oil-short winter, limitations on meat etc. reinforced our belief that we were serving others, not ourselves."

Post-War Years

After the war, all over the world people were making radical adjustments in their own lives and were examining freshly every aspect of society. On the campus the organization which received the most searching reappraisal was Christian Association. A faculty-student committee under the chairmanship of Herbert M. Gale of the Biblical History Department devoted a year to carrying out the mandate of C. A.'s Board to "study the place of that organization in the life of the College." President Horton stated in her Report for 1947-48 that the committee proposed "establishment of the Wellesley College Community Chapel which shall be administered by a joint board of faculty and students, together with the organization of a Service Organization. The thought is that each of these agencies shall be the official body for organizing those aspects of the community which will have to do with worship and with social service so that the College will function institutionally without obligating individuals to commit themselves to creedal statements in the area of Christian worship." Action was taken on the proposal the following year, and Miss Clapp in 1949-50 reported: "This has been the first complete year of the Community Chapel and of the Service Organization. The latter has flourished, having a clear-cut program of action. The former has gone through tribulations in efforts to define itself and to develop areas in which its influence could be manifest, and there is some concern lest the separation of the two functions will make less evident on this campus the religious motivation from which have stemmed most acts of brotherhood throughout history." The Chapel Organization continued to experience "tribulations"; in her President's Report for 1950-53 Miss Clapp commented that "it was still adjusting to its new role in 1950-51. Gradually it has gained assurance and competence. Religious clubs representing various denominations and faiths operate under its aegis, while the Board, composed of student and faculty representatives and a new, continuing administrative officer, a Director of Chapel [Carol M. Roehm '22], plans daily and Sunday Chapel services, forums, and study and discussion groups within the framework of the religious tradition of the College." The Worship Committee of faculty and students planned formal services along traditional lines and also such special services as "may be desired by a contemporary generation." The plan for weekday services, other than those led by President Clapp and some faculty members, was to

select fifty or sixty students who were free to replace Bible readings with "talks." The talks turned out, generally, to be "rich, sincere, broad" in approach. The new method of choosing Sunday preachers was painstaking. The Committee sifted first the suggestions, and then the votes, of the community and finally produced a slate of "thirty to fifty winners."

Then in 1959 a three-year experiment undertaken with the support of a grant from the Danforth Foundation provided for the appointment as Dean of the Chapel of Charles A. M. Hall, a young member of the Biblical History Department who was a Presbyterian minister. The purpose was twofold: "to discover whether the Sunday service would have more meaning for larger numbers" if he gave some continuity to it by regularly conducting part of the service while distinguished visiting clergymen usually continued to preach the sermons; to have someone responsible for giving advice to Chapel Organization if its members wished help in planning its programs. In 1962 Fred Denbeaux, Professor of Biblical Studies, was appointed Chairman of the Board of Preachers and had charge of arranging the Sunday services, but the Director of Residence or the Dean of Students assisted the Chapel Board in obtaining speakers for other occasions. Chapel Organization as an "umbrella" fell apart with increasing rapidity during the 1960s; denominational and other "splinter organizations" such as the Radical Christian Movement assumed greater importance than the overall structure. Agitation for the appointment of a chaplain intensified at about the same time, and in 1968-69 the Reverend Paul Santmire, already adviser to the Lutheran students on campus, agreed to assume the responsibility. Mrs. Chaplin in the chapter on the students describes the changing interests and emphases in the late 1960s and early 1970s which led to the "decline and fall" of a number of organizations including the Community Chapel.

For a good many years after World War II, however, and even when Chapel Organization took over some of Christian Association's functions and Service Organization its other activities, the venerable Religious Forum and the more recent Interfaith Forum were held almost every year. The prototype of Religious Forum probably was the program called "Vesper Services," which was conducted for twelve days in 1910-11 by Eliza Hall Kendrick of the Bible Department, Katharine Lee Bates of the English Department, and ministers from Philadelphia and Boston. The twelve days may have seemed excessive to students and faculty alike; in any event, nothing of the kind was held again until the "Week of Prayer" in 1914-15. Under various names and for varying lengths of time (usually from two to four days), and often near the beginning of the second semester, a forum was held at which a well-known theologian, who was almost always liberal and sometimes "controversial," lectured and held discussions. Occasionally a Jew or a Catholic but ordinarily a Protestant

was selected. On the other hand, when Interfaith Forum came into being in the early 1940s, representatives of the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish faiths, and sometimes a humanist or an agnostic, appeared on the same platform. This event usually was confined to one session in the fall and in it, as in the "Vesper Services" in 1910, Wellesley faculty members occasionally took part.

Increasing emphasis on interfaith activities in the 1950s is attested by statements from two presidents of Chapel. Janet *Ayres* Coles '55 wrote: "On campus much time was spent on interfaith activities and there was an effort to de-emphasize the Protestant Christian tradition so clearly stated by Mr. Durant. We were concerned with the beliefs of all students and sought ways to share them." Carolyn *Friend* Erickson '59 remembered that the emphasis "was definitely to keep activities not only interdenominational, but also interfaith (with the exception of the worship services themselves, which were of course of Christian orientation)." And Mrs. Coles added, "I really think Service Organization was the social conscience of the students, though some may have been awakened by Chapel to realize a need for service."

Service Organization certainly provided the principal focus for the philanthropic and social service interests of students from the time it was established in 1948 until the mid-1960s. It absorbed Service Fund's role of raising money for charitable purposes and disbursing it wisely after careful study of the uses to which it would be put. For example, Elizabeth *Kinney* Johnson, president in 1965, told of her Allocations Committee which had three subgroups—educational, American, and world—which collected information and made recommendations. (It especially liked "unique projects" such as giving a heifer to a family with a low income and having the first calf passed on to another needy family, and the American Women's Hospital's program to improve the status of women in medicine and to prevent illness.) With its yearly budget, sometimes as much as $16,000, S. O. supported children through the Foster Parents Plan, contributed to educational institutions in various parts of the world, sent wheat to India, money to the Netherlands for flood relief, food to Arab refugees in Palestine, and supported a wide range of other causes at home and abroad.

The other function of S. O. was to arrange opportunities for volunteers. Work continued in settlement houses, with the Bloodmobile, and in some of the other long-standing projects, and the number of students working in hospitals increased notably as the kinds of possibilities for service expanded. In the Boston Psychiatric Hospital, for instance, students were able to learn simple occupational therapy, and mental hospitals provided a large array of opportunities. Students were among the early volunteers in doing sound-scribing for the blind, and they also

devoted many hours to the children at the Perkins Institute for the Blind. During S. O.'s later years there were a good many tutoring programs, especially in Roxbury (and a dozen or more other campus organizations also had such programs). Transportation was, however, a major problem; it was more difficult to reach settlement houses by train or bus than it had been in the earlier days of the College.

On the campus there was during the second semester of 1956-57 a special project in which nearly all of the members of the college community participated in one way or another. This was a program, the first of its kind in a women's college, for ten Hungarian refugees who had managed to escape following the Communist takeover of their country. The purpose was to teach them enough English and to acquaint them sufficiently with life in this country and, in particular, its educational institutions so that they could be admitted to regular classes in a variety of schools and colleges. In charge of the program was Carol M. Roehm '22, who at that time was the Foreign Student Adviser and who had been the Director of the Wellesley Institute for Foreign Students which in the summer of 1946 had pioneered in teaching students with a variety of language backgrounds. The Trustees provided room and board in Dower House, as well as tuition, for the Hungarians. Money for books and "extras," except for clothes which the Students' Aid Society supplied, was earned by undergraduates, who organized a "work weekend" and cleaned, cooked, and shoveled snow for townspeople. Wellesley students conducted regular practice sessions in spoken English as adjuncts to the classes given by faculty members. Three Hungarian-born undergraduates were invaluable as interpreters.

In the 1950s college students in the United States were being categorized as the "silent generation" in an Age of Anxiety, to use W. H. Auden's term. One Wellesley alumna of that period in responding to questions about the temper of her time said that the community was indeed inactive, "afraid of becoming involved"; another believed that she and her friends were simply "apathetic," quietly in line with their "security-conscious generation, each in her own track to 'success' whatever that might be"; still another felt that "people tend to forget that there was always an active and concerned group." Certainly there was in general considerable hesitation about supporting or signing petitions of unknown organizations during the years 1950 to 1954 when Joseph R. McCarthy flourished as Chairman of the Permanent Senate Subcommittee on Investigation. On Miss Clapp's suggestion, members of the Political Science Department cooperated with individual students and student groups in providing information about outside organizations and in helping students draft petitions which they sent to their Congressmen and Senators under their own aegis.

One faculty member who had no hesitation about being associated with all manner of organizations was Louise Pettibone Smith, Professor of Biblical History. She had been in Germany soon after Hitler came into power and she was impressed by the fact that people she "had known for some years, liked and trusted as individuals," were "unconsciously accepting" Hitler's propaganda. She thought that she detected a similar response on the part of friends here to McCarthyism, and, she said, "I realized that I had never taken any responsibility for my liberal ideas." Thereupon, as she stated in an oral history interview, "I signed everything for months unless I definitely disagreed with it. Once you've started signing, they pass names around, and a couple of months later I was asked to be on the sponsor list for the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born." By the time that the Jenner Committee was investigating subversive influences in New England colleges, Miss Smith was the chairman of the organization and was summoned to testify. In an oral history interview, Miss Clapp said that when she learned of the plans of the Jenner Committee to come to the Boston area, she expressed to some of the trustees her wish that faculty members who were puzzled about their rights and what they should do if they were called could obtain "an impartial, straight statement of 'If you do this, this will follow, and so on.' Judge Charles Cabot said he'd be glad to help if he could in any way. The only case that ever came up was Louise."

According to Miss Smith, as soon as she received the subpoena and informed the President, "Miss Clapp promptly got one of the members of the Board of Trustees, who was a noted Boston lawyer, to come out to Wellesley. We had an appointment at her house where he told me exactly what my rights were before such an investigating committee. And then I went to the interview—which was rather fun, as a matter of fact, since I knew the College was behind me." She said that she and a Harvard professor "were perfectly content because we both had our institutions behind us, but it was terribly hard for a number of people who didn't have that kind of support." When she was asked whether she knew that the American Committee for the Foreign Born was on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, she replied: " 'I had been told so, but I didn't know it.' They said, 'Well, it is; if you did know it, would it have made a difference?' This was a committee chaired by a Republican. I looked at him and I said, 'I don't think so. I am sixty-five years old.' (This was my last year at Wellesley.) 'I think I trust my judgment more than Tom Clark's.' And of course that went down very well with the Republicans, and then I said that I had never joined any organization which I considered to be subversive. And they said, 'That's all right, that's all we want. Good-bye.' " Miss Smith added: "The subpoena from the Jenner Committee forced a short-notice cut for my classes, and of

course the hearings had received large newspaper headlines. Some of the Bible majors drew the correct inference, verified their conclusion in the department office, and then canvassed the student body. I happened to be leading chapel later in the week. When I came in, the chapel was completely full. (There were usually a hundred or so present.) If Miss Clapp had not had the wisdom to give me a warning beforehand that this would happen, I don't think I could have kept my voice steady."

In an oral history interview Miss Clapp recalled a statement she especially liked that Miss Smith had made to her after the hearing: "The reason I answered their questions was that all my non-Communist friends said, 'Well, you'll have to do what you think is right,' and all my Communist friends said, 'Don't answer their questions.' Nobody's going to tell me what to do!"

The other issue concerning civil liberties which affected Wellesley and other educational institutions in the 1950s was the disclaimer affidavit included in the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Wellesley did not apply for federal loan funds in the five-year period when the disclaimer affidavit was a prerequisite for obtaining them. Miss Clapp explained the reason for Wellesley's opposition in a statement that was widely publicized and served as a model for some other colleges: "The Academic Council and the Board of Trustees believe that it is improper for this College, which urges inexperienced students to search zealously and freely for truths, to invite them to take loans under the law as it now stands. Although at first glance the Disclaimer Affidavit may seem harmless enough, it subjects students to risk of future penalty if in the course of their investigation of ideas (which for young people frequently involves the trying on of successive ideas) they should support an organization or even hold a belief which an unnamed source on unnamed grounds at an unnamed time may declare advocates the overthrow of the United States Government by illegal means. Such a law is an invitation to timidity, not a bulwark to the America that believes in the free market place of ideas." Students were also involved in the protest and had letter-writing campaigns urging their Senators and Congressmen to repeal the Act.

The Sixties

It is interesting to notice that among the alumnae who responded to a questionnaire sent in connection with this chapter, members of 1961, 1962, 1963, and 1966 all expressed the belief that theirs was the class that marked "the end of the apathetic generation and the beginning of the 'activist student' era." Carolyn *Revelle* Hufbauer '61 regarded the sit-ins in the South in 1960-61 as "the beginning of the new era among college students." Her successor as president of Forum, Carol *Bensinger* Lieb-

man '62, also remembered the sit-ins in which some Wellesley students took part; in addition she commented on the Peace Corps, the on and off-campus activities of "the peace group, which was concerned with disarmament, and of the civil rights group," and a special drive to support other students engaged in sit-ins. She said, however, "Although we saw ourselves as significantly more 'committed' than members of the 'apathetic generation' who were our immediate predecessors, our expression of social consciousness for the most part took the form of attendance at lectures and discussion groups. I remember particularly the African Symposium presented by the Barnette Miller Foundation and the appearance of Dr. Martin Luther King." Perhaps the issue on the campus which aroused the greatest controversy (at least as reflected in the columns of *News* and the minutes of Senate) was the "recognition" of Students for a Democratic Society as a college organization: SDS was first denied and later granted permission to organize a chapter. Rosemary Metrailer '66 pointed out that during her college years "things were really happening in the South and with the war and the Cuban crisis; many students had summer involvements in those areas. Noontime 'fasts' and freedom rides and anti-war activities were just starting to happen."

In the chapter on the students Mrs. Chaplin, from her direct experience, gives an account of some of the activities and interests and thinking on the campus during the next few years. What the views of the students of the late sixties and early seventies will be a few years after their graduation no one can predict. But they too may be interested in the summary of the comments made by the Class of 1960 in 1971. The editors of the Class Record Book wrote: "The one strain that comes through so many personal statements again and again is the desire to have a life of value. To have meaning, to find meaning, to care, to help, to participate. Where we do this and how we do it differ, but the striving is commonly felt. We laughed at Wellesley's 'Non Ministrari, Sed Ministrare'; it was part of the dusty mythology . . . and here we are, still trying to find a way to minister, not to be ministered unto. It's not a bad way in which to be alike." All of which brings the reader around to the saying, "The more things change, the more they are the same."

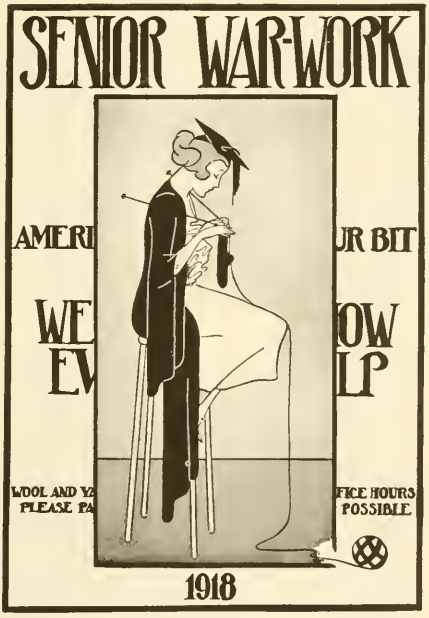
From the 1935 *Legenda*.

For many years students and faculty volunteers worked at Denison House.

Delegates to the Christian Association Conference at Silver Bay in 1915.

Faculty children posed with dolls which students dressed as Christmas gifts for poor children (*circa* 1955).

World War I: Wellesley Farmerettes working under the supervision of Professor Margaret C. Ferguson; poster from the 1918 *Legenda;* cartoon from the 1922 *Legenda.*



There was a war garden

The triumverate during World War II when President McAfee was Director of the WAVES:

Marie Rahr Haffenreffer

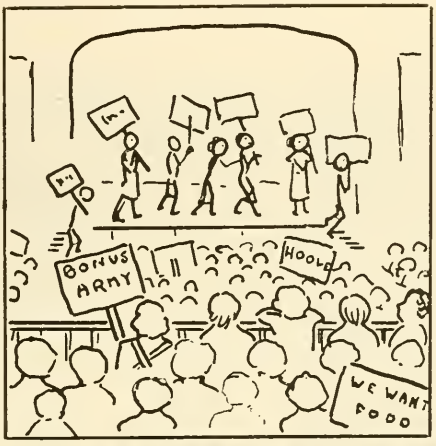
Ella Keats Whiting

Lucy Wilson

A war-time visit of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek to the College.

Students entertaining the Navy Supply Corps at a dance in Mary Hemenway Gymnasium.

Gardening in World War II. From the 1945 *Legenda*.



A rally in support of the Bonus Army. From the 1935 *Legenda*.

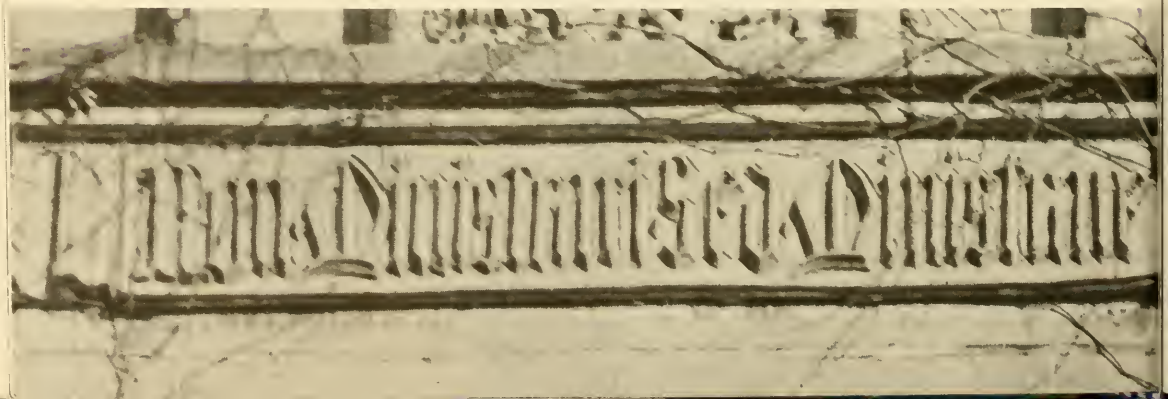
Wellesley suffragettes joining in a demonstration demanding votes for women.

Forum rally supporting the candidacy of Wendell Willkie.

A welcome to Wellesley for Hungarian refugees.

Carol M. Roehm, the Director, and a class in the Wellesley Institute for Foreign Students, 1946.

The motto engraved in stone.



BARBARA P. McCARTHY

Traditions

WHEN I WAS ASKED by the Centennial Historian to discuss "Traditions," those recurring extracurricular events which have a definite Wellesley flavor, I protested the assignment. Traditions in this sense are the activities of zealous undergraduates and the memories of nostalgic alumnae. I went to Pembroke, not Wellesley, so I argued that I could write about Wellesley traditions only as an observer. When pressed, however, I had to admit that my observation had extended over a fairly long period as a member of the faculty from 1929 to 1970, that in those forty-one years I had witnessed the death, birth, and rebirth of various traditions, and that I had participated actively in one or two, such as Greek play and faculty show. So I finally agreed to undertake the topic, relying on the tolerance of Wellesley alumnae if I seem not to appreciate fully the inner meaning of some of their more arcane rituals.

Various attempts have been made in the past to single out from the multiplicity of dramatic, musical, athletic, and social events such as occur at every college, those which deserve to be designated as "Wellesley traditions." An undergraduate orator in 1892 wrestled seriously with the question and came up with a list of four: Flower Sunday, Float Day, Tree Day, and Anniversary of the Founder's Death. Of these, the fourth continued to be observed into the 1920s for as long as there were speakers available who had personally known Mr. Durant; the other three all go back in origin to the Founder, and I shall start my history with them.

Flower Sunday is Wellesley's oldest and longest surviving tradition, recurring annually from the second year of the College to the present time. On the first Sunday of each college year, the chapel is gay with flowers, and the text for the morning service is "God is love." This happy opening program was the Founder's reaction to a disturbing experience on the first Sunday of Wellesley's first year when an insensitive minister chose as his text, "Thou hast hedged me about so that I cannot get out,"

—this for a congregation of young girls starting a "new life" with courage undoubtedly but also with trepidation and not a little homesickness. Mr. Durant saw eyes filled with tears, and for the opening Sunday of 1876 he invited a clergyman with the delightfully ecclesiastical name of Dr. Pentecost to preach on the text "God is love." The opening hymn was "Joyful, joyful," and the College Hall chapel was filled with flowers.

A description of the occasion in 1884 mentions "banks of foliage plants from the greenhouses of Mrs. Durant, Japan lilies and roses from the Waban conservatories, beautiful floral decorations contributed by Mr. Hunnewell and Mr. Cheney, a large cross of brilliant flowers in the center of the platform with large wreaths and tall baskets at each corner, and twelve baskets of choice flowers suspended from the chandeliers." The cut flowers were sent by Miss Freeman to class prayer meetings in the evening to be distributed to the students. In addition to the abundant chapel decorations, it was Mrs. Durant's custom to mark the day also by a few flowers left in the early morning in the room of each new student.

Flowers and Love are still the motifs for Wellesley's first Sunday Chapel. In 1972, according to the *College News,* "Freshmen, traditionally given flowers by Big Sisters, carried many varieties, including carnations, snapdragons, and daisies." In Houghton Chapel, where the familiar text is inscribed high in the center of the chancel, the chaplain, Paul Santmire, gave a sermon on Love. During the service the congregation was invited to come forward to the altar and daisies were distributed in an emphasis on the same theme. And—a symbol of community love—cookies and punch were served on the steps of the chapel.

Tree Day, dating from May of the College's second year, also owes its origin to the Founder, although it probably did not, as is usually assumed, spring full-grown from his head. According to Greek Professor Annie Sybil Montague '79, participant in the first Tree Day, the seed was sown by girls who had heard of Vassar's tree planting and wanted to emulate their older sister college. "When the idea was mentioned to Mr. Durant, he was very much pleased." By a happy coincidence Mr. Hunnewell had just given him two Japanese golden evergreens, highly suitable trees with which to inaugurate an annual festival. After chapel that evening he made an announcement to the college classes (only two in 1877) and gave them a few days in which to prepare appropriate ceremonies for a tree-planting holiday. The freshman rites were kept simple by lack of time, since before proceeding further they had to adopt a constitution and elect officers. The more sophisticated sophomores prepared printed programs and managed to produce a semblance of costumes with tissue-paper caps and long tissue-paper ribbons pinned to their shoulders. Their authors were so professionally minded that before composing a poem and a song they prevailed upon a librarian, Miss Rosamond Pentecost (sister of

the clergyman who had preached on Flower Sunday), "to chaperone them in rowing over to the Hunnewell estate before breakfast on a May morning for an accurate observation of the trees." The first sight of the green foliage tipped with yellow inspired the lines:

> Brave tree of our choice, pale gold gleaming through
> The green of thy boughs.

In the chorus of this first Tree Day song, they sought identity with their tree, the "Daphne syndrome," in the words of Mary *Rosenthal* Lefkowitz '57, Associate Professor of Greek and Latin, whose Tree Day lecture each year in the Mythology course is fast becoming a new college tradition. (Daphne, you may remember, fled from the embraces of Apollo and was turned into a laurel tree.)

> Oh, nymph divine, we're thine, we're thine.
> Thy beauty is our chosen shrine.
> We'll dare, we'll dare thy fate to share,
> Our chosen nymph with golden hair.

At the moment of the planting, the freshman orator assigned to deliver an "Apostrophe to the Trowel" was dismayed to find that the implement put into her hand was a spade as tall as she was. The following year a freshman class with a sense of history purchased a lighter spade to be "preserved forever and ever" and had their numerals 1881 carved on the handle.

In the next few years a pattern developed which included a march of the classes in costumes, a program of orations and odes held close to the senior tree (later in front of College Hall) and presided over by the senior mistress of ceremonies, and a program near the site of the new freshman tree in which a sophomore orator handed over the spade to the freshman mistress of ceremonies (in 1899 Bessie Wheeler Manwaring '02, later a Professor of English), and announcement was made by the freshman class of their color, their flower, and their motto, all of which sophomores tried to discover in advance, sometimes by "questionable means." (Witness a letter of protest in the *News* in 1903, signed by twenty-five alumnae, including Katharine Lee Bates '80, Ellen Fitz Pendleton '86, and Olive Davis '86.) From 1883 to 1917 juniors had a little ceremony of their own late in the day, the planting of ivy (beginning with an ivy brought to them from "Ellen's Isle" by Professor Horsford of Harvard, friend of Mr. Durant and of the College), which alternated after 1905 with the planting of a rosebush near the chapel, ivy in even years, roses in odd years.

Tree Day was in the beginning a closed festivity for members of the College and alumnae, with a few clergymen and men of letters invited

as special guests. Later, students were allowed a limited number of tickets for their families. Only when money was badly needed was the occasion opened to the public: in 1905 to raise money for a library; in 1914 for the Fire Fund; and in 1919 for the Red Cross.

In the early years of Tree Day class costumes were all important and were kept strictly secret in advance of the procession. We hear how the freshmen in 1880 bought out Jordan's entire stock of white calico with small red figures and, with the help of the housekeeper and two sewing machines, secretly created uniform skirts and waists with belts of turkey red. They carried red and silver Japanese fans and displayed a turkey-red banner with an inscription in letters of silver paper, "Calico versus Velvet," reference to a recent sermon by Mr. Durant in which he expressed preference for calico girls. They had an uneasy feeling that they might be reprimanded for this display, but instead they were personally congratulated by Mr. Durant, while President Ada Howard expressed pleasure that their costumes had cost only thirty-nine cents and that they had put Mr. Durant's sermon to such practical use. In 1883 the freshman class wore "the daintiest white Mother Hubbards with daisy parasols and the sweetest white baby caps ever found in the country." Their orator was Ellen Fitz Pendleton whose speech must have been heard by college guest Oliver Wendell Holmes. (The original copy is in the Archives, written in the familiar firm round hand. It is decorated with a daisy and the Greek words *to kalon,* the good or beautiful.) In a Tradition Meeting in 1922 President Pendleton recalled that the senior costume that year was a black silk dress with a red geranium at the belt and a black parasol. "This ensemble," she added dryly, "was alleged to represent beauty." The next year, 1884, seniors fashioned for themselves caps and gowns, setting a precedent for subsequent Tree Days, ten years before the College adopted academic regalia. For their honorary member, President Alice Freeman, they made a gown of finer stuff, which was "distractingly becoming." The president of this enterprising class, who gave the speech of welcome, was Edith S. Tufts, for many years Dean of Residence. Sophomores the same year were dressed in white with yellow daisy hats, juniors were "a walking rainbow, each of the seven colors of the spectrum seven times reproduced," while freshmen in green and white wore "pretty headdresses of the peasant maids of Italy."

Dramatic story and dancing were first introduced into Tree Day in 1889 when seniors presented a masque in which the Spirit of the Tulip Tree, their Class tree, left other tree spirits to become a mortal and join the Class of 1889. In the cast was their honorary member, Dr. Phillips Brooks, later Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts and a Wellesley trustee, as Jack-in-the-Pulpit. The freshmen, English maidens of the fourteenth century in gowns of pink and white, included dancing in their cere-

mony: twenty-four of their tallest winding a maypole while the rest of the class accompanied the dance with song. Until the First World War Tree Day pageants generally presented a dream world of tree spirits and animated flowers, sentimentalized versions of Greek myths, or literary scenes touched with splendor. The 1906 senior pageant was played on the bank of Longfellow Pond, where Dryads and Naiads danced and Pan pursued Syrinx in a technique of "picture dancing" originated by Wellesley's Lucille Hill, Director of Physical Training, and said to be a "revival of the Greek art which is found nowhere else at the present day." In 1910 all four classes, instead of being disparate groups, united in presenting "A Merrie Festival performed before her Majestie, Queene Elizabeth of England, in the springtime," with knights and ladies, tradespeople and choir boys. The freshmen were peasant children led in merry country dances by their mistress of ceremonies, Evelyn Wells '13, later Professor of English and authority on English ballads. Even the giver and receiver of the spade were made part of the general ensemble, as court jesters.

Of all the Tree Days before I came to Wellesley, the one I would most like to have seen took place in 1916, two years after College Hall fire, when instead of a myth or a romance, the pageant was an allegory of Wellesley's history: the triumph of Faith over the Doubts and Prejudices that had blocked the path of women's education, the ideals of Wisdom and Honor that directed the work of the College, the development of its courses of study, then, in the midst of a triumphant dance, the sudden onset of Fire, Smoke, and Flame, with Despair and Grief, which changed quickly to Hope and Promise. The story ended with the coming of a golden New Era, which led the Vision of the College Beautiful (the senior Tree Day mistress) and the whole brilliant pageant across the green and up the hill toward the new Wellesley that was being born out of the recent crisis.

The basic form of the Tree Day ceremony altered little after 1916. Held on "Severance Green" (except for 1920 and 1923 when it was on the lawn of the "Durant Guest House," now the President's House, with the lake as a background), it began with the procession of classes, seniors in cap and gown, the rest in white with beanies and other touches of their class colors. Moving to form a great W, they sang the *Alma Mater* and gave the musical Wellesley cheer, then broke ranks and ran to join the rest of the audience on the hillside. To the music of "Pomp and Circumstance," the beautiful Tree Day mistress with sweeping robes and flowing hair moved gracefully down the Art Building Hill with her aides to sit on a dais at the side of the Green. (In 1934 the *Boston Post* noted that no girl with bobbed hair had ever been elected Tree Day mistress.) The pageant was played out before the Queen and her court by dancers from

all classes, coached to a high degree of perfection by members of the Physical Education Department. Then came the familiar Spade Ceremony with its little intra-mural jokes, and finally the race to the new class tree, with freshmen trying to reach its secret location ahead of the sophomores.

While the general program remained the same, dance techniques changed through the years, and so did the themes of the pageant. The last tree spirits danced in 1917, combining rather strangely with a Spade Ceremony in which America gave the spade to Joan of Arc, youth called to service. In 1918 and 1919 Icelandic and American Indian stories symbolized suffering, succeeded by hope. In the opulent 20s came fairy stories and in the early 30s, the depression years, mechanical realism (the Machine Age, Man's Control of Light). As amplification of recordings improved to concert reproduction, emphasis shifted to music, with the choice of a composition by Prokofieff, for example, or Stravinsky, or Aaron Copland, determining the mood of the pageant and the nature of the choreography.

In the late 1950s and 1960s student interests were directed more and more away from the campus. There were always dancers who were willing to perform short group numbers in a colorful *Spanish Fiesta* or in *Alice in Wonderland* or *Peter Pan,* but the majority of students could think of more congenial ways to spend a spring Saturday afternoon than to march in white dress and class color and sit uncomfortably on a hillside to participate in a ritual which had little meaning for them. In the hope of keeping more students on campus, Tree Day was expanded into a spring weekend with dances and concerts. But a picture of the W, the year of the last pageant in 1968, shows that the festival with its formal beauty had become an anachronism. The W is straggly and ill-formed, the few students participating in it seem by their choice of dress and their nonchalant poses to be deliberately avoiding any appearance of uniformity. In 1969 "due to the proximity of exam week to Tree Day," the pageant was omitted. Tree planting and crew races were preceded by a picnic, with refreshments sold for the benefit of Upward Bound. *News* urged students to contribute to a good cause while enjoying spring on the campus and so to "institute a new, perhaps more worthwhile tradition at Wellesley." This was the College's last Tree Day. The ritual ceremony of planting a tree, however, still goes on, carried out now by sophomores on Sophomore Parents' Day.

Mr. Durant had founded his college on a lake; from this fact came two famous traditions: the Wellesley crew and Float Day (or Float Night). Boating for young ladies was at once "attractive and beneficial to the health," and safe craft of various sizes were provided for them. The larger boats, accommodating eight rowers and a cox, became the property *pro tem* of a crew attractively dressed in uniform boating cos-

tumes. Writing in the *Christian Union* in 1880, Dr. Lyman Abbott, a favorite preacher at the College, described how the senior crew took him on the lake: "It was a curious experience to sit quietly in the stern and be rowed by a crew of young ladies, while the lake was dotted with the tasteful uniforms of the crews, each in its own colors, and the setting sun painted a picture rare in its beauty." Another early college guest, Longfellow, was similarly entertained on the lake in a boat christened for the occasion "Evangeline." Each of the three upper classes had an official crew; freshmen could form as many crews as there were extra boats. In 1883 a group which organized such a crew for the good ship "Prydwen" included Ellen Fitz Pendleton and Helen Merrill. According to Miss Merrill when she was a Professor of Mathematics, it was said to be the best looking and worst rowing crew on the lake, and no single member of it made the sophomore crew the following year.

One day every year all the crews held a demonstration in which they exhibited their rowing skill, their talent as singers, and seemingly above all, their charming costumes. The outfit of the new sophomore crew was always a sensation. The *Annals of 1883* describe how sophomores of that year shut themselves mysteriously in their rooms for days with signs, "Please do not knock," to emerge in time for Float Day with "cream blouses and full skirts, gilt edgings and jaunty caps, spoon oars glistening and banners flying." The many freshmen crews that year, which included the distinguished one of the Prydwen, seemed to the senior writing the *Annals* like "pretty hordes of ducklings." A typical program of the eighties was described in the *Wellesley Courant* of May 30, 1884. The three upperclass crews, the only ones to boast spoon oars, and eleven freshmen crews met at the south porch of College Hall in full boating costume. Arriving at the lake they rowed about at first, then the boats gathered together "until the whole flotilla made a floating island in a sunset-tinted lake." As hundreds of spectators stood on the banks, each crew sang its own original song. Finally with the singing of "Goodnight, Ladies," they pulled away for further exercise. The reporter did not mention the formation by the boats of a circle and a star which appear in photographs of the 1880s. An account of Float in 1889 described its effect on the distinguished honorary member of the junior class, Chauncey Depew, unsuccessful candidate the year before for Republican presidential nominee: "Arriving in the midst of the exercises, as he descended the hill the scene upon the lake was hidden from view until he had almost reached the shore where the picture burst suddenly upon him and in his exclamation, 'How charming,' those who were with him knew that his heart was won for Wellesley." This simple version of Float, "comely" young ladies rowing and singing in the sunset, also charmed the readers of popular magazines. A writer in *Demarest's Family Maga-*

zine in 1890 described with fervor the moment "after the last level ray of sunlight had died away. Then, one by one, along the wide curve of the shore and from the many boats, gleam out the lanterns, and they are reflected in the quiet water until the whole scene is a fairyland." Another writer the same year in *Illustrated American* marveled at the "various boat songs, grave and gay, English, Latin, German, French, and Irish," and called the Float "a gala time to which the brothers like to be invited."

During the 1890s Float Day became Wellesley's "open house," and special trains were run for the occasion from Boston. New light cedar boats in 1892 no doubt improved the rowing. Bands played during the evening, in 1896 the Germanic Band of Boston. Besides the glory of the sunset (always extolled in accounts of Float) and the lights on the boats, there were hundreds of Japanese lanterns strung among the trees, colored lights thrown from the shore, and displays of fireworks. In 1898 Abbie Carter Goodloe '89 writing the lead article in the May *Scribner's,* "Undergraduate Life at Wellesley," estimated that Float that year drew 7,000 guests including the Governor of Massachusetts and the Mayor of Boston. A restrained undergraduate reporter, whose highest praise of the evening was that "one's own particular man was not bored to death," agreed that there were at least 6,000 visitors. With so large an outdoor event there was always one major concern—the weather. But in 1899 when a sudden storm erupted after trainloads of guests had arrived, this was not the disaster it would be in later years. The boat crews could still parade in College Hall, showing off their costumes and singing their new songs. "The bands played and the crowds drank lemonade while thunder pealed, lightning flashed, and rain poured steadily down."

As the twentieth century got under way other activities crowded out rowing as an all-college interest. The crews were reduced to four, one for each class, and in exhibitions the W replaced the many-pointed star. Float began to lose its glamor until in 1908 it was admitted that "while the guests seemed to enjoy it, most of the girls pronounced it a bore." At this point the water pageant came into being in an attempt to make the evening "more an expression of the spirit of the whole college." The earlier features of Float were also retained with one added attraction, the christening of the freshman shell. For some years the pageants consisted of a procession of boats, many of them student-owned, elaborately lighted and decorated, each representing part of a general theme, Canadian Water Festival, for example, A Modern Carnival, or United States Colleges. The subjects were less nature-oriented than those of early Tree Days, with no Water Sprites to parallel Tree Nymphs. With war came patriotic themes, America and Her Allies in 1917, and in 1919 World Leaders and the League of Nations. (The pageant was omitted in 1918 and only the crews performed.) In 1917 a large float in the middle of the lake was oc-

cupied by the Harvard Military Band, which failed in an attempt to play Wellesley songs, but "redeemed itself with stirring national airs."

In the 1920s came the real floats, comparable to those in land parades, each platform with its tableau carried on two canoes. These floats involved elaborate and expensive staging, and on a windy night they could offer problems to the paddlers. On Float Night one went to the lake early in the evening for a good seat, armed with a sweater for the night breezes and citronella for the mosquitoes. Crew races came first while it was still daylight. Then as the sun went down came the parade of the crews, the W, and the singing, and in the last of the sunset, the rowing in perfect form of the varsity crew. An intermission (which sometimes seemed interminable) followed until it was dark enough for the pageant, but the floats were always worth waiting for. Picked up by floodlights on the shore, they were extraordinarily beautiful as they moved along the dark lake to appropriate music. One remembers favorites: Idylls of the King, Wanderings of Odysseus, Alice in Wonderland. Other colleges might have spring masques similar to Tree Day, but Float was a uniquely Wellesley experience. Fireworks ended the evening until in 1933 a young man, who insisted he knew all about rockets, set fire to a box containing three dozen of them. As Mr. Collins of the Service Building described the accident to a *News* reporter in 1947, the year of the last Float, "Rockets were shooting all over Claflin and Tower Court, and no one's been very keen on the idea since."

Float did not stop because people were bored with it, but because of a lapse of three years during the Second World War followed by acts of God. In 1946, though none of the classes in college had ever experienced Float, students set out with enthusiasm to revive it. The pageant, Hansel and Gretel, was rained out. The next year Float, still Hansel and Gretel, emerged "after years of darkness," a triumph. But in 1948 with entrancing floats ready to present Arabian Nights, it rained again. Two rainouts of a very expensive and time-consuming show in one generation after an enforced blackout of three years was too much. Float was abandoned.

In 1949 class crew races became part of Tree Day, and since the abandoning of Tree Day, they have continued as a separate event, with the winners challenging a crew of the faculty. The "varsity" crew, praised in the *News* for their "dedication to clean sport," is a hard-working, intercollegiate team, rowing against other women's crews in regattas that used to see only male competition.

Another longstanding tradition, a less formal rite than Tree Day or Float Night, was May Day (play day), the origin of which is generally attributed to the Class of 1895. Alice Hunt frequently recalled with pleasure how on April 30 of that year she and other seniors were standing in front of College Hall before lunch, lamenting the Wellesley tendency

to take oneself too seriously when the idea occurred to them "to celebrate May Day as blithesomely as Elizabethans, as children, if necessary." Proceeding that same afternoon to acquire hoops, balls, jumpropes, they "electrified the College" the next morning by rolling hoops, in their caps and gowns (regalia which had been adopted only the year before) around and around the circle of College Hall until chapel time, and then back and forth to classes. In the afternoon they dressed in short skirts, jumped rope, and played such games as Drop the Handkerchief, Hide and Seek, and London Bridge.

Miss Tufts claimed an earlier origin for May Day when she told a *News* reporter in 1925 that in the early eighties they used to enjoy a gala day with maypole and hoop-rolling on the slope of Stone Hall hill. According to her recollection, 1883 was the first class to have hoop-rolling. This date is borne out by mention of a May frolic with rolling hoops in a slim pamphlet, *Wellesley Annals of 1883,* in which an anonymous senior recounted with engaging humor the events of the current year. "By the close of the winter term," she wrote, "seniors looked worn out and felt the need of rejuvenation. Besides we had noticed that the freshmen but half knew the joy of childish sports. Therefore, for their benefit entirely, we made a great outlay of money invested in rubber balls with strings attached, jumping ropes, teeters, springboards, and rolling hoops. With our hair neatly braided down our backs and long-sleeved white aprons we hurried out to play one morning in May. It was simply beautiful to view our infantile playfulness. Miss Whiting [Sarah Frances Whiting, Professor of Physics and Astronomy] herself was so attracted by the seesaw that she teetered and teetered right over the edge of silent time" (a period of twenty minutes, morning and evening, during which students were required to be in their rooms, silent). Records do not reveal whether this agreeable mass hysteria occurred again at any time between 1883 and 1895. Even in the *News* reports of 1895 I find only one reference to their momentous play day. In the Tree Day speech of the senior class president (Athena Akademika) the juniors were told, "If the hoops do descend from class to class, when they have gotten as low as they can, undoubtedly '96 will get them—undoubtedly. Snatch not the gifts of the gods with such untimely haste then." I cannot help wondering if some of these hoops had already descended (as hoops have always done from class to class to class) from the seniors of 1883. In any case, after 1895 May Day was an annual event. College Notes in the *Alumnae Magazine* mention on May 1, 1897, the "usual custom" of rolling hoops around the circle.

For many years these May events were preceded by a secret and very strange ceremony of purification, attributed also by Miss Hunt to 1895. This was the scrubbing of the Backwoodsman, a colossal marble statue

of a man with raised axe, which stood on the south porch of College Hall from 1886 to 1912, gazing out through the pillars at the lake. The work of Henry Dexter, it had been displayed for some years in the Athenaeum, where it was much admired as a naturalistic American portrait. But the unappreciative students of 1886 found the subject "grim and gaunt," of "fierce and ghastly aspect," and felt sure he was left on the back steps because his "certificate of admission was unsatisfactory." This certificate, which he was said to have "trampled beneath his feet," was a handsomely lettered inscription on the granite base, "The Backwoodsman 1844, Henry Dexter fecit." Despite this initially poor reception, the Woodsman became in time an object of strange devotion to Wellesley students. For many May Days, in a sunrise ceremony, he was thoroughly bathed and his teeth brushed by energetic seniors who sang as they worked:

We are the Seniors
Seniors are we
Washing the Woodsman
Right merrily.

So vigorous was the scrubbing that in 1906 the *College News* reported, "In the bustle and excitement a chip was taken from his Greek nose and a thumb swept off." On that same occasion, perhaps in compensation, he was given a crowbar decorated with a crisp blue bow and a blue and silver scarf was tied around his stalwart neck. The excitement of May Day prompted also the early morning decorating of other statues. For some unexplained reason it seemed hilariously funny to give them incongruous hairdos, frills, bows, and parasols, in the same spirit, whatever it was, which prompted male contemporaries to coat with paint monumental statues such as that of John Harvard.

One statue was always given particular attention, the large seated representation of Harriet Martineau (a gift to the College from the artist, Anne Whitney), which occupied a commanding position in College Hall center from 1887 until the fire of 1914. Harriet was a very special lady, since every freshman, however plump, was pushed and pulled under the rungs of her chair in a ceremony known as "Going through Harriet." (We hear of one fat maiden who got stuck in the process and stayed there for a long time "like a pig under a fence.") The Class of 1909 chose to perform the May Day ablutions on Harriet instead of on the Backwoodsman. As they worked, their orator "in a simple homespun gown of calico" recited a long ode which would have delighted the socially conscious Miss Martineau. I quote a few lines:

Woman has thrown off the yoke—she is free.
She is no longer a toy—no more a slave!

Let man keep the bottle—woman claims the ballot!!!
We scrub Harriet.

According to the *Boston Sunday Globe,* June 8, 1913, Harriet was bathed once each year by succeeding senior classes. We have a description of the rite in 1902 when at 6:15 a.m. on November 19 a "company of pilgrims" bathed the statue of Miss Martineau so industriously that "for fifteen minutes no sound was heard save the swashing of water, the scrubbing of stiff brushes, and the soft rubbing of towels." Occasionally they paused to sing:

See dust of ages flee from the scrubbing,
See how she takes all this vigorous rubbing,
Seniors, advance to the annual tubbing
Of Martineau, Harriet.

Except for 1909, other classes, on May Day at least, continued to scrub the Woodsman until during a vacation in 1912 the beloved statue disappeared. What had happened to him was a deep mystery. One rumor made him an "ingredient of the doughnut," a concrete circular walk that was under construction at the time in front of College Hall. Another rumor placed him in the aqueduct as witness the final stanza of a mournful poem in the 1913 Legenda:

The aqueduct is far away
And they have laid him deep;
But always in the month of May
His weary ghost comes back to weep;
For he laments as spirits can
That they should steal our only man.

This second theory received support many years later when the statue's base was discovered on the golf course in the widening of Fuller Brook. But a memorandum (recently presented to the Wellesley Archives) written by Edwin J. Monaghan, who was the superintendent of College Hall, confirms the first hypothesis. Vividly he described how "learned people assembled in solemn session" at midnight and condemned the Backwoodsman to be "dismembered, piled on a drag, and dumped into the excavation for the doughnut." One meek, mild lady protested that she had known this good and just man ever since she was a child and that she knew no evil of him. But to the other elders of the College he had obviously become an intolerable eyesore. (Who knows how many other pieces of his anatomy had followed the nose and thumb broken in 1906?) On May Day 1913 the seniors, deprived of their Backwoodsman, scrubbed the Doughnut and included his ghost in their ceremony. The practice of ritual cleansing continued for years, with 1914 scrubbing the library steps,

1916 the walls and steps of the new Tower Court, and 1915 and other classes transferring the ceremony to the steps of the chapel. Dressed as bedraggled scrubwomen, they made a great effort each year to be funnier and funnier, talking in "supposedly Irish" accents, until the Class of 1923 wisely voted to abandon the scrubbing as "of no present significance." There was one abortive attempt to revive the custom when juniors washed the chapel steps in 1959.

The second, and after 1922 the first, event of May Day was the rolling of hoops by the seniors, at first around the circle of College Hall, later down Tower Court Hill and up to the steps of the chapel. For some years they rolled for sheer joy in the exercise and in the incongruity of senior gowns and childish sport. As they reached their goal, the seniors formed into two rows and raised their hoops to make a picturesque archway under which the other classes marched into chapel. In time the spirit of competition entered into the sport which became a race, then inevitably the victory took on symbolic meaning. The winner must have the prize which all college girls were supposed to be seeking: she would be the first in the class to get her man. So she was presented with a wedding bouquet and sometimes wreathed with flowers. (Now winning became important and since a front position in the starting line was of prime advantage, sophomores camped out for long hours to hold strategic places for their particular "big sisters.") The facet of May Day which has always been of most interest to the press is the "legend" of the "first bride." And for many people the Wellesley image has long been a pretty girl in academic garb with wedding bouquet and triumphant smile framed in the circle of her hoop. If the winner is an engaged girl, her fiancé may be on hand to be photographed with her in the magic circle.

The Wellesley hoop race which received the widest publicity was that of 1939 when the winner in the act of being crowned with a wreath of blue and yellow flowers was revealed as the editor of the *Harvard Lampoon,* wearing a red wig, white blouse, and blue skirt. Both Euripides and Aristophanes record the violent reaction of worshippers at ancient female rites in similar circumstances, and Wellesley women also showed proper outrage as they seized the interloper, dragged him to the shore of the lake, and threw him bodily into the water. At chapel President McAfee assured them, "You have made history this morning." The event was immortalized in the "Ballad of a Bold Bad Man," which appears in the *Wellesley College Song Book.*

As more students began to marry during their college course, the promised reward lost its meaning. Married seniors in 1950 had baby carriages instead of hoops, two of them with real babies, and for several years after this baby carriages appeared regularly in the race. In the 1960s hoop-rolling was briefly attached to Tree Day, then transferred to Sophomore

Fathers' Day, a nostalgic entertainment for early rising dads. Although marriage no longer has an essential priority for today's students, the winner is still given the traditional bridal bouquet. The man-in-drag who is tossed into the lake is also a firm tradition; in 1973 he was a Wellesley "coed" from Williams.

Beginning at least as early as 1906, sophomores after chapel on May Day formed the numerals of the senior class, their white dresses accented by splashes of the class color in the form of capes or caps, kerchiefs, balloons, or parasols. Beginning in 1928 "blotters" of different colors were added, which were manipulated above the heads to form a surprise picture. At first these pictures were of simple design, a senior with a hoop, for example, or Green Hall Tower, but they became more elaborate and, to tell the truth, were not always easy to decipher. Blotters like hoops became part of Sophomore Fathers' Day, but were discontinued, apparently to everyone's satisfaction, after 1968.

For some years after 1895, the afternoon of May Day continued to be a time for spontaneous fun and games. A maypole was added in 1901, and in 1902 the choosing of a May Queen (regularly the president of the freshman class crowned by the president of the senior class). Always there were, in addition, balloons, a hurdy-gurdy, special costumes (Buster Brown was everywhere in 1908), lemonade and striped ice cream, which gave way about 1910 to ice cream cones. In some years there was a funny baseball game between seniors and sophomores, in 1916 a game without balls or bats between the "Bugs of Nutville" and the "Nuts of Bugville." It was a time of merrymaking, and children from the Village came to watch and to join in the fun. The year 1918 was an exception: the frolic gave place to a full afternoon of making surgical dressings.

In the 1920s the afternoon program became more elaborate. The crowning of the Queen and the maypole dance were made part of a masque with a story-line and pretty dancers. Only one basic plot really met all the requirements—the Cinderella theme. So in most of the pageants a young prince sought for a bride, and his choice fell on the freshman class president (in 1926 Virginia Onderdonk, photographed with long golden curls and jeweled crown, sitting with her hand on the knee of a velvet-jacketed Prince Charming). The pageant gradually became so elaborate and so time-consuming that it competed with Tree Day, and in 1929 a country fair, in 1930 an old English village festival was substituted for it. (Apparently nobody thought of going back to an unstructured play day.) For three years after this, the afternoon part of May Day was omitted. In 1934 an attempt was made to revive a "much lamented custom" with a Never-Never Land which included pirates, Indians, crocodiles, the maypole, and the crowning of the queen. It was a last gasp, and after this the afternoon program quietly expired.

Recently, after many years, spring's liberating spirit has had a rebirth on the Wellesley campus in the form of a Spring Weekend. Similar events occur at other colleges, and indeed have occurred at Wellesley in the past, but according to one undergraduate, this weekend has a special "tenor." It is "just thoroughly relaxed and thoroughly informal and everything is free." There are movies, concerts, square dancing, and spontaneous fun on the green. The 1973 program included a Greek festival of spring (togas suggested), with beer, refreshments, and games, sponsored by Cazenove Hall, MIT fraternities, and other Greek freaks. And Wellesley played host to the annual Jousting Tournament of the "Society for Creative Anachronism." One surprising anachronism was included in the program, a "Formal Dance," but "it drew kids in jeans and also in long dresses, so you had a surprising contrast." The 1974 Equinox Weekend was sponsored both by Vice President's Council and Ethos. Its special features were a jazz concert on Severance Green, a Saturday flea market, and all-night movies. This new Spring Weekend brings people to the campus from other colleges; it is not the all-girl, intimate, Wellesley affair that May Day once was, but it does seem to have the spirit of spontaneity and fun that marked the earliest revels.

In 1900, after the dedication of the Houghton Memorial Chapel, a new tradition was attached to May Day—all-college singing in the evening on the chapel steps, with each class having its own special place. Seniors were symbolically at the top until 1922 when the juniors voted that they would keep as seniors the equally symbolic position of front and center. For some years there were only two step-singings, the one on May Day and another shortly before graduation. But in time they came to be scheduled once or twice a week on pleasant fall and spring evenings when students who were free after dinner would come together to sing class and college songs and give their class cheers. The freshman song and cheer were permitted only after Tree Day. Step-singing is obviously intended for the satisfaction of the participants, but there was always a group of faculty listeners, some of whom might be summoned to join one or other of the classes. ("We want Miss X on our steps!") Recent happenings were incorporated into a song, sending some prominent member of the community "up to Academic Council." "He went up on—" What followed was an incident or remark that the professor in question would probably prefer to forget. Step-singing still continues, scheduled now once in the fall and once in the spring. Class songs are a thing of the past, but class cheers continue, some of them reported to be getting a little "gross," with freshmen not allowed to give their cheer until the second step-singing. Songs are usually the hits of recent Junior Shows or very old college favorites. "It's fun," one student said, "to laugh at the really strange old songs, some of them out of the 1920s." At the final

step-singing, seniors, as they always have, give up their steps to the juniors and walk slowly away while the others sing a valedictory. This is apt now to be "Evolu" instead of the poignant step-song (date 1905):

> Slowly now we go our way
> With eyes that dimly see
> And leave the steps alone at last
> To memory, to memory.

Finally the seniors, disjoined now from the group, give the Wellesley musical cheer (date 1886), "Tra-la-la-la," ending with a "Wellesley" which, if atmospheric conditions are right, comes back in the form of a haunting echo. In more sentimental days this was a moment charged with deep feeling, and though there were always people who found it "corny," this very adjective suggested an emotional response. A present-day senior, when asked about Wellesley's traditions, put step-singing at the top of the list. "It happens," she explained, "at the beginning of the year just when you're beginning to think 'I'm a member of this class' and again at the end just when you're beginning to think 'I'm not a member of this class any more.' "

Specific details of Tree Day, Float Night, May Day, are now affixed to a more recent and immensely popular tradition, Sophomore Parents' Weekend, which began in 1947 as Sophomore Fathers' Day. Its purpose, from the point of view of the administration, was to give fathers, who usually pay the bills but who tend to visit college less frequently than mothers do, an inside view of Wellesley. Sophomores' enthusiasm is suggested by titles given the event in various years: "My Pet Patriarch" 1962; "Wonderful Wizard of Ours" 1963; "Dads and Dolls" 1968; "Thank Heaven for Little Girls" 1971. And students put much time and ingenuity into its arrangements. The program included from the beginning the opportunity to attend classes (on Saturday morning while the College still had a six-day schedule, then on Friday for those dads who could arrive early), a luncheon presided over by the President with opportunity for questions and discussion, a chance for sports, including a Father-Daughter softball game, and in the evening the crowning event, a Father-Daughter dance. In the first year only male members of the faculty and administration were invited to be hosts at the luncheon and the "smoker" that followed, to meet the fathers, presumably man to man. In 1948 a few women were included, teachers of the "Sophomore Bible" course. From then on sex discrimination ceased. I, for one, always enjoyed the event when I was invited to it, although an occasional father did seem momentarily panicked to find himself sitting next to a teacher of Greek.

While mothers were never positively excluded from the College on Sophomore Fathers' Day, they were not exactly urged to come, as witness

a 1950 statement: "Any mothers coming with fathers may have lunch and dinner in the dormitories at the regular prices if there is enough space in the dining room." In 1972 Wellesley women suddenly realized that women (their own mothers) were being discriminated against, and the event was changed to a Sophomore Parents' Weekend. The program (whether for fathers or for parents) has varied through the years, including lectures and panel discussions, sports, concerts, dramatic events (Shakespeare, Greek and modern drama) and a coffee hour with the faculty. In 1974 the "Spirit of '76" offered an opportunity to attend Jewish Sabbath dinner and Newman Club Mass as well as the College Chapel Service. Three continuing ancient rituals gave parents a glimpse into college traditions: hoop rolling, dedication of the class tree (embellished by dancing and by Mrs. Lefkowitz's "Tree Day Lecture"), and crew races between fathers and daughters. A buffet for parents and sophomores on the President's lawn replaced the exclusive luncheon for fathers. And the traditional Father-Daughter dance on Saturday night became a Parent-Daughter dance, where today's sophomores generously shared their dates with their mothers.

Since Wellesley spring weather is unpredictable, rain (or high wind) has sometimes altered slightly the planned activities of a Fathers' Day or proved totally destructive to a Float Night. Wellesley winter weather is even less reliable, and valiant attempts to establish a tradition of winter festivals have met with only intermittent success. Ice carnivals began as early as 1901, with bonfires, a band, a hurdy-gurdy, sometimes fireworks, always hot cocoa and coffee. They could be very gay, but there was always the possibility mentioned in the 1912 *Legenda:*

It's "The Ice is fine," "I've asked six men," "I knew that it would freeze." But at half past seven promptly there is slush up to your knees.

Beginning in 1921 Outing Club sponsored winter carnivals for which skating exhibitions, ski-joring, tobogganing, "yarting" were planned and frequently postponed. A history of carnivals in *News* 1949 noted in certain years "good time—all indoors," "ice—no snow," "snow, unusually cold," "difficult to get girls away from steam heat." In 1948, Winter Carnival became Winter Carousel with elaborate plans for a whole weekend, including torchlight parades, winter sports, snow sculpture, square and formal dances, movies—"multiple events for all weathers." Gradually the outdoor activities were eliminated and the winter weekend disappeared—until February 14-17, 1974, when it was reborn as a "Winter Whatchamacallit" with ski night, Vil Junior Mixer (live music, all beer and coke free), art show, food fest and Casino Royale (phoney money the only legal tender). A *News* editorial, applauding the new Wellesley weekend, quoted a comment made by a Harvard student to a "misplaced

Wellesleyite in Cambridge": "What are you doing here? I heard that this is a big weekend on your campus."

The traditions we have so far discussed are all social in origin, rooted in the wish to please one's self and others. The only anti-social element discernible is the prying by sophomores into freshman Tree Day secrets. But we must now admit that there were also certain early rites akin to black magic, which were aimed at nothing less than the death of an academic course: Math Burial, Drowning of Philosophy Theses, and the one which endured the longest, Forensic Burning. This tradition required the cremation by the junior class president or, in case of her enforced absence, the vice president of her "forensic," the culminating piece of work in English 3, "Argumentative Composition: Forensics preceded by briefs," required in junior year from 1883 to 1905. The act had to be performed on the Wellesley campus, in the presence of a stipulated number of the class (at one time twenty) out of hearing of the sophomore cheer. If the juniors succeeded (and it would seem that they always did), they held a funeral procession (ghost walk) in the evening—white-robed mourners with flickering candles wending their way across the campus chanting a Latin dirge. Even when the junior requirement was dropped, the tradition went happily on, substituting a "forensic" (or merely its title page) from a required sophomore course. What mattered was the battle of wits, the game of hare and hounds between juniors and sophomores. Some faculty members approved of Forensic Burning as inducive to a spirit of class unity, others felt it "lowered the college standard." The time allowed for it was gradually reduced until in 1913, after a threat to ban it completely, the time for action was limited to the hours between 4:15 and 9:30 on a day to be selected in the morning by a public challenge from the juniors.

Many early letters show the intensity and ingenuity that were expended on this ritual. A junior in 1907 described to her mother how the class president, beset by the enemy, escaped to Wellesley Hills to spend the night with friends who drove her back in a team at 2:30 in the morning. Both classes roamed the campus from three o'clock on, setting and following false trails until "over a hundred of 1908 were enabled to get into the Barn without being seen, and in the Barn courtyard in a corner the fire was lighted." The writer cautioned her mother not to read these words aloud to anyone and gloated, "It was so easy; not a single fight." In 1909 the strategy was different. For twenty-five dollars the junior class chartered an engine and two cars from the Boston and Albany to convey them from Framingham to the Woods Paint Factory. Where the spur track crossed a part of the Wellesley campus, the forensic was burned at eleven o'clock in the morning, totally frustrating the sophomores who had had no inkling of the means or the place or the hour.

From other letters and especially from talk with alumnae friends, I have a kaleidoscopic picture of later plotting and sleuthing: master strategists marking off maps of the campus in squares to make sure that every hour and every area would be covered by cheering sophomores, private eyes assigned to shadow junior officers day and night, a bicycle scout following a suspect laundry wagon, "cheering her young head off." For the junior president there was always the fear of kidnapping; one vice president missed the whole exciting day, isolated in a Needham garden from which she could, if necessary, be summoned as a stand-in. Masks were used, presidential doubles or even triples confused the pursuers, clothes were quickly changed in society houses. It was a mad, mad scrimmage, but the end was near. The last class to have the sophomore English requirement was 1918; the last Forensic Burning took place in their junior year on November 8, 1916. Rumors were rife and cheering sophomores were deployed at all strategic points. But when a funeral procession passed by West Lodge the scouts in that area fell reverently silent. As all eyes followed the hearse, the junior president, who had been hidden in the cottage, emerged swiftly, setting fire to her forensic. Simultaneously the requisite number of 1918 witnesses leaned out of the funeral hacks and cheered loudly—the junior cheer. The ghost walk to commemorate this last death and burial of a forensic was appropriately "the most effective" Wellesley had ever seen. The processional of sheeted ghosts with candles sang the Latin dirge, formed a perfect W, then sticking lighted sparklers in the ground, they moved away to leave a W of light which burned brilliantly for several minutes.

The class rivalry of Forensic Burning was similar in its battle of wits to the more recent Freshman Banner Hunt which for decades exercised the ingenuity of freshman and sophomore classes. Another class rivalry, more sporadic since it depended on brawn instead of brain, was a tug-of-war between juniors and sophomores, the sole purpose of which was to force the rival team into Longfellow Pond. But it is fair to say that there have always been courteous exchanges too between classes: parties, receptions, song contests, and perhaps the most colorful of these friendly traditions, the sophomore and freshman serenades, held on two evenings in the early fall. For many years while freshmen lived in the Village, long lines of white-dressed sophomores with bobbing lanterns made their way to the Village to sing at all the freshman houses, and the following week the freshmen returned the compliment on the campus. There were years too when seniors regularly serenaded the rest of the College "with an appropriate song for every district," at the close of Tree Day. The *News* in 1913 said "It is always a sight which causes us a few pangs of regret, as we watch them pass in cap and gown, with lanterns held high." (I am reminded, parenthetically, of another serenade, when the college choir,

after Christmas vespers, used to carol outside the faculty apartments, Horton, Hallowell and Shepard. We always greeted them with candles in every window and usually with a Christmas tree in the snow-covered court. The choir still sings Christmas carols for the President, perhaps for the faculty too, but without, I am sure, the multitudinous flickering candles.)

Besides Forensic Burning another quasi-academic event involved secrecy since only three-fifths of the College was allowed to witness it. This was the senior version of Academic Council which, so far as I can find out (notices are scarce), began in 1920 and lasted into the late 1940s. Faculty meetings were a matter of great mystery to the students, so they enacted the scene as they imagined it, with president, deans, and professors engaged in formal, but very active debate. (Little did they know the proportion of time given to lengthy committee reports and the number of recommendations that were adopted without discussion.) The question raised was unimportant—a faculty prom with student chaperones, for example, or the adoption of knickers by the faculty. The object of the show was to reveal with wit and sometimes sympathetic humor, the mannerisms and the quirks of mind of the people who were impersonated. Some faculty members were willing to lend characteristic pieces of clothing, and laughed when they saw themselves being closely watched in class, but neither they nor freshmen were admitted to the program. Always of course there were some gate-crashers. Twice in my early years at Wellesley senior students smuggled me in, disguised by means of a simple bandana, and I must confess I relished the mimicry of my older colleagues. A writer in *News* once made a very interesting comment on this tradition: "As sport it is a bit cruel, as sport ought to be at best, and we like it." One reason for giving up Senior Academic Council was the production of the original faculty plays which began in 1944. The faculty were so ingenious in capitalizing on their own eccentricities that the students could never hope to rival these self-caricatures. Today student representatives attend Academic Council, the mystery is gone, so the tradition can never be revived.

Of all the dramatic events that have taken place on the Wellesley campus, three have a peculiarly Wellesley flavor that makes them "traditions": Faculty Show, Junior Show, and Greek Play. By Faculty Show I mean the remarkable series of plays produced every fourth year (Leap Year) between 1944 and 1960. It is difficult to describe them; they had to be seen to be believed. Before 1944 there had been other faculty plays, very early ones in which Miss Bates, Miss Woolley, a member of the Bible Department who later became president of Mount Holyoke College, and Miss Pendleton played such roles as the Princesses Freshmania and Sophomoria and Prince Harvardius, and there had been at times more con-

ventional dramas, three of them given in connection with alumnae-sponsored Tradition Nights, "The Man Who Married a Dumb Wife" in 1928, "The Rose and the Ring" in 1931, and some of Maurice Baring's "Diminutive Dramas" in 1934. But the 1944-1960 plays were different. Written by Katharine Balderston and Katherine Lever of the English Department (with many collaborators), they featured the President, the Deans, and a high percentage of the faculty playing themselves, meeting fantastic situations in Academic Council, planning outrageous curricula, or being nastily competitive in try-outs for plays which might placate rebellious students. One unforgettable number was repeated in all five plays—a men's ballet in which the male members of the faculty, dressed as Ocean Nymphs (courtesy of the Greek Department) did extraordinary figures, counting conscientiously as they danced, the tallest of them able to cross the stage in three enormous leaps. And in all five plays Latin Professor Margaret Taylor did long scenes standing on her head. Performances were crowded and it seemed as if the laughter might reach some decibel that would shatter Alumnae Hall. The 1944 *Legenda* said, "For three solid hours we laughed as we had never laughed before." And a 1952 *News* editorial called the show "a morale booster and the high point in our collegiate life." One may wonder why so popular a tradition suddenly came to an end. In 1960 in the glow of the successful "Lunatik LX", it was assumed that in the next Leap Year the play would go on, but by 1964, although College Government petitioned the Academic Council for another Faculty Show, no individual or group came forward to take responsibility for such a production. There seemed to be a general feeling among the faculty that the time was no longer ripe for such diversions, that "concerned" students of the middle sixties would no longer want to laugh with quite such abandon at foibles of their own little community.

Junior Show is probably the most popular event in Wellesley's present-day calendar. Its origin, according to *News,* was a "spontaneous combustion" in the spring of 1936. "Spang [Virginia Spangler] and Putzie [Hinrichs] and the Shafer crowd—it was their idea." The junior class would produce a "modern musical show with original music, dialogue and dances." It would be a first at Wellesley and—their prevision was clear—the beginning of a long tradition. The show "In One Ear and Gone Tomorrow" played on November 6, 1936, to the "biggest crowd Alumnae Hall had ever seen." The plot was simple—the ingenious efforts of a heroine who sought to combine a whirling social life with high academic marks. Rehearsals had been limited to three. The orchestra, assembled for the occasion, had never before played jazz. But (I hope all later classes will forgive me) I remember it as the best Junior Show I ever saw—only an hour long, the dialogue cram-packed with Wellesley humor, the tunes gay and hummable. And the censors, viewing the dress rehearsal, could

find only one point to criticize—Katharine Campbell's shorts had to be let down one inch.

Since 1936 there have been nearly forty Junior Shows, many of them with fascinating titles: The Taming of the Few, Phoney Island, The Devil to Pay, Queendom Come, One Knight's Stand, Raisin Hell. Committees each year meet on Cape Cod before college opens to hammer out a scenario, dialogue, lyrics, tunes. Some committees set the action in a locale vaguely resembling Wellesley; others deliberately eschew all college material. Some aim primarily at laughs; others seek social relevance. When college opens in the fall, many more juniors get into the act. Those who don't sing or dance or perform help with production, promotion, ushering. Whatever the script is, it changes as the group works on it together, and suddenly there is a new enthusiastic feeling of being a junior class with a Junior Show which is always the best yet (except of course for the first one!).

When I wrote about "Greek Plays at Wellesley" in 1962 for the *Alumnae Magazine,* I confidently assigned their origin to 1934. I was familiar of course with the long tradition of Greek tragedies performed by the society Alpha Kappa Chi and knew of Greek plays presented by Barnswallows and the Wellesley College Theatre. But these were in English and according to my definition, a Greek play is a play in Greek. Recently I have found that our productions were anticipated in 1908 and 1909 when *Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Iphigenia at Aulis* were played in the original language by AKX in an amphitheatre-like hollow in the orchard, with a thick screen of fir trees as background. The choruses (always a problem in modern productions) were chanted in unison, unaccompanied, and were pronounced by the critics "altogether delightful."

The series that started in 1934 arose from a spontaneous student demand. The first play was the *Trojan Women,* with original music composed by students, and masks created by Agnes Abbot's studio course in Art. President Pendleton, who showed a great interest in the project, had the ground below the south terrace of Alumnae Hall transformed into a playing area with a background screen of arborvitae. The audience sat on tarpaulins on the slope above. (This in rudimentary form was the Hay Outdoor Theatre, completed in 1936.) Reviews called the *Trojan Women* "one of the most unusual events of the college year" and pronounced it a work of art. Euripides' lyrical poetry and his picture of women whose city has been destroyed by war carried its message even to those in the audience who knew no Greek. Nature cooperated, drawing a cloud across the sun as the child victim was carried to burial on his father's shield.

The Greek Play has never been established as a regular annual event. Every time that it happens is a new birth of tragedy (or comedy) engen-

dered by the enthusiasm of the current Greek students. Notice that this enthusiasm has not slackened but has quickened in recent years. In the years from 1934 to 1974 there were twenty-six productions, six of them in the last seven years (with a symposium on Euripides in the off year). The themes of Greek drama strike today's students as important: war horrors, vengeance, ecstatic frenzy, civil disobedience, even "women's lib." And with their own creative music and dance, they give a contemporary ring to the ancient Greek verse.

With one exception the plays are given in the Hay Outdoor Theatre, weather permitting, otherwise in Alumnae Hall or Jewett. The *Frogs* (of which there have been five productions) takes place naturally in the Recreation Building Swimming Pool, where Charon's ferry makes the journey to the Lower World harassed by frogs swimming, diving, chanting bre-ke-ke-kex ko-ax ko-ax. In the 1954 *Frogs* Mrs. Lefkowitz as a freshman played the slave Xanthias, the first of her many stellar performances in Greek plays. And I had the bit part of an Underworld landlady which I "hammed" into a major role by wearing a red wig and green costume and reciting Greek with an Irish accent. Greek plays always attract an audience of classical scholars, eager to listen to the ancient language. At a performance of the *Frogs* it is especially gratifying to have some people actually laughing on lines, and not merely on "business."

Through the years some performances have had special associations: *Prometheus* 1936, given as part of Guest Day in honor of Miss Pendleton's retirement, *Agamemnon* 1943, which raised fourteen hundred dollars for Greek War Relief, the *Trojan Women* 1960, presented before the Classical Association of New England, and the 1969 *Bacchae* which was later discussed by members of the cast on a Channel 2 TV program. In recent years the Greek Play has been scheduled on Sophomore Fathers' Day (sometimes repeated too for alumnae reunion weekend). Interestingly, fathers at another college were shocked by the earthy language of the *Lysistrata* given in English, but Wellesley fathers concentrated with approval on the colorful production and the modern themes—otherwise to most of them it was all Greek.

Before I embarked on this chapter, Miss Glasscock and I had a long discussion with three undergraduates on their views of Wellesley traditions. We talked of course of such events as step-singing and hoop-rolling and Junior Show. But for the sophomore her "favorite moment of the whole year" was the opening convocation with the faculty in their colorful regalia, seniors making their first appearance in academic gowns, and the sense of a community meeting together. To the freshman the "exciting thing" had been Mrs. Newell's talk which gave, she felt, a sense of direction to the year ahead. Looking back, I realize that Opening Convocation has always been the President's moment, her opportunity to wel-

come new faculty and students and to share with the College some of her ideas on Wellesley's immediate priorities.

For a long time there was a second formal convocation with academic procession, held in the spring. This was Honors Chapel at which announcements were made of Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma Xi elections and of Durant and Wellesley College Scholars. Indeed in 1927 these distinguished students walked in the procession behind the faculty, a public honor protested on the ground that successful students "should find sufficient reward in the work they accomplish." Beginning in 1931 presidents of neighboring colleges and other outstanding scholars were invited to address Honors Chapel, and the occasion continued to be a popular tradition until the late 1960s. At this time many students were questioning grades as a measure of college accomplishment, and with this feeling came protests against public honors for distinctions based on grades. In 1969 and 1970, the attendance at Honors Chapel was pitifully small, and the tradition came to an end.

Early in the conversation on traditions with our three student informants, the senior surprised me by announcing with great firmness, "One of my favorite things in the whole world is Christmas dinner." And the others agreed that it is "just terrific, having tablecloths on the table and candlelight and figgy pudding with holly." They went on to talk with enthusiasm of the Christmas traditions in the various dormitories: "Secret Santa" or "Spider and Fly" involving anonymous gifts and friendly tricks that go on for a week until identities are revealed at the Christmas party, lines of robed seniors with candles, special Christmas readings and "skits," exchange of gifts which in some houses are toys to be sent afterwards to children in hospitals. The dormitory to these students is a "close-knit community" with traditions that are in some ways more important to them than the larger college rituals. They spoke for example of Tower Court's and Munger's birthday parties. But their greatest enthusiasm was reserved for dormitory tea which occurs every Wednesday afternoon, and which "gets the kids together and gives everyone a chance to socialize informally." The senior remembered that in her sophomore year "which was not a big year for traditions" the institution of tea was threatened and that immediately in every dormitory petitions appeared spontaneously which everybody signed. Tea was saved, with one compromise, that there would be homemade cookies only every other week. Alumnae will, I hope, be reassured by this final report that Wellesley students, with their cafeteria meals and their informal clothes, still have a latent concern for one of the College's oldest traditions, "gracious living."

Early Tree Day: Procession of the Classes led by the Tree Day mistress.

Tree Day 1948:
classes forming the traditional W.

The Tree Day spade
used since 1879.

Maypole dance in front of College Hall, from the 1914 *Legenda*.

May Day 1909: senior numerals formed on the east side of College Hall.

Early May Day: rolling hoops around the "circle."

Hoop rolling: from 1935 *Legenda.*

Hoop rolling: the winner, 1937.

Float Day 1897: boats forming the traditional star.

May Day 1914: scrubbing the library steps.

Float Night 1947, the last year of Float: Hansel and Gretel.

Forensic Burning as depicted in the 1908 *Legenda*.

Faculty Show 1948: singing group left to right, Margaret *Torbert* Duesenberry '46, Mildred McAfee Horton, Charlotte Williams, Alice *Birmingham* Robinson '46, Mary E. Chase, Harriet B. Creighton '29.

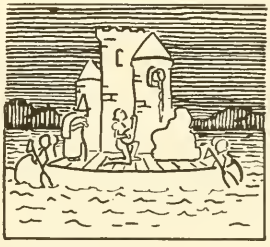
Freshman Serenade: from the 1935 *Legenda*.

Faculty Show 1948: Katharine Balderston laughs and Barbara McCarthy shows indifference to the handstand performed by Latin Professor Margaret Taylor.

Junior Show 1975: "Out of the Closet and into My Life."

Greek Play: *Prometheus Bound* in 1936, presented in honor of President Pendleton's retirement.

The Hunnewell gondola, which, according to a student in 1898, lent "a special dignity to the scene of the Float." Bought in the 1860s, it was sometimes used to shoot off fireworks on Float Night.



Float Night
from the 1935 *Legenda.*

Ice Carnival, from *Wellesley Stories* 1903

Step singing on the chapel steps.

Dormitory tea.

"Going through Harriet" (Harriet Martineau) from the 1913 *Legenda*.

"God is love," the theme of the first Sunday chapel service (Flower Sunday).

HARRIET B. CREIGHTON

The Grounds

In 1971 the College was awarded a "Large Gold Medal" that is given occasionally by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. With it came the following citation: "For its four hundred and fifty acre campus planting which, started nearly a century ago, combines into a delightfully informal landscape. This includes the plantings of special courtyards, memorial class trees, and the Alexandra Botanic Garden."

A short citation cannot mention all the facets of landscape plans of the campus. As we examine what has evolved since the 1860s we will see that there is more than the special courtyards in the Hazard Quadrangle and the Tower Court groups of dormitories. The Class Trees, very commonly not native to the campus, are not the only exotic specimen trees. And in addition to the Alexandra Botanic Garden, the first endowed planting on the campus, reference could well have been made to the Hunnewell Arboretum, also endowed. It is clear, however, that whoever wrote the citation for the Committee on Gardens knew a great deal about the college grounds and appreciated the long-continued adherence to a plan of development based upon the inherent natural beauty of the land.

The Beginnings

Soon after Mr. and Mrs. Durant bought the Bullard farmhouse and the surrounding fields, meadows, and woodlands, they began to develop a country estate. The college grounds were once farmland and hunting grounds of the Natick Indians whose Chief Waban we memorialize in the name of the lake. These lands when taken over by the early settlers were farmed where possible, with much of the timber removed for buildings and for firewood. Before long many fields, abandoned as the never very fertile soil was impoverished, became meadows. A second growth

of trees, oaks and chestnuts, became established on the denuded hills. A few stands of white pines and Canada hemlocks either remained or became reestablished in places favorable to their growth. By the 1850s, much better agricultural and timber land having been found to the west, land like that of the campus was best fitted for country estates of winter city-dwellers like the Durants. A few cows could be grazed in the moist meadows. Orchards could be set out on some slopes. And vegetable gardens to supply amply the owner's family and the families of the farm laborers could be cultivated. Water was available from plentiful underground sources, and sewage disposal was no problem with slow seepage into the lake.

The transformation of the sandy, gravelly, glacially-deposited land into a country estate was a formidable task. There had to be a plan carried out bit by bit as money was available. President Caroline Hazard in her Report for 1904 reminded the Trustees that "Anyone who is familiar with the conduct of a large country estate knows that there is an excellent opportunity of sinking any amount of money in it." And, as one very familiar with such matters, she noted that "Though many admire the moss in the lawns, these plants are a sign of the need for soil improvement that must at some time be met."

There is no doubt that Mr. and Mrs. Durant were designing an "informal landscape," which might seem to be a contradiction in terms unless one recalls that landscape gardening from the times of the Assyrians and the Babylonians had been what we now call "formal." The shift away from straight, level roads, walled or hedged enclosures, shaped trees, rectangular pools, and flower gardens was made by the English in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

It seems certain that the Durants were influenced by the thinking of Andrew Jackson Downing, this country's first landscape architect and the person who introduced here the new "English" style and described it in a book published in 1841. He pointed out that in the suburbs of Boston "a far greater number of elegant country seats are to be found than in any other small neighborhood of the Union." While in all likelihood Mr. Durant would have been familiar with at least some of these estates, he very definitely would have observed the landscaping of "Wellesley," the estate of his neighbor, Horatio Hollis Hunnewell, most of which was being developed in the English style. As early as 1854, the year the Durants first occupied their summer cottage, a part of the Hunnewell property had been terraced and planned as an Italian topiary garden, and a description and pictures of the estate were contained in the sixth edition of Downing's book published in 1859. In explaining "the modern, natural, irregular" English style, Downing remarked on the dignity and majesty in an old oak, the gracefulness and luxuriance of a fine sweeping

elm, a natural group of trees, an accidental pond, smooth lawns, firm gravel roads and walks, entrance lodges, hothouses and gardens, garden seats or benches where the view is fine—on a large body of water, if possible. Anyone who has seen the Wellesley campus will recognize the vision which Mr. and Mrs. Durant must have had when they employed landscape gardeners to transform an abandoned farm into a country estate, an estate which within six years would be developed into the grounds of a college.

The Roads

The laying out of the roads was the first and most important step. The decision was to have the "principal" road come in from Washington Street through entrance gates in a stone wall with an adjacent Gothic gatehouse, East Lodge. The graveled road was planted with American elms and English purple beeches for shade and dignity. The beeches, which only now are reaching their mature beauty, were admired by all who came to Wellesley by the original main road and still are admired by those who walk the old road or who see them from Bates, Freeman, and McAfee. (As the result of careful siting, only two of the original beeches had to be felled to make room for those dormitories.) The elms, like most of the others originally planted along the roads, have nearly all succumbed to the fungal elm disease. Those that remain are zealously cared for. The sugar maples and thornless locusts that have replaced them are among the best possible substitutes, but no other tree can equal the American elm for gracefully over-arching a road.

The main road passed along the southern slope of Bullard's Hill (later known as Water Tower Hill) through an old cleared field having the remnants of an apple orchard. A clump of Norway spruces was planted just before the place at which a passageway was cut through a grove of native Canada hemlocks. Enough of these hemlocks remain to justify still calling this part of the road "Christmas Tree Alley," as it was named by the early students. After passing through the hemlocks to the level of the meadow, the road encountered a cart road that came from the cow barn, sheep barn, and stable. The other end of this farm service road, as shown on the earliest map of the campus, went from the stables past the greenhouse to the farmhouse (Homestead) and out to Washington Street through a simple gate in the stone wall. Elms must have been planted along it at an early date because the ones remaining are as large as any on the campus. Straightened and widened after Mrs. Durant's greenhouses were removed in 1925, this road is now the southeastern end of the main road through the campus. (One part of a Wellesley road, like some of Boston's streets, follows old cow paths!)

The plantings where the main road and this service road met may well date from the 1870s because the English hawthorns and Japanese flowering quinces which are still there were very popular at that time. The plantings that screened the barns from view are very old. The two large Japanese flowering cherry trees, set off by several varieties of Japanese Chamaecyparises, are of the same kinds that were planted on the Hunnewell estate. They may have been a gift from Mr. Hunnewell, for there were few places from which to buy these trees that had been imported only recently. He may also have given Mr. Durant some of the rhododendrons and mountain laurels at the base of the hill on which Stone-Davis now stands; they are old enough to date from the early days, planted there as Downing recommended as "an enhancement of natural beauty." Doubtless Mr. Hunnewell presented Mr. Durant with many more trees and shrubs than the golden larches which provided the impetus for the first Tree Day.

When the death of young Harry Durant led to planning for a college rather than an estate, Mr. and Mrs. Durant abandoned the plan to build a manor house for him on the hill where Stone and Davis Halls now stand and they selected as the site for the main college building the large hilltop farther around the lake. The principal road was therefore extended west from the juncture of the farm road and the road from East Lodge. It followed the high ground below the north slope of what to us is Stone-Davis Hill. Below and across the road from it was the swampy meadow, edged with wild yellow cowslips, where the farm animals grazed, the area which the early students called "cowslip farm." Although as early as 1888 drains were installed, according to a map of that date, it continues to be the marshiest meadow on the campus. During the days of horse-drawn mowers many were stuck there when cutting and raking hay. Even today the groundsmen using tractor-drawn machines find it a quagmire. This section of the old road is now a level lawn between the original Norway spruces and the more recently planted Colorado blue spruces, some of them Class Trees. The new main road built in 1961 was swung out into the drier edge of the meadow, where it passes old Norway spruces and flowering cherry trees, one given to the students of Wellesley by the Japanese International Christian University Foundation in 1953 in appreciation of gifts received from Wellesley's Service Organization. The Class of 1976 planted its cherry tree there, also.

A section of the original main road is still in use in front of the Chapel. Farther along, below Founders Hall, the old road was removed and grassed over in 1961. On the lake side of it in a low-lying area Mr. Durant had planted a large group of rhododendrons. Later they served as the backdrop for the first outdoor theatre with the audience sitting on the grassy hillside below the present site of Founders Hall.

As the first students, faculty, and visitors who came from the railroad station, through East Lodge Gate, and along the graveled road curving between the hills and skirting the meadow, arrived at Rhododendron Hollow, they suddenly caught sight of College Hall. One of Downing's admonitions for the proper landscape gardening of rural estates was that from the time the great house had been seen it should not be lost sight of until reached—and no flowers or architectural features should be permitted to distract the eye. This dictum was followed completely: between the viewer and the magnificent building on the hilltop, which was still clothed with giant oaks, was only a great rolling lawn, the only lawn on the original campus. Called first "College Hall Green," then "Tower Court Green," and now "Severance Green," it has been the scene of pageants, Tree Day ceremonies, reunion parades, and the inauguration of President Adams. Only once was the view of Lake Waban from the road or the lawn impaired: in 1893 a boathouse was erected on the shore, but it was torn down in 1901, the second year of Miss Hazard's administration. She once remarked that "The lake shore is our most beautiful possession, and no building which would endanger its beauty can be placed upon it."

Beyond a small tree-covered hillock, in a depression between the lawn and the lake, Mr. Durant built what Downing called "a piece of artificial water." In it was installed a fountain that could not be seen from the road. The evening the fountain was first to be used, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was invited to come from Cambridge for the ceremonies planned by the students. Although disappointed when at the last moment he could not come for the occasion, they named the pond for him. A few years later it became a muddy, silted-in swale over which the freshman-sophomore tug-of-war was held, the losers being pulled through the slime. In the early 1930s the fountain was repaired and the pond cemented to hold the water level. When an addition to the library was made in the late 1950s, it was moved slightly westward, and with the completion in 1975 of the west addition to the Margaret Clapp Library, the building will be cantilevered over Longfellow Pond, which is being somewhat enlarged and formalized so that it will retain its importance in the landscape. With all of these modifications, it remains "a piece of artificial water" and bears the name of the poet who frequently visited the College in its early years. The final portion of the original principal road, still in use to Tower Court, followed the easiest grade for horse-drawn vehicles up the end of College Hall hill to a driveway circling through the porte cochère of the building.

As the College has developed, roads have come and gone, gained and lost importance. The service road near the barns of the estate became a part of the main road of the College. Another, built to carry supplies for

the construction of College Hall and abandoned when the building was completed, has been restored in part. This road started at Central Street near West Lodge; the person who lived in this gatehouse checked in the materials which were unloaded from a railway siding and were taken by wagon to the building site. After crossing an open field, now the archery range and hockey fields, the road went through the woods to the level of the lake at the place where the little brook runs into the Inlet Cove. From there it skirted the base of College Hall hill and joined the main road up to the building. The present road from the little brook to Shakespeare House follows closely the line of the last section of the old wagon road.

Not much of the little tree-lined brook is visible today. It drained the meadow and the College Hall sewage beds until they were removed. Later it carried the effluent from the boilers of the Central Heating and Lighting Plant built in 1902. Finally in the 1950s it was encased in concrete pipes and located beneath the parking lot for the Service Building. Until then, always enriched by mineral nutrients from the sewage or the boilers, it had been a favorite collecting place for botanists and zoologists. By the time its waters reached the lake, they were purified and added few, if any, stimulants to the growth of weeds in the cove. When encased so that no plants removed any chemicals, its outpouring fertilized water weeds, and their rank growth became hazardous to swimmers and a nuisance to the oarsmen. Unwittingly the College had brought upon itself one of the few ecological problems it has had to face.

On the map of 1875 is shown a service road thought of as permanent that entered the grounds from Central Street nearer the Village than did the temporary road at West Lodge. Later officially called "North Road," it was early known as the "coal road" because over it were hauled wagon loads of coal for the College Hall boiler plant. Used not only for deliveries but for rapid access to the central campus, North Road was in service until 1961. Its gatehouse was erected in 1896 and was torn down in 1932 in preparation for the building of Munger Hall. The spur once planned from it to North Road was never constructed; Munger has always been the only dormitory not directly connected by motor road with the campus. One segment of the old road still exists and is a part of the main campus road: the section around the base of Norumbega Hill.

Two other old service roads have had very different fates, although each of them at one time was elevated to the status of principal road. One went from the Power House to a hill on Central Street that was a source of sand and gravel and, when that was removed, became known as the "Gravel Pit" and is now the parking lot for Alumnae Hall and the Hazard Quadrangle. With the building of those dormitories, the road was

extended to provide an exit to Central Street, and there was only a spur into the "Gravel Pit." In 1961 the old cart path, moved a few feet to the west, became the only entrance from Central Street and a part of the main road through the campus. On the other hand, also in 1961, what had been the main road entering from Central Street—and, indeed, had been considered the principal entrance to the campus—became a foot path from Central Street to the spur leading to the Observatory and Sage Hall. Its origin was humble: it was initially a cart path from the barns to a small field that is now part of the Hunnewell Arboretum and the Alexandra Botanic Garden. Its rise to prominence began when the first Hunnewell School was moved to the campus and remodeled for use as a dormitory, Fiske House, and the road was extended to Central Street. When for that entrance to the campus (by then known as Fiske Road) the Class of 1916 presented impressive gates reminiscent of those used for English country estates, naturally enough it was regarded as the main approach to the College. With its importance, and traffic, further increased in the early 1930s by the closing of the earliest principal road through the gates by East Lodge, Fiske became one of the most dangerous roads on the campus and a major reason for revising the system of campus roads. The handsome gates remain, now opening onto a lovely footpath into the campus (provision was made for its use by firetrucks in an emergency), and the adjacent area has become the "bird refuge" that it was designated on the campus plans of the 1920s. One reminder of the farm path's origin remains: Gray House, labeled on old maps "laborers cottage."

When the whole system of roads was revised in 1961, thanks to part of a matching grant from the Ford Foundation, a dream of many years was finally realized. As early as 1907 Miss Hazard had pointed out to the trustees that "The roads were laid out for carriages. Now that automobiles come rushing over them, they demand attention, as in places they are dangerously narrow. Some of the angles at which roads cross each other . . . do not allow enough space for the many carriages which have to go through the grounds." Over the years some improvements were made, but as additional parts of the campus were opened up and automobiles rushed over the roads in numbers and at speeds that would have been inconceivable in 1907, the situation became very serious. It was aggravated by the ever-increasing number of large trucks delivering supplies (and damaging the roads as well as causing traffic jams) and by motorists who found campus roads tempting shortcuts between Central and Washington Streets. A fortunate combination of circumstances enabled the College to convert the Lake Waban Laundry building beyond the Central Street playing fields into a Distribution Center where ten-wheel trucks could unload bulk supplies. The college roads therefore

did not have to be widened and straightened to handle this traffic and instead could be simplified and beautified. The work was carried out under the direction of Umberto Innocenti and Richard Webel, landscape architects well known in New York and Washington, although the plan was essentially the concept of President Clapp. Among the happiest ideas of the landscape architects were the widening and straightening of the road near the Quadrangle and the placing of sugar maples and flowering crabapples alongside it, and the large Katsura trees designed to make the end of Beebe look as if it were rooted on the hill. Of course, from the point of view of safety and security, the closing of all but two entrances to the central campus was of paramount importance.

There is now, as there was in 1875, only one main road through the campus, although there are striking differences in the two roads, as the campus maps indicate. A hundred years ago the road wound its way from East Lodge on Washington Street to "the College," as College Hall was known, and the whole northern and western sections of the campus were woods and wetlands; now the main road, College Road, winds through the campus from Central Street near the Quadrangle to the entrance from Washington Street between Homestead and the Wellesley College Club. Off it branch side roads providing access to various buildings. By eliminating some parts of the road existing before 1961—notably those on Norumbega Hill, between Tower Court Hill and the Library, near Fiske, and below Stone Davis—, some of the original simplicity of the design has been restored and additional areas on the campus have again become the province of pedestrians.

The Paths

Most people know the campus as pedestrians, and since the fall of 1875 the paths have had charm as well as usefulness. (Miss Pendleton often said that she didn't lay out walks—she observed where students made paths and she then provided appropriate surfaces.) It was not long before the early students wore paths through the woods, up to hilltops, skirting swampy meadows and along the lake shore. Some are still dirt paths; some have evolved from dirt to cinder, to plank, to asphalt or pebbled concrete; some became roads. Others are lost, probably because they were obliterated by a building or led to an area which is no longer attractive. It is hard to imagine that once there were so many wild flowers that students could pick all they wished and take them to their rooms. In fact, one reason that there is no more arbutus nor columbine nor lady-slipper orchid is that they picked too many. Where was "Lupine Path"? Where was the "Violet Lawn"? Where was "Tanglewood Path" which Katharine Lee Bates said led to a "perfect wilderness on the other hill"?

One path which is still much as it must always have been is that to Tupelo Point, so named because of the tupelo, or pepperidge, trees growing naturally at the end. To get to the point from College Hall the students went along the lakeshore as one still can in front of Acorns, then through the oak woods where the Society Houses were built. Another early path from College Hall branched off the lakeside path to Tupelo Point to go up to the hilltop where old Stone Hall was built. The part of this branch that then went between the greenhouses and stables of the Durants and continued through the old orchard to East Lodge was one of the paths which were first covered by cinders and later bricked for easier snow plowing. Although now asphalted, it is still called "The Brick Path."

Another path below College Hall stayed close by the lake around to the Inlet Cove. Mr. Durant built rustic balconies overhanging the lake, just off the path below College Hall. For many years when these "spoonholders" had to be repaired, gnarled and twisted branches like the originals were used, retaining the style, but recently unromantic sawn boards have been substituted. The path continued across the bridge and through the west woods, passing a very fine bog, still there, that was called "Zoology Pond" on early maps. Another favorite path of the early years no longer exists. It went from College Hall to "Chestnut Hill" (later "Norumbega Hill," now "the Academic Quad").

The paths mentioned here assumed such importance in the lives of the students that after the commencement exercises on June 24, 1879, the first graduates sentimentally walked over them "for one last time." But they are by no means the only alumnae to have had such fondness (nostalgia, if you will) for Wellesley's paths. Even today more than a few walk around the lake path during reunion, and some make a point of returning in the fall or spring to do so and perhaps to rejoice especially in the eighty acres of woodland between Pond Road and the west shore of Lake Waban which members of the Hunnewell family gave to the College in 1964.

The Siting of the Buildings

The Durants had no need for a landscape architect in placing the early buildings. For College Hall they wanted a view of the lake, and the size of the building virtually dictated the choice of the hill. When in 1880 they selected the site for Stone Hall for the "Teacher Specials," they again chose a site with a lake view—and it seems likely that they took special pleasure in locating it on the hill where they had once planned to build the great mansion of the country estate for young Harry (or so some evidence, including the tombstone there of Harry's dog, "Jack, mon

pauvre chien," seems to indicate). Also placed on a hill was Simpson, built in 1881 as a "cottage" for students. Music Hall, of which the cornerstone was laid in the same year, was built on solid ground, near the lake but not too far from College Hall and Stone Hall and not so near either of them that the cacophony from its open windows would prove disturbing. The location a few years later of Billings Hall, also a music building, was foreordained to adjoin Music Hall.

Mr. Durant had talked with his old friend Professor Eben Horsford about building a "School of Art" on the hill which the students called "Chestnut Hill" because of the chestnuts they gathered there and roasted. Before the Farnsworth Art Building was erected there in 1889, it had been named "Norumbega Hill" in honor of Professor Horsford, who championed the theory that the Norsemen had established a settlement on the Charles River near the village of Norumbega, not far from Wellesley. When the first cottage dormitory was built on the hill in 1886 and Professor Horsford, who had contributed generously to it as to so many other projects, declined to have it bear his name, the students proposed "Norumbega." He happily accepted that suggestion, and by extension the whole hill was so designated. Three other dormitories—Freeman (1888), Wood (1889), and Wilder (1900)—and the much more imposing Farnsworth eventually stood on the hill, as is recounted in the chapter on buildings. All five of them were placed around the rim of the hill, leaving in the center an open, tree-covered area. Today, on a simple but formal terrace constructed on the site of Farnsworth, five stone medallions from that building have been laid. These medallions, inscribed with the names and dates, commemorate the buildings that once stood on Norumbega Hill. Stone benches given by the Class of 1879 have also been placed on the terrace, from which a view across the green to the lake opens up as it did many years ago.

The first building on the campus whose siting was surrounded by controversy was the Houghton Memorial Chapel, which was dedicated in 1889. Initially the trustees had planned to build it across the main road toward the lake, almost opposite the Art Building and among the rhododendrons near Longfellow Pond. Then some of the faculty and the Alumnae Association, which by that time had an "Aesthetic Committee," swung into vigorous action. After lengthy conferences, the site was shifted to a location still on the main road but beyond Music Hall toward Stone Hall.

Fairly reliable tradition has it that Mr. Durant envisioned a "School of Science" on the hill across the meadow beyond Simpson. The Whitin Observatory was built there in 1900, and a succession of President's Reports called for the erection on it of a "science center." Then, after College Hall fire, it was obvious that the needs of the various science depart-

ments could not await the funds necessary for the construction of such a center. These needs were cared for, never wholly satisfactorily, over a period of years and in various locations, as the chapter on buildings details. The science center so long envisioned is finally taking form, and on the hill selected by Mr. Durant a hundred years ago.

When Caroline Hazard assumed the presidency in 1899 Wellesley entered not only a new century but a new era of its own. Confronted by grave financial problems, Miss Hazard realized that the College must increase its income and that expanding the enrollment and the revenue from students' fees was one important way. This inevitably entailed additional dormitories and other facilities. She was also well aware of the necessity for an overall plan prepared by experts. Fortunately for Wellesley, she was a woman of wealth and action. "At no expense to the College," as she noted, in 1901 she asked three well-known landscape architects to study the situation and make their independent recommendations. By November 1902 she had received sketches from C. Howard Walker and from the firm of Heins and La Farge of New York and a report from Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. of Boston. The Trustees liked the suggestions of Olmsted, and Wellesley College became "Project Number 250" in his firm. Either as the landscape architect or as a consulting landscape architect, he maintained his connection with the College for more than twenty years.

His father, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., was one of the first, and certainly the most influential, of the followers of Andrew Jackson Downing. Not only was he mainly responsible for urban parks such as Central Park in New York and the "green necklace" of parks in Boston, but he was involved in designing or re-designing fifteen or more college campuses. His son and his stepson, John Charles Olmsted, worked closely with him. The firm's offices were moved to Brookline when the plans for Boston parks were being developed, and a number of young, hopeful landscape architects worked there as "apprentices." One of them, who was to be helpful to Wellesley in the 1920s, was Arthur A. Shurtleff.

The first building which the younger Olmsted was called upon to locate was a new "Central Heating and Lighting Plant." It was obvious that the old College Hall boiler was taxed to the full extent of its capacity and that a new facility must precede the construction of any additional dormitories. Miss Hazard and her brother Rowland, who became a trustee very soon after she assumed the presidency, prevailed upon John D. Rockefeller to provide the funds for it, and his engineer provided the plans. Actually Olmsted had little choice concerning the location, which was determined by the practical consideration that the power plant be placed as close to as many buildings as possible. His reputation as a landscape architect, however, may have helped to make more

acceptable the location in a charming wooded glade of a building having a very conspicuous smoke stack. And, as Miss Hazard explained in her Report for 1903, the chimney's height was necessary "for carrying the products of combustion well above any dormitories in the neighborhood, for the sake of the trees no less than for the sake of individuals." There were environmental concerns even then.

Once the heating and lighting for new dormitories had been provided, their construction was imperative. But where were they to be built? The initial recommendation by Walker, by Heins, and by Olmsted as well, had been on Norumbega Hill, and a rather elaborate scheme had been drawn up to replace the old wooden dormitories in sequence. In March 1903, however, the Trustees turned down all of the proposals, and by May of that year Olmsted had prepared a plan placing the buildings on what Miss Hazard called "the high plateau near the West Woods"—the site of the Hazard Quadrangle comprising Beebe, Cazenove, Pomeroy, and Shafer. One reason for the selection was that Mrs. John C. Whitin, the trustee who had given the Observatory and Observatory House, had interested her sister-in-law, Mrs. Martha S. Pomeroy, in providing a dormitory and, in particular, one to which students living there would not have a long walk home from the Observatory after an evening of viewing the heavens through the telescope. The nearest appropriate place was "the high plateau near the West Woods."

In addition to the four quadrangle dormitories constructed in 1904, 1905, 1906, and 1909, two other major buildings were built during Miss Hazard's administration: the gymnasium, Mary Hemenway Hall, and the library, dedicated in 1909 and made possible by a matching gift from Andrew Carnegie.

It had long been apparent that the gymnasium in College Hall was not adequate. As early as November 1893 President Shafer read to the Board of Trustees a report containing this "urgent recommendation": "In consideration of the smallness of the gymnasium, and the successful steps already taken to make the out-door sports of the students a part of their systematic physical culture, an athletic field be prepared in that portion of the ground lying between Music Hall and the Lake. The estimated expense is $1,250." Miss Lucille Eaton Hill, the very able and imaginative Director of Physical Training, must have felt very strongly about the matter; she offered to be "responsible for the whole expense," and, according to the Trustee Minutes, Mrs. Durant "presented from Miss Hill a paper holding herself and her estate bound for such portion as was not otherwise secured of the expense of an athletic field at a cost not to exceed $1,250." On that condition the trustees voted to "consent to the appropriation of the parcel of ground as an athletic field." About a decade later Billings Hall was erected in that area, and a hockey field

was constructed in the vicinity of the present one. By the time that very lengthy negotiations had been completed in 1908 with the executors of the estate of Mrs. Mary Hemenway and with the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, the site for the new gymnasium was arrived at without difficulty. "A site has been selected," the Trustees Minutes stated, "not far from the present hockey field, and beyond the new group of dormitories"—that is, those now known as the Hazard Quadrangle.

The location of the library building was by no means so clear-cut. Miss Hazard pointed out in her Report for 1906: "It has been assumed by common consent that the site for the library is on the College Hall Hill, west of that building and at right angles to it." She stated, however, that "Various friends of the College who have seen the Bryn Mawr Library are urging upon us a building of that character," and that she "cannot believe it would be proper to put a building of stone, however beautiful in itself, in close connection with the large and dominating mass of College Hall." It seemed to her that "we are pledged to brick if the building is to stand in such close connection to College Hall, and we have the style of architecture prescribed for us." She therefore urged that the Trustees "also take a look into the future and decide where other buildings which we shall need in the course of time ought to be placed."

Accordingly, a trustee committee, with Miss Hazard as chairman, was appointed to report on possible sites for a library building, and that committee invited Charles A. Platt of New York to consider sites "and make suggestions for the general placing of the building from an architectural point of view." He and the committee had "a long session," after which he presented "a most comprehensive report. A careful survey of the grounds has been made, placing every tree in position, giving us all of the levels, and making a report on the eligibility of various sites discussed for the library in a very clear manner." The Trustees then voted in February 1908 to approve the site near Longfellow Pond and to employ as architects the firm of Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, described by Miss Hazard as "perhaps the most distinguished architects of academic buildings in the country."

Miss Hazard continued to call to the attention of the Trustees the need for dormitories and a science building. She "recalled to them" a plan which she had "warmly advocated" of a large additional dormitory (for as many as 200 students) on Norumbega Hill. As she envisioned it, "This dormitory would be built on an angle, with a stairway leading up the hill between its two wings, and a clock tower crowning the whole. Norumbega is such a beautiful little hill that we could have a cluster of buildings there which would have the effect of an Italian citadel, with the advantage that our buildings would be open to light and air on both sides." A site for still another large dormitory group began to be talked

about, and by November 1911 the Trustees authorized its executive committee "to secure plans for a new dormitory . . . to be one of a new group in the orchard, so called." (The orchard was in the general area where Bates, Freeman, and McAfee were built in the 1950s.) Also in 1911 the Shepley firm was asked to make a plan for the future development of the College "including the proposed Student-Alumnae Building" as well as for the new residence group.

These, then, were the general directions in which the College expected to move when funds became available for new buildings. Suddenly the entire situation was changed, literally overnight, when College Hall was destroyed by fire on March 17, 1914. No longer was it the academic center around which everything else pivoted. And no longer was it the largest residence hall on campus. Simultaneously immediate action and drastically revised long-range planning became imperative.

President Pendleton and the Board of Trustees moved very rapidly on all fronts. On March 18, the day after the fire, a special meeting of its executive committee was held at which "Mr. Shattuck of the firm of Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge was also present." "No immediate decision" was made about "the needs of the College for its administration and the problem of the future housing of the students," but the matters "were referred to Messrs. Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge for further consideration." On March 24 "Mr. Shattuck submitted a sketch of a proposed temporary structure to be used as an administration building, the cost not to exceed $32,800. It was voted unanimously to authorize proceeding with the erection." And so it was that the Hen Coop, completed in fifteen working days (and lasting for seventeen years!) was built near the Houghton Memorial Chapel to serve as a classroom and administration building.

Although emergency measures were taken to provide truly temporary housing for displaced students and faculty, it was clearer than ever before that dormitories must be fireproof and that residential equivalents of the Hen Coop would not suffice. Louise *McCoy* North '79, who had been deeply involved throughout the College's history as student, faculty member, president of the Alumnae Association, and trustee, was a central figure. With amazing celerity, she arranged for the gift from an anonymous donor (later revealed as Ellen Stebbins Curtiss James) of the "Central Dormitory" (Tower Court) on College Hall Hill. By mid-June announcement of the gift was made, and by mid-August the plans had been completed by Coolidge and Carlson, the architects proposed by the donor and accepted by the Trustees, and the plans were in the architects' Boston office available "for criticism and suggestion by the trustees between the hours of ten and twelve" for one week. Moreover, on September 21, 1914, the Trustees "voted to accept the terms of Coolidge and Carlson

to draw plans for the 'west dormitory,' " which, in due course, was named Claflin Hall.

Also, by May 9, 1914, Olmsted was being consulted. During the summer and fall Shurtleff also provided revisions of Olmsted's plans placing new academic and residential buildings in the meadow north of the Chapel and toward Observatory Hill. This "Meadow Plan" was continually revised through the spring of 1915, even to the point of working out a sequence for the erection of buildings. Had this plan been accepted, the Wellesley campus would have an appearance very different from the one we know. The open meadow would have been filled and leveled. Instead of being placed on hills, many buildings would have been on swampland, the old "cowslip farm," the place which "only booted botanists and zoologists" crossed. And the buildings would have been placed in rectangular units, with formal, straight walks, around rectangular pools with fountains. It would have been a return to what Andrew Jackson Downing called "the ancient, geometric style."

With the funds assured for "the central dormitory," Tower Court, and with the architects selected by its donor also working on plans for the adjacent dormitory, the Trustees must have been well satisfied with the progress being made. Then they discovered that some of the faculty and alumnae did not share their satisfaction with the proposed uses of College Hall Hill and the "Great Meadow." Apparently there was some sentiment against having the site of "the College," as College Hall was thought of and spoken of for a good many years, become exclusively a residential center. Perhaps, some thought, at least the western part, where Claflin Hall now stands, might be the location of the proposed student-alumnae building. There were also many misgivings about the meadow as an academic center, and strong feelings about the need for a supervising architect.

As early as October 28, 1914, Miss Pendleton read to the Executive Committee a long letter from five redoubtable members of the Art Department: Alice Van Vechten Brown, Edith R. Abbot, Alice Walton, Eliza J. Newkirk '00, an architect herself, and Myrtilla Avery '91. This letter emphasized the need for the selection of a supervising architect and analyzed the problems of the Great Meadow in designing and grouping academic buildings. It also advocated, as far as woodlands were concerned, that certain parts be set apart as permanent wildwoods, certain parts as "cultivate wooded areas," and certain parts "as in time to be cut down and built upon." Mr. Shurtleff then gave to the Executive Committee and to the full Board on November 13 "an explanation of the preliminary plan of the Advisory Committee of Architects." Three days later the Executive Committee met with Art Department members and then "voted to postpone work on the plans for the west dormitory."

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on New Year's Day 1915 (as Mr. Quarles points out in his chapter on the role of the trustees, the Board was an extraordinarily hardworking group after the fire!), it was decided to have a conference with faculty and alumnae on January 29 in the conference room of the library. (We must remember that, among other facilities, the room in College Hall where the campus meetings of the trustees had been held had been destroyed. Until Green Hall was built, they met in a variety of places including the Library, the Art Building, and the parlor of Stone Hall.)

For once the Alumnae Conference Committee moved slightly faster than the faculty committee—perhaps because the alumnae committee had only three members: Mary *Rockwell* Hook '00, an architect, the chairman; Dora *Emerson* Wheeler '92, the vice president of the Alumnae Association; Lucy J. Freeman '96, who had studied at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the American School of Archaeology in Rome, and at museums abroad. That committee by February 6 proposed for supervising architect two names: Ralph Adams Cram of Boston and Frank Miles Day, of Day and Klauder of Philadelphia. To the Executive Committee two days later Miss Pendleton read the report of the Conference Committee of the Faculty, which was composed of Miss Brown and Miss Newkirk (later Mrs. Rogers) of the Art Department, Elizabeth K. Fisher, Professor of Geology, Eliza H. Kendrick, Professor of Biblical History, Margaret P. Sherwood, Professor of English Literature, and Alice V. Waite, Dean and Professor of English Literature. To call it a "strong, able committee" would be an understatement. It made the points that "A man satisfactory along artistic lines, but without the practical side may (1) be supplemented by a practical architect and (2) checked up by a careful building committee, but a man uninterested in the artistic side cannot be made satisfactory," and that "A great design may be cut down and altered to meet the limitations of price and so forth, and may still remain great, but a petty design can never afterwards be enlarged." The report then mentioned architects, "each of rare capacity," who "have been considered by the Committee with something like the necessary thoroughness," and it looked most approvingly on Cram and Day.

Obviously convinced, the Executive Committee on that very day discussed the method of choosing a supervising architect, and the full Board on March 12 voted to create the office, to appoint Day to hold it, and to empower the Executive Committee to formulate his duties. Those duties as authorized on March 22, 1915, were so important for so many critical years in the development of the campus that they warrant quotation in full:

1. The architect for any new building must be approved by the supervising architect.

2. Plans for new buildings must be subject to criticism and revision of the supervising architect.
3. Architectural plans in any old building must be approved by him.
4. All walks, grading, and new planting schemes are to be carried out under his direction.
5. All memorials in the shape of statues, bas-reliefs, medallion etc. must be approved by him before being accepted from donors.

In 1933 the duties were redefined, with the supervising architect retaining the first three and a consulting landscape architect exercising the fourth and, in addition, being "consulted in regard to the placement of all new buildings." These procedures remained in effect until 1940, when the Trustees voted to handle matters in the future "as the occasion may arise."

For a good many years in actual practice the firms of Day and Klauder and of Cram and Ferguson worked together closely, with the first firm becoming the executive architects on a good many buildings (Founders, Severance, Sage, Stone-Davis, and Green) and Cram the supervising architect. The landscape architects, Olmsted and Shurtleff, were consulted and received copies of all plans. It was a distinguished and apparently unusually amicable team during a period of extraordinarily extensive planning and construction at Wellesley.

Even after the appointment in March 1915 of a supervising architect to the liking of the Alumnae and Faculty Conference Committees, there ensued a period—fortunately brief and happily concluded—which must have been difficult and somewhat frustrating for the Trustees, although their official records are exceedingly restrained. Doubtless it was also a troubling experience for the faculty and alumnae. In the middle of May Miss Pendleton called the attention of the Executive Committee to the fact that it had not acted on requests from the alumnae and faculty committees asking for representation on the Building Committee, and she reported that she had received "two other communications from them in regard to College Hall Hill." The Trustee Minutes then state that "Before considering these, the Committee felt it necessary to determine the obligation of the Trustees to the donor of the new dormitory"—a delicate matter indeed. At the next meeting of the Committee that month, several definitive actions were taken: plans for the west dormitory on College Hall Hill developed by Coolidge and Carlson in accordance with suggestions by Day and Klauder were approved and authorization was granted to proceed; the decision of the supervising architect that it was impossible architecturally to place the Student-Alumnae Building on the southwest corner of College Hall Hill was regarded as final; the Committee decided that "It is not possible legally to add to its

membership from outside the Board of Trustees, but it takes pleasure in inviting the Chairmen of the Alumnae and the Faculty Conference Committees to consult with them when they meet as a Building Committee while the general plan for the development of the College is under consideration."

The faculty and alumnae representatives apparently accepted these decisions as fair and reasonable and there were no further protests about the proposed buildings on College Hall Hill. They, doubtless, were delighted, too, that Day and Klauder rejected the "Great Meadow" concept and in October presented to the Executive Committee and the Committees of the Faculty and Alumnae a plan for Norumbega Hill to be the site of the academic center.

This plan, however, as Miss Pendleton wrote in her Report for 1915-16, "was such a far-reaching one that the Executive Committee, after consultation with the supervising architects, voted to secure expert criticism and to ask Mr. Ralph Adams Cram of Boston and Mr. Milton B. Medary, Jr. of Philadelphia to report on the plan. They warmly commended the selection of Norumbega Hill as the site of the academic center and the orchard as the site for a future group of residence halls. . . . The report suggested changes, which were cordially adopted by Day and Klauder, and involved the moving of buildings for Botany and Zoology to Observatory Hill." Cram and Medary were enthusiastic to the point of lyricism about the treatment of Norumbega Hill, speaking of it as "a most brilliant and constructive example of architectural design and composition, and an almost miraculous solution of an extremely difficult situation." They concluded their report by stating: "We congratulate Wellesley College on arriving at a basis for a solution of the problem of future architectural development which, when realized, will not only accent but glory in a remarkable topography, culminating on Norumbega Hill in the same spirit which has made Mont St. Michel an architectural monument of all time."

We can almost hear Miss Pendleton's sigh of relief and picture her quiet satisfaction when we read the final words of her Report for the year: "Throughout the discussion of plans there have been conferences with faculty and alumnae, and it is believed that the ultimate result will secure a plan for the development of the College commending itself for beauty and efficiency." So much attention has been devoted here to this period of planning for the future because there were, as Miss Pendleton pointed out, such far-reaching results, and also because it demonstrated so clearly the devotion to the College of its trustees, faculty, and alumnae, all working for the same ultimate goal and appreciating the goodwill of others even when views on achieving them differed sharply from time to time.

Once the major decisions on architectural development and landscape planning had been reached in 1916, there were many refinements and revisions of plans (as well as long delays while funds were raised), but problems of siting buildings were relatively slight thereafter for some forty years. "The liberal arts building" (named Founders Hall when it was opened in 1919), "the administration building" (Hetty H. R. Green Hall by the time it was completed in 1931), and "the physics building" (Pendleton Hall, containing also facilities for chemistry and psychology when it was built in 1935) were located in accordance with Day and Klauder's plans for Norumbega Hill which Cram had acclaimed. Severance Hall, dedicated in 1927, became the "east" and third dormitory on the hill where College Hall had once stood. The proposal of Cram and Medary to place the buildings for botany and zoology on Observatory Hill resulted in the construction there of the two wings of Sage Hall in 1927 and 1931. Alumnae Hall, as the "student-alumnae building" was called when it was completed in 1925, was a part of the plan for development adopted ten years earlier. Although it appears that a dormitory was not specified then for the site of Munger Hall, that building may well have been thought of as an extension of the Hazard Quadrangle; certainly there was no controversy about its location, and when it was opened in 1933 Miss Pendleton wrote, "Rarely has a building been erected on the campus which has met with such universal satisfaction." The location of the Recreation Building had been taken for granted and funds been raised for it almost since the moment Mary Hemenway Hall was built thirty years before. Wholly logical, too, was the location of Stone and Davis Halls on the site of old Stone Hall after it was destroyed by fire in 1927. Even Bates, Freeman, and McAfee, the dormitories built in the 1950s, were in the general area of the site selected for "the orchard group of dormitories" which had been envisioned for so many years.

There was, however, in the 1950s substantial revision in the thinking about the plans for certain new or extensively remodeled academic buildings. As early as 1923 Cram had been asked to make a plan for "a fireproof addition to the Art Building," and as late as the 75th Anniversary Fund Campaign it was assumed that somehow satisfactory quarters for the Art Department and its museum could be achieved by an addition to the old building. In the 1940s the generally accepted view was that the Library, to which an addition on the south had been made in 1916, could not be further enlarged and that a totally new library building was necessary. Therefore the arrangement proposed during the fund-raising campaign from 1947 to 1950 was that the library building should be transformed into quarters for music, and a Library constructed on Norumbega Hill close to Farnsworth about where the Jewett Arts Center is now.

Then President Clapp reported: "In September 1953 the new Librarian, Miss Helen Brown, and the Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds, Mr. John Kreinheder, were asked to study freshly the desirability and practicability of an addition to the library building. . . . Detailed studies of cost proved that at least $750,000 would be saved if, instead of constructing a new building, an addition were to be made to the old library in such a way that every need would be met as fully as in a new building." Thereupon the faculty and the Trustees supported the plan for an addition and, as will be recounted elsewhere, funds became available so that the cornerstone could be laid in 1956 and the completely remodeled building and addition doubling its size could be dedicated in 1958. The firm of Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson, and Abbott, architect for the original building, drew the plans—as it did for the additions on the east and west which will be completed in 1975.

Thanks to a gift from the George Frederick Jewett family—the largest gift for a building since Mr. and Mrs. Durant provided the funds for College Hall—the Jewett Arts Center for art, music, and theatre was dedicated in 1958. A trustee-faculty committee recommended as architect Paul Rudolph, as associate architect Lawrence Anderson, and, as Miss Clapp stated, "studied the entire campus for possible locations, rejected a remote site and the dichotomous concept of an 'old' and 'new' campus, and finally chose Norumbega Hill as central. Centrality was important in practical, daily terms and as symbol of the role of the arts, equally with the humanities and the sciences, in civilization."

One other major building on the campus was built during Miss Clapp's administration: the Wellesley College Club, opened in 1963 as a faculty-alumnae center with dining and conference rooms, living rooms, and guest bedrooms. Located on the main campus road at the Washington Street entrance on a site overlooking Lake Waban, it has, in addition to superb views, the advantage of being one of the few places on the campus to which strangers can easily be directed.

The Development of the Grounds

The natural beauty of the campus ("the park," as it was called in the early days) and its importance have been recognized throughout Wellesley's history. Perhaps one of the clearest, most direct statements was that of Miss Clapp in the President's Report for 1956-58: "Second only to the quality of the education which it offers, Wellesley deserves renown for the natural beauty of its campus. This heritage should be held intact for future generations. To ensure this, study of soil conditions, and if necessary, appropriations for soil enrichment seem desirable now. Thereafter, improved landscaping of various sections of the campus, which

interests many of us, would seem a very proper step to take whenever funds can be made available without cost to educational programs."

As we have observed, Mr. and Mrs. Durant appreciated the beauty of natural meadows, woods, and lake. They respected the majesty of old trees and planted new ones which in years long after they died would add to the "grace and beauty" of the grounds, as Downing suggested, through the "unshorn luxuriance of trees." They followed his admonition and "polished the scenery a little." For example, as Dr. Lyman Abbott wrote in the June 9, 1880, issue of the *Christian Union:* "The old forest trees, the natural grasses, the wildflowers, have not been spoiled by the marauding hand of cultivation, and lawns, grasses, gardens have been added. Last year a thousand rhododendrons and azaleas were imported for the park and seven thousand crocus and snowdrops were placed in the lawns."

Doubtless the Durants knew precisely where the shrubs and bulbs should be planted to carry out their desire for an English informal landscape. It was not until 1904, however, as Miss Hazard remarked in the President's Report for that year, that there was "the first systematic planting ever done on the college grounds under the direction of a landscape architect." At that time, Henry Saxton Adams, a Harvard-trained landscape architect who the preceding year had been appointed to teach the course in horticulture which the Botany Department introduced, supervised the planting by his students of bulbs around the Chapel and in front of Music Hall. That area, not yet a manicured lawn, was never mowed except in late summer, when a hay crop to feed the Grounds Department horses was removed and stored in the haymow of the large farm barn.

Adams also planned and supervised the first gardens in the Hazard Quadrangle. It is significant that the Trustees had rejected in 1905 the plan of J. A. Schweinfurth, the architect who won the competition for the design of the dormitories, to lay out formal gardens with a fountain in the center of the Elizabethan buildings. Later, too, the Trustees refused to accept Shurtleff's grandiose plan for the steep slope from the quadrangle to the road near the present power house—a plan calling for balustraded steps from terrace to terrace, with fountained pools and beds of flowers. The Trustees, however, heartily approved Adams's plan for the relatively simple landscaping which was made possible by the first gift the College ever received to beautify any part of the campus. Wishing to make the students in Pomeroy and Cazenove, the first two of the quadrangle dormitories, feel at home and less far away from College Hall and the Norumbega Hill dormitories, Mary *Harriman* Severance '85 initially provided a few hundred dollars in memory of her little daughter Alexandra for beds of flowers that would bloom in the

spring or fall. In 1906 she and her husband, Cordenio A. Severance, decided to expand the planting within the quadrangle and gave $10,000 to endow it.

Working with Frederick D. Woods, the Superintendent of Grounds, Adams also selected ornamental shrubs he wanted his students to learn about and had them placed around several of the buildings. By the time he left in 1910 he had established the pattern of introducing to the campus plantings interesting old and new varieties of shrubs he wished to use in teaching. This pattern has been continued ever since—first by his student, Helen I. Davis '12, and then by me, one of her students.

Miss Davis taught not only the course in horticulture but, after professional training, introduced a course in landscape architecture. She remained on the faculty until 1947 and planned the plantings in and around the new buildings: Founders, Green, Pendleton, Stone-Davis, Severance, and Munger. It was she who planned the "special courtyards" mentioned in the Horticultural Society's award. Between Tower Court and Severance she designed a shade garden; at the original entrances to Stone and Davis she used the small spaces for spring bulbs and flowering shrubs, and, on the terrace of Munger, dwarf Japanese flowering cherries with beds of pansies. Planned to require minimal maintenance, these little gardens add a homelike quality to the dormitories when Heads of Houses or students give them a little attention.

Any knowledgeable observer will notice Miss Davis's use of interesting, uncommon shrubs and vines and may notice that two plants of the same kind are often placed in different parts of the campus. One specimen was located where she taught the students the characteristics of the plant and its name, and the other was where she gave them the field identification quiz. Hundreds of students taught by Miss Davis and by me have tramped the campus learning in this fashion native and introduced species of ornamental plants.

The full scope of Miss Davis's talent as a landscape architect is best seen in the Alexandra Botanic Garden. When some of the space for the small garden in memory of little Alexandra Severance was lost by the building of a link between Pomeroy and Cazenove in 1920, Margaret C. Ferguson, the chairman of the Botany Department, which supervised the Alexandra Garden, persuaded Mrs. Severance to double the endowment and to allow the garden to become a part of the botanic gardens which Miss Ferguson had long envisioned. After the site on Observatory Hill had been selected for the botanical laboratories, Miss Ferguson prevailed upon the Trustees to set aside some twenty acres around the hill and as far west as North Road as an area to be developed in a way that would be aesthetically pleasing and scientifically useful.

Miss Davis laid out an artificial brook which started from a hillock

near Fiske, in order to obtain water there, and cascaded down a little series of falls and pools to the meadow level. Then, meandering along under and around trees, with occasional reflecting pools, it finally reached a swamp at the west end. So sandy was the soil that the brook's sides had to be lined with cemented stones. Yet within a few years the scars of construction had healed, and so "natural" is its course that many people have not guessed that it was carefully laid out. Along it and on the hills, the plantings were by families, some specimens gifts from the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University, others from the Hunnewells. White pines and shrubs were planted to form a background and to screen the gardens from the noise of Central Street. Despite many attempts to increase the water-holding capacity of the soil and its fertility, many kinds of plants did not thrive. They were removed so that, in a sense, the Alexandra Botanic Garden is an exhibit of what will survive with minimal care in an old glacial lake bottom, and it carries out Miss Ferguson's purpose "to combine beauty with scientific interest."

At the end of the artificial brook the swamp was dredged to make a pool, originally known as Lotus Pond because of the hardy lotuses planted in it. As it silted over and became too shallow for lotuses, which the muskrats ate with regularity, the water lilies took over. Their decaying leaves and other detritus helped to increase the population of microorganisms, especially the kind that any botany, zoology, or microbiology student could identify. The students then named it Paramecium Pond, probably at least in part in recognition of the research on the paramecium being done by Mary Austin '20, a member of the Zoology Department. In 1971, when cattails and pickerelweed were growing far out from the shore, indicating increasing shallowness, and the water lily pads were so numerous that the student-fed resident duck family could not swim, the pond was dredged and restored to its original depth and size. The banks were then planted with azaleas, selected as much for fall foliage color as for spring bloom, and with other shrubs naturally found near water. The excavated rich muck was spread out over the adjacent meadow so that the soil would support the growth of flowering crabapples and a few evergreen trees to provide a background for them. Borne in mind was Mrs. Severance's wish that the income from the Alexandra Botanic Garden Fund should be used to provide spring and fall beauty for the enjoyment of students. The plantings were also scaled to be appreciated by visitors driving by on the main campus road. And safe ice, earlier in the winter on the pond than on the lake, has made this little body of water, so near many dormitories, a favorite skating place.

Adjoining the Alexandra Garden in the part of the campus set aside by the Trustees in 1923 for botanic gardens is the Hunnewell Arboretum. Isabella Hunnewell Shaw, a daughter of Horatio Hollis Hunnewell, pro-

vided the endowment supporting the development of the area, and she also gave the money to deepen and seal a small wet depression which forms the Arboretum Pool and to pipe water to it so that even in dry summers it would continue to be a haven for wild life. In establishing the H. H. Hunnewell Fund for Botanic Gardens, she wrote, "It is my desire to keep for Wellesley College a portion of its grounds in its natural beauty, a home for trees, flowers, and birds." The whole area has been a refuge for students and faculty as well as birds and it has been treasured since the early days of the College. When the Whitin Observatory was dedicated, Ellen Hayes, Professor of Applied Mathematics and Astronomy, wrote with evident pleasure that in building it the pitch pines had not been removed, only the most superficial grading had been necessary, and "the graceful curved surfaces and contours of the bluffs of the north meadow have been preserved to the delight of geologist and astronomer alike." Poets seem to have taken special pleasure in the wooded area behind the observatory: Katharine Lee Bates enjoyed it so much that when "Sigurd, Our Golden Collie" died he was buried there beneath a marble slab incised with his name and the date; Jorge Guillén, a member of the faculty and renowned Spanish poet, spent many hours there in quiet solitude, but he also liked to observe dormitory and department picnics held in the open areas, and he was enchanted by the weddings performed there.

A very special area of the campus is the Hay Outdoor Theatre with its screen planting of columnar evergreen trees. Given in 1936 by Alma *Seipp* Hay '99, it adjoins Alumnae Hall and is the scene of a variety of performances, some of which are described by Miss McCarthy in her chapter on traditions. Another charming special planting is the Japanese garden in the sculpture court of the Jewett Arts Center. It was given by Mildred *Marcus* Levin '24 in 1965.

The Exedra below the courtyard of Tower Court was the gift of Ellen R. Kellogg '93 and was built about the time in the mid-1930s that Candace Stimson '92 provided for the restoration of the eroding lake shore in that area and the construction of steps from Tower Court down to the path to the library. At the edge of the Exedra now stand five of the columns from College Hall. Eleanor Blair '17 came upon them reposing in the Grounds Department service yard, and in 1972 the Class of 1917 gave the funds to erect them and to provide landscaping around them, so that they again frame the view of the lake much as they did when they supported a porch of Wellesley's first building.

Despite the concern for the maintenance of the original Alexandra Garden in the Quadrangle, aging and neglect took their toll. In 1968-70 it was replanted in memory of Molly *Geismer* Mendelson '36 through the generosity of her alumna mother, alumna sister, her husband, and the

Cleveland Wellesley Club. Frank A. Sellner, who was then the college landscape architect and was mindful that the College cannot afford to provide the kind of care that Miss Davis's courtyard garden required, designed the plantings close to all four buildings for effectiveness with minimal maintenance.

An ephemeral formal garden that deserves mention (in part because of the moral it points) is the Shakespeare Garden. Professor Katharine Lee Bates '80 and some of her colleagues and friends aroused student and alumnae interest in celebrating in 1916 the 300th anniversary of the Bard's death by creating a garden in which all of the plants he had mentioned could be seen and enjoyed. Finally, after much spirited correspondence between the English Department and the Botany Department (which expressed sympathy for the idea but no enthusiasm for the responsibility of executing it), the presentation of a Shakespearean sundial by Helen J. Sanborn '84, a trustee, and gifts by her and others of small amounts of money, Miss Davis planned the garden. She placed it below Oakwoods where the ground could be leveled quickly and easily and, she hoped, the plants would survive. By dint of having many of them grown in Mrs. Durant's greenhouses nearby, and with great effort, she had an English spring garden set out by May 12, 1916, when Miss Bates and her colleagues dedicated it. The garden was beautiful and the poets and botanists rejoiced together. For about ten years Miss Davis ministered to the not winter-hardy plants before she gave up the struggle, the sundial was moved to Shakespeare House, and the beds were seeded to grass. All that remains are the leveled areas and a few English hawthorn trees—and the lesson that formal plantings require expensive care. When money is needed for educational development, it is wise for a plan of the grounds to be such that the results of neglect can be described as "natural wildness"!

It would be wrong, as should be obvious, to conclude that the present natural beauty of the campus is the result of neglect. Many more examples could have been mentioned of times and places where the interest and concern of individuals have preserved or enhanced the woods, the swampy meadows, and the lake. From the time of the Durants on, presidents, trustees, faculty members, students, and those in charge of the grounds have cared. Since the turn of the century, ecology, the study of the interrelationships of animals, plants, and microorganisms in the environment, has been taught in numerous courses in the biological sciences. Any proposals for changes that might damage any part of the campus have elicited strong protests from those who recognize that it is an outdoor laboratory as well as a place of beauty. The nationwide concern for the environment that developed in the 1960s was not a new interest on the campus. But, as is well known, the rapid succession of

student generations makes it difficult for any one group of students to believe that before their time anyone had ever been concerned about campus ecology. To provide an official and continuing body, President Newell in 1972 established the Commission on Environmental Concerns on which all groups in the college community are represented. To it can go all questions and criticisms, and not only do its members pursue the facts and publicize their findings but they may also recommend action. Thus the Commission has launched the most far-reaching and coordinated effort of the community to ensure the continuance of the long tradition of caring for our natural heritage.

They have for guidance an article "Architecture at Wellesley" in the *Wellesley Alumnae Quarterly* for October 1916, by Ralph Adams Cram, who wrote: "The possibilities at Wellesley are almost unique because of the singular and individual beauty of the terrain. The landscape, with its diversified contours, its lake and its very wonderful foresting, is so individual in quality that it must control the architectural development, or at least, subject to considerations of administration, act as the dominating influence. In other words, it is as impossible as it is undesirable that the problem should be approached primarily from an academic architectural standpoint. Whatever is done must recognize scrupulously the landscape, and the architecture that is placed therein must grow out of these conditions rather than dominate them through preconceived architectural ideas. There can, therefore, be no cutting down of hills and filling in of valleys in order that flat areas may be obtained for building. Instead, every advantage must be taken of natural conditions, so that all future buildings may grow out of them intimately and consistently." If there is "scrupulous regard for natural conditions as they now exist," he predicted "a steady and unbroken development, until at last Wellesley College stands, as it may, as the most beautiful collegiate institution in the United States."

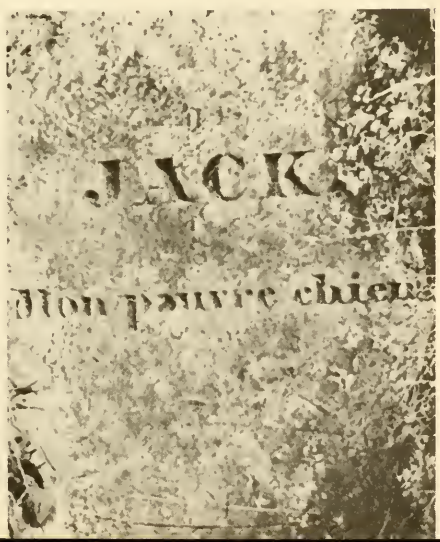
If it is true that Wellesley is today "the most beautiful collegiate institution in the United States"—and a substantial number of people less prejudiced than alumnae believe that it is—it is true because of the skill and dedication of a good many individuals and groups. A few have been mentioned, beginning of course with Mr. and Mrs. Durant and their concept of an informal landscape. There is not space here to cite the entire complement. So significant and unusual, however, have been the contributions of three sets of fathers and sons as members of the Grounds Committee of the Board of Trustees that special recognition must be given to them. Both F. Murray Forbes and his son Alexander C. Forbes served as chairmen during their terms on the Board, continuing as trustees in an unbroken succession from 1932 to 1968; Walter Hunnewell, Sr. was a member of the Grounds Committee and Chairman of the Building

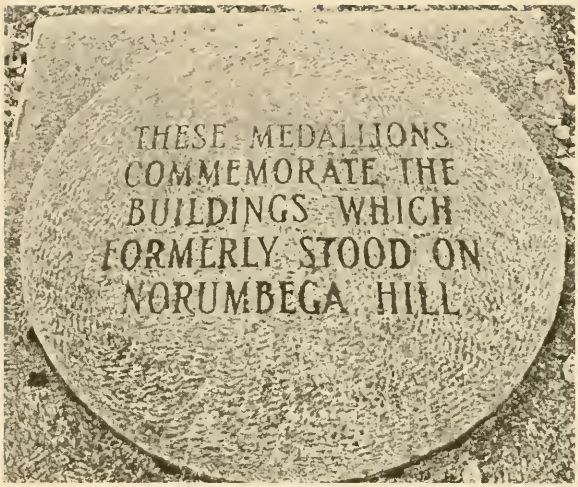
Committee from 1927 to 1947, and Walter Hunnewell, Jr. is a present member of the Buildings and Grounds Committee; Galen L. Stone, a trustee from 1915 to 1925, and his son, Robert G. Stone, a trustee from 1954 to 1972, were members of the Grounds Committee and also took great interest in the greenhouses. And, given a rather prevalent feeling in the earlier years of the century that men had superior, if not necessarily exclusive, knowledge about such matters as the care of the grounds, it is perhaps noteworthy that Belle Sherwin '90 was the chairman of the Grounds Committee from 1922 until 1940.

The devotion of one whole group of people must also be acknowledged. A landscape architect can plan, a landscape gardener can plant, but only if the supervisor of the grounds and the individual groundsmen care for the plantings will the original conception take form. Wellesley has been extraordinarily fortunate in the employees who over the years have watched over the growth of its plants and shrubs and lawns. The years of skilled, loving care of one of them, Frank J. Scheufele, Superintendent of Grounds from 1937 until 1959, led his friends in 1959-60 to memorialize him by adding plantings around McAfee Hall to the flowering shrubs which he had grown in the abandoned college nursery and placed there.

That the grounds were found worthy of the award by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society is a tribute to a century of devotion by the Board of Trustees and by many individuals who have been involved in their various capacities with the development of the campus. But the award also focuses attention on the need to continue to maintain and to improve the successful planting. Now that metropolitan Boston has moved far beyond Wellesley, these acres become more than the College's preserve; they are also an invaluable human environment and refuge for plants, animals, and birds. May the College warrant a prestigious award for what it does in this area in its second century!

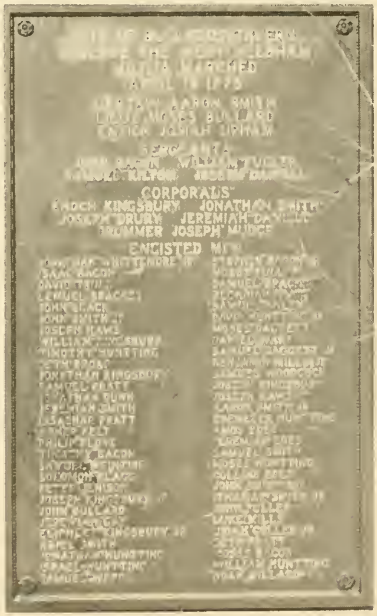
The tombstone of "Jack, mon pauvre chien," little Harry Durant's dog, on the hill near Oakwoods where the mansion of his country estate was to have been built.





The medallions on Farnsworth Terrace commemorate the buildings which once stood on Norumbega Hill (now known as the Academic Quad): Norumbega, Freeman, Wilder, and Wood Halls and the Farnsworth Art Building.

The automobile on the original main road through the campus by East Lodge doubtless respected the sign "Narrow roads. Automobiles must go slowly."

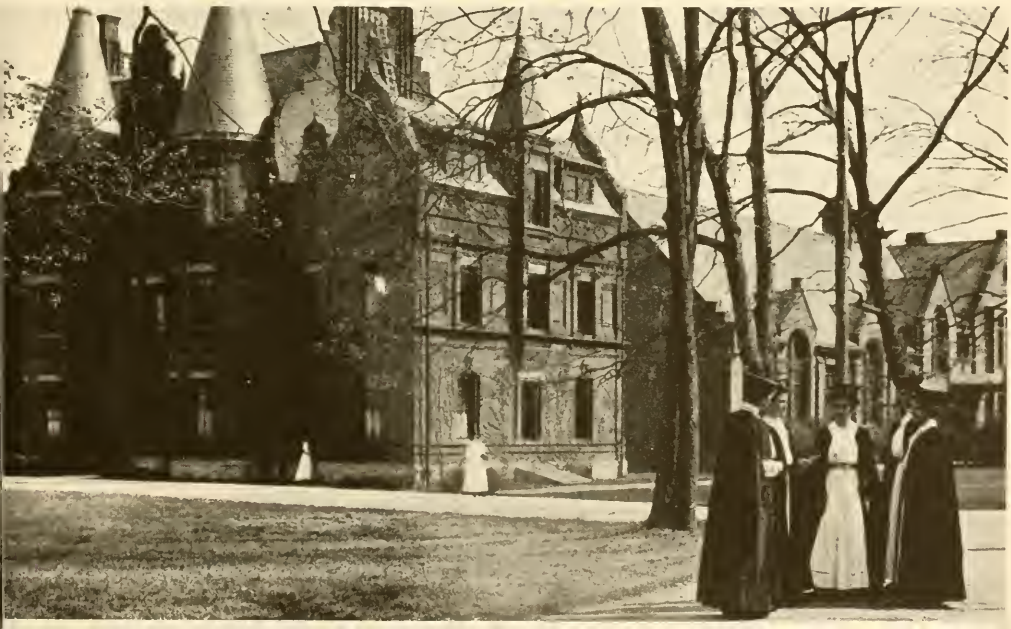


The monument near East Lodge marks the site of Bullard Tavern, from which the Wellesley Minutemen marched to the battle of Lexington and Concord.

"Mrs. Durant's residence" in the 1900s.

Old Stone Hall, built in 1880 to house the "teacher specials."

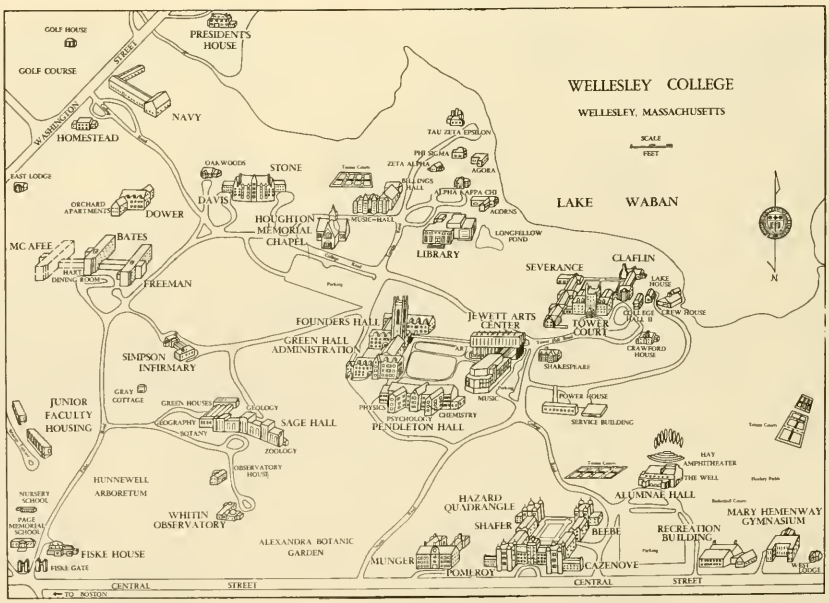
Music and Billings Halls not long after Billings was built in 1904.



Fiske Road was entered through the impressive gates given by the Class of 1916.

The Houghton Memorial Chapel, built in 1899 after controversy about its location.

This map of the campus shows the road system existing before the major revision in 1961. The end paper in the front of the book is a map of the campus in 1875; the end paper in the back is a map of the campus in 1975.



JEAN GLASSCOCK

The Buildings

As the Centennial has approached and interest in Wellesley's past has been heightened and deepened, many present and former members of the college community have asked about the buildings they have known personally or have heard about. This chapter is designed to answer some of their questions; those concerning the reasons for the locations of various buildings are answered in the chapter on the grounds.

In this, as in all else, we must begin with Mr. and Mrs. Durant. It is appropriate that the first building we see on the right as we enter the campus through the present gates on Washington Street is the first Wellesley home of the Durants. The opening chapter tells the story of Henry and Pauline Durant, who beginning in 1854 spent their summers in "the cool countryside of Wellesley," occupying a small farmhouse which we now call "Homestead." After Mrs. Durant's death in 1917 it became the property of the College. Used as a dormitory—and for a larger number of freshmen after an addition in 1923—until the opening of McAfee Hall in 1961, it was then converted into faculty apartments and more recently also into rooms for service employees.

After the death of little Harry Durant in 1863, Mr. and Mrs. Durant moved farther up Washington Street towards South Natick to the house built for the family of Aaron Webber in 1854. Upon Mrs. Durant's death this house, too, came to the College in accordance with the deed of gift Mr. Durant had made in 1873. By vote of the Trustees it was used as a guest house during the Semi-Centennial Fund Campaign, and "Durant House" provided delightful hospitality for many distinguished visitors and potential donors. But, President Pendleton wrote, "After the celebration of the Semi-Centennial in 1925 the trustees did not feel justified in continuing the expense, and in January, 1926, it became the President's House. The former President's House was named 'Oakwoods' in recognition of the Peace Dale, Rhode Island, home of its donor, former

President Hazard, and is now the charming home of the Dean of the College."

While Mr. and Mrs. Durant lived in what to us is the "President's House," they made their plans for the College which they would establish and for College Hall, the magnificent building across the lake on the hill where Tower Court, Claflin, and Severance now stand. The most compelling account I have ever read of that first building and its significance is contained in Miss Balderston's chapter on its destruction in the great fire of March 17, 1914. The impression College Hall made even on casual visitors is extraordinary.

Early newspaper and magazine articles tell with evident awe of "the palace" or "the castle" which was reached after driving a mile through "the park," as the campus was then known. Although some of the articles attempted to describe its beauty, many of them resorted to the still-familiar device of giving statistics and details about equipment: "Ten miles or more of steam, water, and gas pipes furnish it with heat, water, and light. Nearly a mile of halls and corridors give opportunity for exercise under cover in stormy weather. . . . There are 60 microscopes and 20 pianos. German student lamps (which give the best light known for those who use their eyes constantly) are placed in every study parlor." The Syracuse, New York *Journal* of September 20, 1875, concluded a fulsome report by saying, "The college building is said to be a marvel of elegance and comfort, and if favorable surroundings shall prevent homesickness and induce girls to study, then here will be found a rarely industrious class of students."

Mr. Durant also gave Music Hall, which was "built in the form of a great organ" and contained "thirty-eight rooms for practice, equipped with deadened walls and double doors." The cornerstone was laid on June 10, 1880. A prayer of dedication was given by the pastor of the Wellesley church, but, according to the Trustee Minutes, "There was no public ceremony, only the family, five or six friends, and the workmen present. A copy of the Bible with inscription was placed in the stone by Mrs. Durant, and a Bible was given by Mrs. Durant to each of the workmen employed upon the building, as at the time of laying the cornerstone of Wellesley College"—that is, of College Hall. (Presumably Mrs. Durant again took care to give copies of the King James version to the Protestant workmen and of the Douay to the Catholics.)

Because Music Hall still exists, although it has no connection with the Music Department and bears another name, some confusion may be cleared away if we depart from chronology and explain the genesis of the student center complex of which this building is now a part.

The will of Robert Charles Billings, a Boston merchant who died not long after the turn of the century, empowered his executors "to distrib-

ute the residue of his estate to such institutions as they should select." From it Wellesley initially received funds for the Botany Department and for a professorial chair in music. Later the surviving executor, Thomas Minns, presented the College with an additional amount which endowed the Billings Prize in Music and provided "a hall which shall be for the encouragement of the study of music." (The person who was instrumental in securing all of these gifts for Wellesley was Susan Minns, the sister of the executor, one of the first women to study at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a botanist and biologist of considerable note, and herself a generous donor to the College and especially to the Botany Department.) In 1904 Billings Hall, containing an auditorium seating 400, four offices and classrooms, and a beautiful small library, was built adjoining Music Hall.

Then after the Music Department in 1959 occupied its new quarters in the Jewett Arts Center, Music Hall was converted into the Student Organization Center, thanks to gifts from parents, the James Foundation, and the Kresge Foundation. And, Miss Clapp commented in the President's Report, "The dilapidated, uneconomic, and inconveniently located old kitchen of College Hall, which the students had been using as their Center, was razed." When Music Hall became the Student Center, it was renamed Billings Hall to ensure the retention of an honored name in Wellesley's history. (Throughout Wellesley's history care has always been taken to perpetuate in some fashion the names of buildings, even if their uses changed or the original building disappeared with the passage of time.) For several years old Billings was used as an interim storehouse, and then in 1969 it was imaginatively remodeled and expanded and named the Schneider College Center in memory of Robert J. Schneider, the vice-president and business manager who labored long on the conversion and died suddenly shortly before its completion. A special area, the former music library and now the Davis Lounge, was made possible by a gift from the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations in memory of Mr. Davis's sister, Florence Davis '94.

Another building that bears a name harking back to 1880 (and, like Billings Hall, has no resemblance to the original edifice) is Stone Hall. As Lyman Abbott wrote soon after he attended the cornerstone laying on May 27, 1880, "Stone Hall is the first considerable gift to Wellesley College by any other than its founder." Valerie G. Stone, the widow of Daniel P. Stone of Malden, inherited from her husband a large estate which he suggested should be distributed at her discretion "among charitable institutions." Mrs. Stone conscientiously carried out his wishes, and through the Rev. Dr. William H. Willcox, a member of Wellesley's Board of Trustees who became her financial as well as her spiritual adviser and was married to her niece, she became interested in Wellesley.

She made a gift of $100,000 for the dormitory which in its early years housed the "Teacher Specials," and a few years later she established what was for the time a large scholarship fund.

"Old" Stone Hall was an imposing building which served the College well, but by 1927 it required thorough renovation. While the work was in progress only the laboratories for botany and the kitchen and dining room for students living in Dower and Homestead were in use. In March of that year a fire broke out. (Susan *Shepherd* Sweezy '29 and Dr. Harriet Hardy '28 always considered one of their finest moments rushing to a near-by fire box and sounding the alarm by smashing the glass with a Bible, which the sophomore taking the required course in Biblical History of course was carrying.) So much damage was caused by fire and water that the Trustees decided to tear down what was left and to start anew. And so it was that "New" Stone Hall and its mirror-image, Olive Davis Hall, were built on the hill which "Old" Stone Hall had occupied. The cornerstone of "Old" Stone Hall was used, and the "western house" perpetuated that name; "the easterly half of the structure" was named for Olive Davis '86. A head of house and the Director of Residence from 1900 until 1917, when she resigned and during World War I organized the hotels in Washington, D.C. for women government workers, she made Wellesley her residuary legatee. That bequest and a gift of $350,000 from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. defrayed the cost of Davis Hall.

The ground and main floors of the two dormitories were extensively redesigned in 1964-65, providing a new shared main entrance and bell desk, penthouse studies, some additional dormitory rooms, and much larger living rooms. Two new dining rooms connected by a cafeteria counter also helped to make Stone-Davis, as Miss Clapp noted, "as adequate for contemporary student life as any hall at Wellesley, and in some respects superior."

On the day of the cornerstone laying of Old Stone Hall announcement was made of a gift for a cottage "to be used as a hospital in case of illness, and when not so required to be occupied by about 20 students." The suggestion was made that it might be well suited "for such pupils as, by reason of character, constitution, and temperament, could better pursue their studies in a quiet home of their own, dissociated from the three hundred pupils who constitute the Wellesley household"—that is, who lived in College Hall. Michael H. Simpson of Saxonville, Massachusetts, described as "a manufacturer, inventor, and philanthropist," and his wife were one of the four husband-wife combinations who jointly served as trustees in the early years of the College. (The others, besides Mr. and Mrs. Durant, were Governor and Mrs. William Claflin and Mr. and Mrs. William S. Houghton, whose names are also still remembered at Wellesley.) Mr. Simpson gave $15,000 to provide this small dormitory in memory

of Mrs. Simpson, who had died in 1878.

Apparently there were fewer students than expected who preferred to "pursue their studies in a quiet home of their own," and for several years freshmen were assigned to it. Recently Eva Terry '01 recalled that in her junior year, when she and her friends drew such high numbers that they could not have rooms on the same College Hall corridor, they received permission to "take over Simpson." She remembers fireplaces in the rooms which inspired them "to toast chestnuts and pop corn and roast apples," and she found that the damper in her fireplace had been blocked by a Wedgwood saucer of the kind used in College Hall. She cleaned the sooty saucer and treasured it until 1971, when she gave it to be raffled for the benefit of the College at a meeting of Wellesley on Long Island.

In 1908 Simpson Cottage "was remodeled and equipped as the college hospital, with nine large attractive, sunny rooms for patients, including a convalescing room on the first floor and in a part of the third floor an emergency ward isolated to make absolute quarantine possible." As time passed and enrollment increased, only the dedicated efforts of two resident physicians, Dr. Katherine P. Raymond, who came when the infirmary was established and remained until her death in 1925, and Dr. Elizabeth L. Broyles, her successor, who served until 1963, made the old infirmary function satisfactorily. The Trustees decided in 1941 that an efficient modern clinic and infirmary were essential. It was built with an appropriation of $175,000 from the Reserve Fund for the Depreciation of Buildings supplemented by special gifts from alumnae and friends. The new unit—a well-equipped 30-bed hospital and clinic—is connected with the original building, which now contains the reception rooms and living quarters for the nurses.

The first dormitory to be erected on Norumbega Hill (now "the Academic Quad") was, in good Biblical fashion, the last to be removed. Because the cornerstone was laid in 1885, ten years after the opening of the College, it was originally called "Decennial Cottage," but on June 3, 1886, the Trustees voted "that the name Norumbega, suggested by the students, be adopted." This was a kind of tribute to Eben N. Horsford, Rumford Professor of Science Applied to the Arts at Harvard. A very close friend of Mr. Durant's and a major benefactor of the College, he was the honorary member of the Class of 1886 and in the name of the Class gave about a fourth of the cost of the dormitory. In turn, the Class as seniors proposed the name "Norumbega" in recognition of his belief that the Norsemen had founded a settlement near the village of Norumbega a half dozen miles or so from Wellesley.

Norumbega had an illustrious history. It had a small suite in which President Alice Freeman and her successors lived until Caroline Hazard at her own expense built a President's House, the present "Oakwoods."

On one of his visits to the College John Greenleaf Whittier brought and read a poem "Norumbega" written in honor of the "cottage." And (a mundane note) paying off the debt on it was the first sizable fund-raising project of the alumnae. At various periods it was slightly enlarged, and for a time it served as a "self-help" dormitory. When Bates and Freeman Halls were completed in 1952 and accommodated twenty-four more students than had been housed in the village dormitories, it was possible to discontinue Norumbega's use as a residence hall and to assign it to the students as a central headquarters for their organizations, thereby freeing space in Green Hall for faculty and administrative purposes. Finally in 1956 there was a large musical chairs operation: the Geology and Geography Departments moved to a remodeled Sage Hall, vacating what had been the kitchen wing of College Hall (the one part of the building not destroyed by fire in 1914); student organizations moved to that slightly superior space and called it CH II; Norumbega was razed so that the Jewett Arts Center could be built on its site. In recognition of the roles Norumbega had played for seventy years, a few members of the faculty and staff took pleasure that summer in making seventy letter openers from some of the wood in the old building, lettering "Norumbega 1886-1956" on them, and giving them to the first seventy alumnae who wrote expressing interest in having a souvenir of the dormitory which they remembered fondly.

The Trustee Minutes of June 21, 1887, state: "The Secretary [Mrs. Durant] reported that in consequence of the want of space to receive the desirable number of freshmen, a friend proposed to erect a wooden cottage on the hill near Norumbega," and the Trustees "voted to accept the proposition." The identity of the "friend" was revealed in the minutes of November 1, 1888: "Hearty thanks are tendered to Mrs. Durant, our treasurer, for the very substantial, commodious and admirably furnished cottage called Freeman Cottage after our beloved President which she has caused to be built and furnished for the benefit of the College during the past year." That building was torn down in 1934 to permit the construction of Pendleton Hall, but when the group of dormitories in "the old orchard" was built in the early 1950s, the Trustees voted that the name of Wellesley's second president should again be commemorated by a residence hall.

In 1889 a third cottage was built on Norumbega Hill, this with the bequest of Mrs. Caroline A. Wood of Cambridgeport, a friend of the Durants', a trustee from 1878 until her death, and the donor the first year of her trusteeship of the first permanent fund (a scholarship fund) ever received by the College. Wood Cottage, too, was razed to make way for Green and Pendleton Halls.

The last of the dormitories on the hill to be built (1890) and the first

to be razed (1930) was Wilder Hall, the only brick building of the four. Charles Wilder's letter announcing his gift is well worth noting: "My long residence in the Town of Wellesley, carrying with it so many pleasant and sacred associations, inclines me to leave some token of my life here as a citizen, and no more fitting way occurs to me than in connection with the institution of the town devoted to the higher education of women." Noteworthy also is an aspect for which the Trustees expressed appreciation: "Another gratifying feature of Mr. Wilder's liberality toward the College is the fact that no burdensome restrictions accompany the gift."

The first academic building on Norumbega Hill—and for many years the only one—was the Farnsworth Art Building. An impressive sandstone structure of classical design, it was described by President Shafer as "elegant and commodious" when it was opened in 1889. Far from commodious for the much larger number of art students and faculty when it was razed in 1957, it still retained an imposing quality. Alexander C. Forbes, then the Chairman of the Trustee Buildings and Grounds Committee, marveled that, though it appeared to be built like a fortress, it proved remarkably susceptible to the wrecker's ball.

A delightful account of the decision of Isaac Danforth Farnsworth to give the art building was provided by Sarah Frances Whiting, one of the faculty members appointed by Mr. Durant. She had many informal conversations with him during the early years when, as she said, with the joy and excitement of children they together unpacked the wonderful new apparatus he had authorized her to purchase for the physics laboratory. One of those conversations may have been the source for the personal letter she wrote in 1884: "As young men he [Mr. Farnsworth] and Mr. Durant boarded together; and when Mr. Durant married (Mr. F. never married) Mr. and Mrs. Durant always made him welcome in their home. He gave all the plastic statuary which adorns the halls [of College Hall], and said he intended to do something better. One day the two friends attended an art auction in Boston. Mr. Farnsworth was obliged to leave after a little time, but directed the auctioneer to bid a hundred dollars on some bronzes he especially wanted. The bid proved quite inadequate, and Mr. Durant bid the things in for a much larger sum, and directed them to be sent to Mr. Farnsworth. Mr. Farnsworth was delighted, and went to the auction-rooms with his check, to find what had happened. He said he would be even with Durant, and the next day put a hundred thousand in his will for Wellesley!"

Mr. Farnsworth, a successful Boston merchant engaged largely in the East India trade, died in 1886 and Wellesley did indeed receive the bequest for the art building. It and the four dormitories which once stood on the hill are now commemorated by medallions from Farnsworth

which have been placed on the terrace overlooking the lake on the site of the old art building.

Another (though anything but elegant) before-the-turn-of-the-century academic building was the box-like, plain wooden Chemistry Building which served for forty years (1895 to 1935). Helen T. Jones, now an emeritus professor of chemistry, knew the old building from the time she first came in 1925 until its days were ended ten years later when Pendleton was built and students helped in the moving "by carrying apparatus in desk drawers like a water line to a fire" up the hill to the new quarters. In reminiscing about the old building recently, Miss Jones also said, "If you came in the front door and stood a minute you could know who was in the building—you just had to listen to the voices here and there." But the chemists felt very fortunate to have their own building—an added boon when the College Hall fire destroyed the laboratories for geology, physics, psychology, and zoology.

Especially when financing the new Science Center is a matter of great concern, there is a certain wry interest in the problem the College faced in the 1890s in obtaining what seems today the ludicrously small amount of money required for the old Chemistry Building—and also in the way in which the cost exceeded the estimate! The Trustees in June 1894 instructed the Executive Committee "to proceed at once to provide a building for chemistry and physiology, and if necessary to borrow funds not exceeding $7,000." A special meeting of the Board was held a month later "because the Executive Committee found it impossible to erect a laboratory for even the one department of Chemistry within the amount the Trustees had authorized them to spend for that and physiology combined. President Irvine showed the need of immediate action on account of the requirement of larger recitation rooms for the large class to be instructed in the autumn." The Executive Committee was then authorized "to anticipate, if no other way appears, the current income and to pledge the same in payment for such a building." In November Governor Claflin, the chairman of the Trustee Committee on the Chemistry Building, reported that it was "progressing favorably, but in order properly to build and equip it, the cost would be between $13,000 and $14,000." And when the Treasurer in June 1895 announced its completion, the cost was "nearly $20,000," and, as a result, "it had become necessary to borrow money with which to pay the salaries and other expenses." Those were indeed parlous years for the young College!

It is small wonder that Mrs. Irvine was so obviously elated to report that "The college year 1895-96 closed amid general rejoicing over the gift of $100,000 for building a new chapel, to be called the William S. Houghton Memorial Chapel. By this act of filial devotion and personal generosity, the donors, Miss Elizabeth G. Houghton and Mr. Clement S.

Houghton, erect a fitting monument to an able and loyal Trustee, while the College gains space for assembling all students for stated religious services, an auditorium of sufficient capacity for Commencement exercises and other academic occasions, and the possibility of a future extension of quarters now occupied by the library" in College Hall.

The need for a chapel larger than the one in College Hall had long been felt. Not only was it impossible to assemble there for any purpose the whole college community (Geraldine Gordon '00 recalled only a few years ago the way in which students were packed in and the fact that the ones living in Stone Hall had to have separate services there) but the size of the room also prevented an increase in enrollment, desirable as that was for educational and financial reasons. The students adopted a new chapel as their cause. *The Congregationalist* reported at the time the building was dedicated on June 1, 1899, "Ten years ago a Wellesley College undergraduate association was formed in order to raise funds for a new chapel, which should accommodate the increasing number of students. A considerable sum had been raised when the generous gift of the Houghton Memorial Chapel happily thwarted the purpose of the undergraduates."

When the students had presented their plans to the Trustees, William S. Houghton had been impressed by their earnestness and wished to help them as on many other occasions he had quietly supported the College. In the letter in which Clement S. Houghton offered on behalf of his sister and himself $100,000 to erect a chapel in their father's memory, he explained that Mr. Houghton had had this in his will and later, "being disturbed by business troubles he changed his will, leaving out this provision; but at the same time he made known to my sister and me his wishes in the matter so that we might, if circumstances should permit, fulfill his desire to benefit Wellesley."

After what Mrs. Irvine with restraint termed "a vigorous protest" about the site of the building, it was designed by Heins and La Farge, the architects of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City. "Its simplicity, combined with the richness of building material, makes it . . . one of the finest chapels possessed by a New England college," according to a magazine article published at the time it was dedicated. "Its form is that of a Greek cross with a slightly lengthened nave. The main walls are of buff Amherst stone, with cut moldings of Milford granite. All the gable copings are terra cotta, light buff in tone. The molded gutters and cornices, the tracery work, sills, mullions, cuspings and moldings and cornices of the central lantern tower are of copper, and an elaborately wrought iron finial crowns the apex of the lantern roof." A rather fascinating detail was that "The floors of North Carolina pine are made fireproof by under-masonry of cement and ashes." Everyone re-

joiced in the building and in its completion in time for the Class of 1899's commencement in June and Miss Hazard's inauguration—the first ever held at Wellesley—the following fall.

The most famous memorial in the Chapel—that to Alice Freeman Palmer—is the marble bas-relief executed by Daniel Chester French, the sculptor of the Minute Man in Concord and the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. It was given by Edwin Hale Abbot, a trustee of Wellesley from 1892 until 1921, who also gave the rose window in the Chapel. Because there have been some differences over the years in interpretation of the symbolism, the statement made at the dedication on June 7, 1909, may be worth quoting: "In the design of the artist is, on one side, an altar with its flame. At the other side is a benign feminine figure pointing with outstretched right hand and arm to the world without, and with the other hand resting on the shoulder of the young girl who has lighted her lamp at the altar flame and is going forth. On the pedestal of this memorial is a medallion likeness of Mrs. Palmer, and beneath, a simple inscription which reads: Here rest the ashes of Alice Freeman Palmer in the heart of the college she loved." Later the ashes of her husband (and biographer), George Herbert Palmer, a Harvard philosophy professor and the donor to the library of his superb English poetry collections, were also placed in the memorial.

The memorial windows warrant at least brief mention. The principal ones in the transepts were executed by Tiffany, the one in the east transept being given by Clement and Elizabeth Houghton in memory of their mother, and that in the west transept by Governor Claflin in memory of his wife, also one of the very first trustees. Tiffany also designed the window given in memory of Cornelia Elizabeth Green '92 by her sister Eleanor, a member of the same Class, and the window given by the Class of 1889 in memory of its honorary member, Phillips Brooks, Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts and a favorite preacher as well as a trustee. The John La Farge Studios designed the window which the Class of 1891 gave in memory of President Helen Shafer, its honorary member, and that which the Class of 1890 gave in memory of its classmate Angie L. Peck. The window with a good deal of medieval symbolism commemorates Sophie Jewett, a poet and member of the English Department. It was given by her colleagues in the Department (in particular Katharine Lee Bates, Vida Dutton Scudder, Margaret Sherwood, and Martha Hale Shackford) joined by some alumnae. Miss Jewett's sister Louise, a professor of Art at Mount Holyoke, made the preliminary sketches and the H. E. Goodhue Company of Boston developed the design.

The other memorial windows were made in the Boston studios of Reynolds, Francis and Rohnstock. The Durant Memorial windows (whose design was approved by Ralph Adams Cram, the College's super-

vising architect) are in the apse and were presented by the Alumnae Association in 1925 as a part of the Semi-Centennial Celebration. The theme of the whole group is Love and Service. The central windows portray "The Love of God in Christ," the window to the left "The Call to Service," and the one to the right "The Life of Service." Two alumnae who were long associated with the College and were still in its active service when they by chance died in the same year, 1933, are memorialized in adjoining windows in the west transept. That for Mary Frazer Smith '96, the College Recorder (whose feats of memory became legendary at the time of College Hall fire), was given by her brother, Persifor F. Smith, and the one for Eleanor Acheson McCulloch Gamble '89, Professor of Psychology, by her classmates. The details of the Gamble window give unusual pleasure to her students and friends because of the way in which the artist incorporated references to Miss Gamble's many interests, including cocker spaniels. The central conception of the window in memory of Margaret Sherwood, long-time Professor of English Literature, derives from a poem, "The Pilgrim," addressed to her in 1895 by her friend and colleague Sophie Jewett. The iconographical scheme of subjects is based upon suggestions made by another friend and colleague, Martha Hale Shackford '96, who was the prime mover in the gift of the window by Miss Sherwood's friends and former students.

The whole story of Mrs. John C. Whitin's gift of the Whitin Observatory, an addition to it, and Observatory House as a residence for the astronomers is delightful, and, thanks to the accounts which Sarah Frances Whiting, the first Professor of Physics and of Astronomy, wrote and to the correspondence which she carefully preserved, can be completely reconstructed, although only a few of its highlight are given here.

Miss Whiting wrote: "By Mr. Durant's initiative, in 1880 a semester's worth in Astronomy especially emphasizing Astrophysics, a department of the subject then very new, was offered very properly as Applied Physics. . . . A 4" telescope, which could be placed on the roof of the north or south porch of College Hall, the spectrum appliances of the Department of Physics, a constantly growing library, and collections of lantern slides were the only equipment. Not until 1896 was the present unsurpassed students' observatory begun. By an unpremeditated combination of events, which we are wrongly apt to call chance, Mrs. J. C. Whitin, a recently elected trustee of the College, became interested to purchase a telescope which had, by courtesy, been used by the writer when teaching Olmstead's Astronomy in Brooklyn, and which was offered for sale. As she learned what was the ideal observatory for a college, this generous donor enlarged her plans to build the east-west part of the observatory. This, with its equipment, was opened in 1900 with appropriate exercises in the Chapel, addresses by distinguished astronomers and congratulatory

letters from famous women astronomers in Europe.

"When the space proved inadequate for the laboratory work of the large classes, Mrs. Whitin doubled the Observatory in 1909, provided added equipment, and built a house for the residence of the staff. This work was done in the spirit of the founder of the College, who believed that beauty is essential to the highest development of the student. When someone said to Mr. Durant, 'Why have you put those beautiful paintings into the hall and decorated the Browning Room when you say the College needs money?' 'I must do this,' was the reply, 'for I see the necessity of it; others can see and will meet the more obvious needs.' Mrs. Whitin expressed the same idea when she said in answer to a remark that a rug would not be necessary in a laboratory: 'You and Miss Hayes can attend to the science; it will be good for the girls to put their feet on an India rug.' "

At Float Night in 1896, only a few months after Mrs. Whitin of Whitinsville had become a trustee, Miss Whiting mentioned to her a 12″ telescope (still in use in the Observatory) which had suddenly become available at a bargain price. Mrs. Whitin wrote to Miss Whiting on July 20, 1899, "I had very little idea when it was first talked of except that Mr. S. V. White's telescope and dome could be set up at Wellesley for the girls' use. It is a kind of evolution. Once interested in it, my desires grew by the information they fed on, and I desired to do what I did do correctly, and I always liked the correct thing to look well!" On another occasion she wrote, "You need not feel that you have made extravagant suggestions. It is only the carrying out of my own ideas as they become broader. . . . My ideas are now way ahead of the little observatory or of my bank account, else it would be far better than it will be!"

In the fall of 1898 she proposed to give, and the Trustees "voted to accept with gratitude," "a 12″ telescope and a simple building to house the instrument." Then at a Trustees meeting the following May, "Mrs. Whitin stated that she now proposes to construct the Observatory of white marble in place of brick." When it was formally opened on October 8, 1900, Miss Hazard could report that it housed "a 12″ refractor with micrometer, polarizing photometer, and star and sun spectroscopes. A Rowland concave grating spectroscope, of 6′ focus, with its accompanying heliostat, is set up in a room capable of being darkened completely. The library is a beautiful room, and the dome by Warner and Swasey is all that it should be."

Never has a donor taken greater interest in every detail of a building—and rarely has one lived near enough to make such frequent visits. Sometimes Mrs. Whitin arrived with a hamper of delicacies for lunch for herself and the two Whiting sisters. In her eagerness to have landscaping done she sent her gardener with bulbs, which died and she concluded

she had been premature in having planted in November. When the house was nearing completion Mrs. Whitin wrote Miss Whiting "to have the architect order two oxidized iron ash barrels in cans for the cellar. Have them with ribs down the sides to protect them thusly," and she drew a picture so there could be no mistake about the matter. Sometimes in her early morning notes, "usually written before the breakfast bell," she vented her irritations (for example, "I do not want that common brass faucet. It is a poor thing."). More often, however, she expressed her view of life (" 'Better to be wise in the light of today than consistent with the errors of yesterday,' that's my motto, and good sense and allows me to change my mind as often as I please."), or showed her warm regard and respect for "dear Professor Whiting." When Miss Whiting broke her arm, Mrs. Whitin sent her a note scrawled with her left hand, commenting, "How do you do it? I can't seem to make it go! I might break my right arm, so I must practice!"

A later generous donor to the Observatory, also a widow living nearby, is Mrs. Margaret C. Sawyer, of Wellesley, who took some courses in the Astronomy Department, became interested in it, and in 1965 gave the College a 24" telescope. This, with the classroom added in 1962, again make the Department's facilities as outstanding in an undergraduate college as they were considered when Mrs. Whitin made her original gifts.

Miss Whiting also visited and carried on a voluminous correspondence with Lady Huggins, a noted British astronomer in her own right whose husband, Sir William Huggins, was a president of the Royal Society. In an article "Priceless Accessions to Whitin Observatory" in the October 1914 issue of *Popular Astronomy,* Miss Whiting wrote: "Lady Huggins has been pleased to deposit in Whitin Observatory of Wellesley College —a Woman's College, in a new world—certain of her more personal astronomical possessions." Much of this fascinating material is in the "Huggins Case" in the Observatory; Lady Huggins's jewelry and some other items are in the Rare Book Room of the Library.

Miss Whiting is the source of the information that "Mrs. Whitin's interest in Wellesley College inspired a like interest in her sister-in-law, Mrs. Martha S. Pomeroy, whose will contained the provision of which this building [Pomeroy Hall] is the outcome. Pomeroy Hall was to be built for the convenience of astronomy students, but as there is no suitable place in the immediate vicinity of the observatory for erecting such a building, the west plateau was chosen as the nearest location." Mrs. Pomeroy's will requested the trustees to erect the dormitory "in the Elizabethan Gothic style of architecture." And so, with the construction of Pomeroy Hall in 1904, was established the style of architecture for the dormitories built during Miss Hazard's administration and in 1927 designated as the Hazard Quadrangle and marked by a bronze tablet and by

a scallop shell, the symbol that she placed on all of the buildings erected during her administration.

The second in the group was "called Cazenove," Miss Hazard explained, "in honor of one who will not permit her name to be more definitely used." This of course was Mrs. Durant. It will be remembered that Mr. Durant once said with some asperity to a man who had inquired why the College did not bear his name, "Sir, I am not in the monument business." He was insistent that Wellesley be "God's College, not man's," and Mrs. Durant shared his view in this, as on so many other subjects. Mrs. Durant did, however, permit the use of her mother's family name on this building.

A few improvements over Pomeroy were made in Cazenove. Miss Hazard commented when it was opened in 1905: "We have omitted thresholds entirely so that the floors can be very easily cleaned. The system of ventilation has been slightly improved from that in Pomeroy, making it very perfect. The spacious parlors in these halls are proving delightful and attractive rooms, with their 19-foot ceilings and large floor space." Then she added a provocative statement that slightly boggles the imagination: "Neither of these parlors is furnished as yet; but even as they are, with their fine windows and beautiful proportions, they make pleasant gathering places for the students."

Acting on Miss Hazard's suggestion, the trustees had planned that when funds became available to build the other two dormitories they would be named Shafer Hall, in memory of Wellesley's third president, and Claflin Hall, in memory of Governor and Mrs. Claflin, who had been among the original trustees. Then unexpectedly Captain John A. Beebe's bequest of $80,000 enabled Wellesley to build in 1908 one of the dormitories and, naturally enough, it bore his name. The ships in the window glass of the small reception room on the first floor represent his seafaring career.

The story of the Nantucket sea captain's life is one of the most exciting—and that of his bequest one of the most poignant—chapters in Wellesley's history. He wrote in the December 1891 issue of *Century Magazine* an account of the perilous voyage of the "Brewster," probably the most famous sailing ship of its day, of which he was the young captain. Mutiny, narrowly averted shipwrecks, disasters of every kind known to whaling vessels were overcome, and he sailed safely into port after a two-year voyage. He made a substantial amount of money, retired from the sea at an early age, took an active part in Nantucket affairs for several years, and then when their daughter Alice entered Wellesley in 1892, he and his wife, who had accompanied him on several voyages, moved to Wellesley. By the time he died, however, his fortune had shrunk and payment of the bequest to the College would leave very little in his

estate. The College offered to reduce its share, but Alice G. Beebe '96 refused, became a nun in an Episcopal teaching order, and apparently joyously devoted herself to the service of others.

On the motion of Mrs. Durant, the Trustees voted that the fourth dormitory be named Shafer Hall. It was built in 1909, with the mathematical symbols in decorative windows bearing witness to Miss Shafer's career as a mathematics professor as well as a president at Wellesley. Miss Olive Davis, the Director of Residence, pointed out certain differences between the first two and the last two dormitories: the height of the dining rooms in Beebe and Shafer was increased eighteen inches, passenger elevators were installed, and "the location of the drawing room on the first floor, instead of the second, is an advantage at once apparent to anyone who has administered the social life of a college home."

But before these dormitories or any other buildings could have been constructed, a power plant had become essential at the turn of the century. On Miss Hazard's urging, John D. Rockefeller had come to the rescue by offering in June 1902 to install and fully equip a heating and electric plant on condition that the College "use all diligence to secure the sum of $150,000 for an addition to the Endowment Fund." The Trustees voted "to accept with sincere gratitude the splendid gift which will mean so much to the best interests of the College. It is an especial satisfaction to us at this time following Mr. Rockefeller's large gift of two years ago to have this new proffer of continued interest in the College. This thoughtfulness not only provides for the future enlargement of the institution but the scientific way in which the plant is to be operated will make a saving every year of a sum equal to the income of endowment of two to three hundred thousand dollars." A service building bringing together the carpenters, painters, steamfitters, plumbers, etc. was built nearby in 1924.

Among the many building needs confronting Miss Hazard when she took office in 1899 was that for a gymnasium. In her first annual Report she stated: "There are no baths and no water in connection with the gymnasium. The hall is a sufficiently good one to use for a class of 30 or 40, but students have to come to it in their gymnasium suits and after vigorous exercises there throw golf capes about them and return to their rooms. The director of physical training has introduced the use of rubber folding tubs among the students, so that many of them possess these useful articles and are able to take a sponge bath in their rooms after exercise."

Finally a possible means of obtaining a gymnasium came into view with a proposal that the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics move to the Wellesley campus. Amy Morris Homans, the director, had carried on

the School since Mrs. Mary Hemenway, a Boston philanthropist who had largely supported it, had died in 1894. The trust for it was to expire on March 5, 1909, and the trustees under Mrs. Hemenway's will wanted to fulfill her wishes "by putting the School on a permanent basis." In 1907 they proposed giving Wellesley College $100,000 as a trust fund, with various terms and conditions, including a provision that by the end of the year Miss Homans "directly or indirectly raise the additional sum of $200,000 to be given to the College to carry on the work of the School, including the erection of a gymnasium suitable and adequate for such work."

Then followed a long period of fund raising, with "unremitting exertions" on the part of Miss Homans, according to Miss Hazard, and also by Miss Hazard herself, when, as she reported to Wellesley's Trustees, "Miss Homans had found it impossible to raise the whole $200,000." It was a period of lengthy negotiations, too, with the Hemenway trustees. At last, despite the fact that not enough money had been obtained to provide all of the facilities which Miss Homans, and also Miss Hazard, desired, Mary Hemenway Hall became a reality and was formally opened on December 7, 1909. The Trustee Minutes for November 11, 1910, state that disclosure was finally being made that "When it became evident that Miss Homans would not be able to raise the necessary sums, Miss Hazard made a personal guarantee for half of the remaining sum, $32,500, which she subsequently paid, having pledged to secrecy the three members of the Board who knew of her gift. Thanks were voted to her. Miss Hazard [who had resigned as president by this time] was immediately elected a member of the Board, waiving all rules of waiting till the next meeting." And so it was that Mary Hemenway Hall was built—and that graduates of the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, some of whom had never as undergraduates set foot on the Wellesley campus, became alumnae of Wellesley College.

Long and arduous as the efforts to obtain a gymnasium had been, those for a new library building were even greater. The library in College Hall was in the eyes of many of its beholders the most beautiful and happily used room in the building. It was adjudged "the gem of the building" by Edward Abbott, whose article in the August 1876 issue of *Harper's Magazine* gave a clear picture of it, although the "young ladies" then as now may have resented his somewhat sentimental tone: "It is arranged in alcoves and superbly finished throughout in solid black walnut. It is the very ideal of a library for young ladies, with cozy nooks and corners where a book is twice a book; with sunny windows, some of them thrown out in deep bays; with galleries reached by winding stairs where the girls seem to have a real delight in coiling themselves away in such mysterious fashion that you can only see above the balustrade a curly

head bending over some book, doubtless found more fascinating than it could be if simply spread out on the table below. Opposite the library is the reading room, a sunny room as it should be, well supplied with the periodical literature of the day. Besides the most valuable of European and American literature, scientific journals and magazines which come regularly to the tables of the library, the reading room is provided with the leading papers, daily and weekly, secular and religious."

Charming as its appearance was, its collections were, for the time, even more remarkable. Mr. Durant's own extraordinary library of some 10,000 volumes—including some books and manuscripts which are still among the greatest treasures possessed by the Library—was the nucleus. As has been pointed out in the opening chapter, one of his most consuming interests was the library, an interest shared especially by his friend Professor Horsford. In March 1880 an article in the *American Journal of Education* stated: "As yet there are only about 20,000 [volumes] but numbers will not represent their rare quality and value. . . . It has been the intention to put within the reach of teachers and students everything that can be desired for their studies. The collection of literary, historical and scientific journals and magazines is superior to any college collection we know of. . . . It is remarkably rich in grammar, dictionaries and encyclopedias of different languages, as well as in works illustrative of the geography and history of every country."

By 1897 parts of the collection had spilled over into every halfway reasonable place in all five floors of College Hall. A Trustee Committee appointed that year "to visit the library to consider various plans for relieving the overcrowding" concluded that no more temporary expedients were possible and that "A new library building is what the Committee would present as the sole subject of its report." Regularly thereafter the importance of a new library was stressed. Miss Hazard's statement of 1904 was unusually eloquent. "The need for a library," she wrote, "I consider the most important need of the College at present. We have an endowment for the purchase of books; we have a large number of books, over 56,000 volumes, far larger than many a college of our size; we have the readers, but we should have the quiet place for study and a dignified housing for our library, which should give the studious atmosphere which every college so much needs. The development of a great community such as ours tends more and more to emphasize the value of the external things. With a company of young people they make the immediate appeal; it takes knowledge and time for the deeper things of life to gain their hold. We have seen the great influence of a beautiful building like the Chapel, an influence as unconscious as it is real; and if we can have a library as fine and dignified in its way as is our Chapel, more would be done for the studious life of the College than by any num-

ber of added lectures or offered courses of study."

At a special meeting of the Board of Trustees in March of 1905, Miss Hazard "presented the correspondence with Mr. Carnegie which finally culminated in the offer from Mr. Carnegie of $125,000 for a library, conditioned upon the raising of a like amount for endowment." As Miss Hazard wrote later, "The sum which was offered was considered by many experts to be inadequate for a building of our requirements, and the condition imposed is certainly a very onerous one, considering that . . . about $850,000 have been given to the College since 1900, and to endeavor to secure additional endowment at the same time that Harvard and Radcliffe are before the public seemed to the Trustees a matter of doubtful wisdom." In fact, at the special meeting of the Board the only action taken was to vote that "the President and such others as she may join with her be a committee to continue negotiations with Mr. Carnegie." Shortly thereafter Mr. Carnegie's private secretary wrote that "Mr. Carnegie finds that this condition meets with favor from most college presidents," and in May Miss Hazard reported that she had had an interview but "had been unable to change the terms of the offer."

Whether to accept the offer was indeed a serious and moot question. Finally at a Trustees meeting late in June 1905, Rowland Hazard proposed two resolutions: that "the President be authorized to accept it," but that "in so doing the Trustees expressly do not imply any duty on the part of the President to raise the sum required, or express an approval of the conditional mode of giving." Typically, however, Miss Hazard set to work. "The students were appealed to, and the alumnae have also taken the matter up," she wrote that fall—and she obviously was doing everything in her power.

Her President's Report for 1907 is an extrordinary personal document. She had returned in May from the first sabbatical leave a Wellesley president had ever taken (this to Egypt and the Holy Land). "While I was away I must confess to have given some anxious thoughts to the progress of the endowment which should offset Mr. Carnegie's promise of a library; and I wrote one or two letters which I hope may bear fruit: but, naturally, I was not able to do much about it myself, and when on my return I found that there had been small advance, though I cannot say I was discouraged, yet the prospect of having another Commencement pass by without the completion of the endowment was certainly somewhat disheartening. I immediately turned my attention to trying to interest friends of the College in this fund, and saw various people about it, besides writing numerous letters. These efforts resulted in the receipt of $1,000! As we needed something like $75,000, that was not especially encouraging. When, therefore, just before Commencement time, it was announced by the Treasurer that the College was to receive a sum of

about $80,000 from the estate of the late Captain John A. Beebe—a sum which would more than complete the amount which we needed—the relief was proportionately great. As our Quaker ancestors used to say, 'Way had opened,' and in a way in a most unexpected quarter."

Thereafter progress was rapid. George A. Plimpton had given in memory of his wife, Frances Taylor *Pearsons* Plimpton '84, her magnificent collection of Italian books and manuscripts, chiefly of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This collection had temporarily been housed in the Billings Hall library; now he provided a room for them in the new library and continued to add to the collection. Andrew Carnegie increased his original gift by $7,000. The Class of 1886 gave in memory of Professor Horsford, its honorary member, bronze doors, the work of Evelyn Longman, with figures representing Wisdom and Charity. The Class of 1887 began to make plans to give a bronze statue of the Lemnian Athena in the niche west of the entrance, and the Class of 1888 a statue of the Hestia Giustiniani in the niche to the east, so that, as Ethel Dane Roberts, a former librarian, wrote in 1936 in her excellent *Brief History of the Wellesley College Library,* the Goddess of Wisdom was balanced by the Goddess of the Hearth. The cornerstone of the building was laid by Mrs. Durant on June 5, 1909, following preliminary exercises in Billings Hall, at which a song written for the occasion by Katharine Lee Bates was sung and Miss Hazard and Andrew Fiske, a trustee who was a son-in-law of Professor Horsford, spoke. At the dedication the following June there were speeches by Mrs. Durant, Miss Hazard, Mr. Fiske, Mr. Plimpton, Professor George Herbert Palmer, and Henrietta St. Barbe Brooks '91, the librarian. The exercises were concluded by the lighting of a fire in the fireplace in the Reading Room by Mrs. Durant from a candle held by the freshman class president and the singing by the guests of the hymn "How Firm a Foundation."

But, as Miss Hazard had noted earlier, the building really was not large enough from the outset, and the science departments preferred to have their libraries near their laboratories in any case. Consequently a good many valuable books and periodicals were lost in the College Hall fire, although the entire Browning Collection and parts of some other special collections were saved. The need for an addition to the Library soon became imperative, work on it was begun in 1915 thanks to a gift from Andrew Carnegie to the Restoration and Endowment Fund, and it was opened in the fall of 1916.

Over the years not only the regular collections but also the special collections have expanded greatly. There were many additions to existing collections. Among those to the Browning Collection were, from Miss Hazard, the love letters of Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, still in the caskets in which the recipients had preserved them. Professor

Palmer had a lovely custom of making special presents on Alice Freeman Palmer's birthday from the English poetry collection which they had begun together, and on his own eighty-second birthday in 1924 he formally presented his entire collection of first and rare editions of English poets from Chaucer to Masefield. Charles Eliot Goodspeed, a well-known Boston book dealer and the father of two alumnae, gave the Ruskin Collection, which represented many years of his expert and painstaking acquisition. Helen J. Sanborn '84, a trustee, bequeathed more than 500 volumes, pamphlets, and manuscripts from her Spanish library. The Elbert Collection on the Negro in Slavery, the gift of Ella *Smith* Elbert '88, one of Wellesley's early black students, has long been recognized as of unusual value and importance; in recent years, however, its unique character has received even wider acclaim. Katharine Lee Bates '80 and Elizabeth W. Manwaring '02 are among the faculty members who made notable gifts to the English Poetry Collection; Laura *Hibbard* Loomis '05, also a former Professor of English, gave her superb collection of medieval literature. All in all, thanks to many gifts and bequests, the library possesses manuscripts and rare books and first editions which range in time from a copy of the Ratdell Euclid printed in 1482 to the books issued by the Grabhorn Press and given by Annis *VanNuys* Schweppe '03.

Once again, the necessity to enlarge the library building was felt long before the means were found to do so. The chapter on the grounds recounts some of the story—in particular the decision not to erect a whole new building but to add a wing doubling the size and to remodel completely the original building and to install a language laboratory. The impetus to proceed with the plans came in the spring of 1954 when David M. Mahood and his sister, Mrs. Helen M. Petit, offered to give in memory of Mrs. Petit's daughter, Helen Ritchie Petit '28, $500,000 toward the addition if the rest of the funds could be obtained. As Miss Hazard and the Quakers might have said, "Way had opened," and as unexpectedly as it had in 1907.

In going through the papers of his niece, Mr. Mahood had found a booklet published in 1947 setting forth the goals of the 75th Anniversary Fund Campaign. Knowing Helen Petit's love of books and her interest in Wellesley, on a Saturday morning he telephoned the President's Office to say that if Wellesley still needed a library he and his sister would be glad to make a substantial gift toward it. The young secretary who took the call trembled with excitement for days! So, too, but for different reasons did President Clapp and the members of the Development Fund Committee and the Trustee Committee on Endowment, who were well aware of the constant push for funds during recent years and of the continuing urgent needs for faculty salaries, scholarships, and unre-

stricted gifts. They decided to move ahead, however, and under Margery *Borg* Loengard '20, vice-chairman of the Development Fund Committee, and Louise *Saunders* France '19, a former member of the Committee, serving as chairman and vice-chairman of the Library Special Gifts Committee, "alumnae and friends were invited to help, without resorting to an every-member drive. Clubs held special benefits, hundreds of individuals made special gifts, and by the spring of 1956 the necessary funds were in hand. Once again the alumnae and Wellesley's friends met Wellesley's need," Miss Clapp was able to report.

The library building which was expanded and remodeled in 1958 permitted "housing 400,000 volumes within easy access of 850 readers." By 1973, however, there were more than 525,000 volumes in the main and departmental libraries, and meeting the needs of the library was given the highest priority among the buildings. Construction scheduled for completion in the spring of 1975 provides two additions, one on the east and one on the west. Space for an additional 325,000 volumes, installation of air conditioning, improved and enlarged areas for readers and staff and for housing the special collections and the recently-established college archives, a doubling of the number of faculty studies, an entrance adjacent to Schneider Center and leading directly to the Reserve Book Room, the language laboratory, and a student lounge—these are among the features of the new additions which will help to make the library in 1975 as exceptional for its time as the one in College Hall was for its period a hundred years ago.

Announcement was made at the commencement exercises on June 1, 1974, that the Trustees had voted to name the Library in memory of Wellesley's eighth president, who had died on May 3. Nelson J. Darling, Jr., Chairman on the Board, stated: "Trustees, present and past, faculty members active and emeriti, administrators, alumnae and students, have been thinking separately and together of ways of honoring Margaret Clapp for her devotion and her remarkable service to this College. A marvelous unanimity of view has been evident. Over 300 members of the community have written requesting the Trustees to consider naming the Wellesley College Library the Margaret Clapp Library. The Trustees heartily agree that in view of Miss Clapp's own contributions to scholarship and her encouragement of the scholarship of Wellesley's faculty and students, it is especially appropriate to recognize her distinguished service to her country and her College by naming the Library in her memory. A resolution to this effect was unanimously approved at the Trustees meeting this morning." The expectation is that the Margaret Clapp Library with its two large additions will be dedicated on November 19, 1975, the hundredth anniversary of the opening of the original library in College Hall.

After the fire destroyed College Hall on March 17, 1914, some temporary academic buildings, hallowed in memory and patiently endured in reality, were constructed. The most extensive and most famous was the Hen Coop, built on the lawn of the Chapel in fifteen working days before college opened on the previously-scheduled date after spring vacation. It housed all of the administrative offices and most of the classrooms—and, according to Miss Gamble, Professor of Psychology, had the advantage that if you were bored with the class you were in, you could listen to the classes on either side of yours. By the time that the College was prepared to build the first permanent classroom building (the "liberal arts building," named Founders Hall in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Durant), the United States had entered World War I and a special building permit was required. Students who in later years sat at the table in Tower Court presided over by Mary Frazer Smith, the Recorder, remember vividly her tale of meeting an official, sent out from Boston to investigate the urgency, at the juncture of two right-angled halls of the Hen Coop when the bell rang for the 10:30 class break. Visibly shaken by the bedlam and crowding, the inspector granted the permit on the spot, ground was broken in March 1918, and Founders Hall was dedicated after chapel on Saturday morning, September 20, 1919. The academic procession marched from the Chapel to a court outside the new building, and Miss Pendleton spoke of the share more than 12,000 alumnae, friends, and members of the college community had had in the gift of the building, which contained seventy-four rooms including classrooms and department offices. (It is interesting to note that Day and Klauder, the architects, had presented drawings for the proposed academic group on Norumbega Hill in "Renaissance and Free Classic style" as well as the Collegiate Gothic design originally suggested, but the Trustees voted in favor of the Gothic.)

The Hen Coop continued to serve as the administration building and for some classes until March 17, 1931. At 7:45 that morning Miss Pendleton herself led the attack on the old building, blowing a trumpet and waving a hammer. The students and faculty had a glorious bash of authorized vandalism for thirty minutes. They left it empty and gutted to attend chapel at 8:15 and to sing the same hymns and have the same readings that Miss Pendleton had selected for the historic service seventeen years before. Then she asked those who had been in the Chapel on that occasion to lead the procession to the Green Hall courtyard, where "America the Beautiful" was sung triumphantly. An open house that afternoon and a bonfire that night concluded the celebration. The new administration building bore the name of Hetty H. R. Green, who, as Miss Pendleton remarked, "held a unique place in the business world of her day." Her son, Colonel Edward H. R. Green of New York and

Texas, and her daughter, Mrs. Matthew A. Wilks of New York, gave $500,000 toward its cost in memory of their mother. The tower which rises above it was given by Galen L. Stone, a Boston banker who was a trustee from 1915 until 1925; the carillon in the tower was the gift of Charlotte *Nichols* Greene, honorary member of the Class of 1916, whose husband had been a trustee from 1912 until 1927.

Another temporary academic building erected rapidly—this in the summer of 1914—was the Ark, which was also demolished, but with less fanfare than attended the Hen Coop, in 1939, when the zoology wing of Sage Hall was built. The Ark served as the headquarters for zoology and in the course of its existence had two small additions, the first in 1920 and the second in 1928 when the College thriftily used for it boards salvaged from old Stone Hall. Matthison House, the third of the temporary buildings built after College Hall fire, adjoined the Hen Coop and was occupied by the Reading and Speaking Department from 1920 until it was removed in 1931. That department had been "accommodated" after the fire in Billings and Music Halls. The building was "named in honor of Edith Wynne Matthison, who has entertained the College so frequently by her readings."

In addition to Founders and Green Halls, two other academic buildings, Sage and Pendleton Halls, were eventually built, chiefly to replace classrooms and laboratories destroyed in the College Hall fire. Because the Botany Department's need was the most urgent of any of the science departments', the botany wing of Sage Hall was built first (in 1927), and the zoology wing followed in 1931. And so pressing was the need that the Trustees voted to use toward the cost of the building a bequest which Miss Pendleton described as "totally unrestricted" when notice of it was received in 1919. Russell Sage, who died in 1906, left his great fortune for distribution by his widow, Margaret Olivia Sage. In her will Wellesley was listed as one of fifty-two "religious, educational, or charitable corporations" to share equally in the residue of her estate, and from it the College obtained $622,683. Mrs. Sage's will mentioned her wish that each of the fifty-two should use the whole or a part of the legacy for some purpose which would commemorate the name of her husband, but she very thoughtfully added, "I simply express this as a desire and do not impose it as a condition of my gift." The College did comply with her desire, however.

In 1955-56 Sage Hall was slightly remodeled to provide space for geography and geology, and a combined library for those departments and the biological sciences was added. Finally—not long after Wellesley enters its second century—all of the science departments will unite in a Science Center, as had been envisioned since the very early years of the College. Ground was broken for it in the spring of 1974. The superb

greenhouses, named for Margaret C. Ferguson, a distinguished member of the Botany Department from 1893 until 1930, will remain as they were laid out in 1923—and careful studies have been made to assure their continuing to have proper sunlight. The renovated Sage Hall will provide chiefly for classrooms and offices, and a new building of approximately the same size as Sage extending down the hill toward the meadow will house the laboratories, a central library, stockrooms and shops, and will have what is termed "an administrative focus." Tremendous advantages of the new Science Center will be the opportunities it will afford for interdisciplinary activity among all of the sciences—including mathematics, psychology, and computer science—and what is called, with great understatement in some instances, "updating of the facilities."

Physics was one of the science departments made homeless by College Hall fire. After temporarily occupying very inadequate space in the basement of Wilder Hall, a dormitory on Norumbega Hill, it shared with Geology what had been the kitchen wing of College Hall, the only part of that building not demolished in the fire. (It continued to be used as a kitchen and dining room for displaced, non-resident faculty and for students and faculty in Lake House until Tower Court was completed.) Lucy Wilson '09, a member of the faculty from 1917 until she retired in 1954 as Dean of Students and Sarah Frances Whiting Professor of Physics, recently recalled in an oral history interview some of her memories of teaching in the old building. "It was difficult. All of the apparatus had been destroyed in the fire, and that which was in use had been sent in by other institutions. We had a dumb-waiter to get our apparatus from one level to another. In the basement there was an old car which we called 'King Tut' that I used in teaching the automobile course, and ultimately the Ford Company gave us a chassis. The thresholds of that old building were worn and the doors didn't fit very well. But," she added in a typical fashion, "it was a beautiful location."

The last academic building built as a part of the Semi-Centennial Fund was what had originally been conceived of as "the physics building," as is told in the chapter on the grounds. Then, when it was finally constructed and was opened in 1935, it served as the quarters for chemistry and psychology as well as for physics, and, at the request of the students, was named in honor of President Pendleton. The cornerstone contained a remarkable collection of objects. Among them were a Bible which had belonged to Eleanor Gamble '89, a beloved Professor of Psychology who had died not long before, and in which had been inscribed on the flyleaf the same passage from the Bible (I Chronicles, XXIX, 11-16) Mrs. Durant had written in the Bible in the cornerstone of College Hall; a brick from College Hall which Mary Whiton Calkins, one of Wellesley's great teachers from 1887 until 1929, had picked up; Miss Calkins' *First*

Book in Psychology and two of her articles published in professional journals; the pioneering book on stereo-chemistry written by Charlotte Roberts '80, Professor of Chemistry until her death in 1917; a copy of *Seven Psychologies,* a book then recently published and now a classic, by Edna F. Heidbreder, Professor of Psychology from 1934 until 1955. In many respects Pendleton Hall was a remarkably well-equipped building for its day, but the separateness instead of interrelationship of departments at that time is perhaps most clearly evidenced by the fact that it has been completely impossible to transport equipment between the chemistry and physics wings without carrying it up and down flights of stairs. With the completion of the Science Center, Pendleton Hall can be remodeled to serve as the headquarters of the social sciences or the humanities, which have become much overcrowded in Founders Hall.

Providing classrooms and laboratories was a major problem after the great fire of 1914; housing the students, faculty, and officers who had lived in College Hall was equally important, and in some respects was of even greater complexity. For both educational and financial reasons the College had been striving to reduce the number of houses it had been renting in the village. Suddenly it also had to provide accommodations for the refugees from the fire. Immediately following it, offers were accepted from students in other campus dormitories to share their rooms. As Olive Davis '86, the Director of the Halls of Residence, pointed out, however, "These crowded conditions would have been intolerable if it had not been the spring term, when windows were open and the students out of doors a large part of the time," and for the following fall "The expedient . . . could not be continued. All proposed cases of two in the space of one were submitted for consideration to the Board of Health, made up of the President of the College, the Dean, the Director of the Department of Hygiene, the Resident Physician, and the Director of Halls of Residence, and the position was unanimously taken that not more than twenty-five rooms on the campus could be reasonably used for two instead of one student. This left miracles to be wrought both on the campus and in the village."

The miracles were wrought but the ingenuity and imagination of Miss Davis and the cooperation of the students and faculty deserve a good deal of the credit. On the site of the old boiler plant for College Hall, a brick residence hall had been built in 1913 for the College Hall employees. "After the fire," Miss Davis reported realistically and somewhat dryly, "it was no longer needed for that purpose. Accordingly it was refurbished and refurnished and equipped as a Hall of Residence, under the charming name of Lake House." (It has again been converted into very pleasant quarters for college employees.) Three professors, forty-three students, and Miss Davis herself as the Head of House lived in it and had

their meals in what had been the old College Hall kitchen. She noted with appreciation that the President of Student Government Association "left her group of friends and joined me in Lake House" to help its popularity. All halfway likely houses were leased in the village (including the Elms, the Birches, and the Maples, which Miss Davis said comprised "quite a forest"), and other students had rooms in private homes. When college opened in the fall of 1914, there were 1,452 students, of whom 53 lived with their parents in Wellesley or adjoining towns, 773 were housed on the campus, and 626 in the village. Miss Davis reported in summary: "Of the 626 resident off campus, 159 were boarded in the same college houses in which they had rooms; 100 were in college houses and took their meals in near-by college dining halls; 250 were lodged in private houses but assigned to college dining rooms, . . . leaving 117 for whose board the College was not directly responsible." The situation was exceedingly complicated and unsatisfactory in every respect; only the services of a large number of Heads of House, much time on the part of Village Seniors and other Student Government officers, and forbearance on the part of everyone made it at all tolerable.

We can easily comprehend the jubilation when the cornerstone of Tower Court, the first permanent building erected after the fire, was laid on January 15, 1915, and the dormitory was occupied on September 25 of that year by 194 students and twelve faculty members. Miss Pendleton wrote with moving simplicity: "When the lights actually shone out from Tower Court into the autumn evening, one realized how much the darkness on College Hall Hill had meant to the college life."

Part of the story of Tower Court (in particular the controversy concerning the siting of the building) is told in the chapter on the grounds. Let us focus here on the building itself and its donor. The construction of a large building with elegant, elaborate details in a period of little more than eight months is almost incredible. So, too, is the fact that the funds had been given for it and public announcement of the gift made only three months after the fire. Louise *McCoy* North '79, the trustee who had arranged for the gift and who made the announcement of it, declared, "It is an imperative condition of this gift that the donor's name be unknown." The stipulation was observed so scrupulously that even in the Minutes of the Board of Trustees the donor was referred to as "Mr. Smith"—always in quotation marks. Although anonymous, "Mr. Smith" had definite views, among them: "I would suggest that this group be built of fire-proof material and be Gothic in style of architecture and built so as to form an interior court or quadrangle opening on the lake, through the construction of one large dormitory, with an approximate capacity of 200, slightly to the north of the site of the old building, with a smaller dormitory, having a capacity of about 100, flank-

ing it or at right angles on either side and running down to the lake. In this group might be incorporated rooms for distinguished guests and visiting or exchange professors, as well as suitable space for the more formal and dignified social events and celebrations connected with the College, in a measure restoring a little of the old 'Centre' idea so dear to the hearts of the alumnae. Messrs. Coolidge and Carlson have made a few drawings along the lines indicated above, and I commend both the plans and the architects to your favorable consideration." The donor was extremely generous, approximately doubling the amount initially proposed for the construction and giving an additional sum, lavish in terms of pre-World War I prices, "toward furnishing the main rooms of the central hall"—and so it is that the Great Hall and other reception areas of Tower Court have hand-carved woodwork of fumed oak and various seals in stained glass set in some of the windows.

Two of the carved figures always especially delighted Dorothy Dennis '14, who for many years was Professor of French and Director of the French Center in Tower Court. The one of a woman holding a lamb she said represented the B.A. degree; the other, of a woman holding a child, the M.A. degree. A kind of academic genealogy is traced in the seals in the north windows of the Great Hall: Emmanuel and Christ Colleges, Cambridge; Harvard, founded by a graduate of Christ College and attended by the founder of Wellesley; Wellesley, with the first seal, that with Chi Rho in the center, which became the seal of the Alumnae Association when the College adopted the present seal and coat-of-arms in 1917. In the windows on the lake side of the Great Hall are the seals of the colleges in the Seven College Conference (Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley). In the windows of the living room of the East Suite (which, when a college guest-room, was occupied by many dignitaries, including Mme. Chiang Kai-shek at the time of her famous visit during World War II when, according to legend, the secret service mounted machine guns on the adjoining roof of Severance Hall) are the seals of the institutions from which Wellesley's presidents had received degrees other than from the Seven Colleges. The University of Michigan is there in recognition of Alice Freeman Palmer, Oberlin of Helen A. Shafer, Cornell of Julia J. Irvine, and Brown of Caroline Hazard and Mrs. Irvine. The living room in the west suite and in the two small reception rooms have in the windows the seals of the six societies (Agora, AKX, Phi Sigma, Shakespeare, TZE, and ZA) which were in existence when Tower Court was built.

The statue under the porte cochère of Tower Court by Charles Grafly was the central figure for "The Fountain of Man" which he executed for the Pan American Exposition. According to his daughter, Dorothy *Grafly* Drummond '18, as he conceived it "the fountain was crested with an

enigmatic double-faced figure of man. Below, with intervening architecture, was a circular group representing the five senses, and still nearer the base . . . were crouching caryatid groups symbolizing the struggling virtues and vices."

At Commencement time in 1917 the memorial tablet over the fireplace in the Great Hall was unveiled and the identity of the donor was revealed. Ellen Stebbins Curtiss James, the widow of D. Willis James, businessman and philanthropist, died in April 1916 at her New York City home, 40 East 39th Street. (I might add that when I visited it many years later when it was the headquarters of the James Foundation, which was established by her son, Arthur Curtiss James, I felt as if—except for the coats of armor in almost every corner—I might have been in the Great Hall of Tower Court. I suddenly realized then how much of Mrs. James' personal taste was reflected in the decoration of the magnificent dormitory she gave to Wellesley.) In newspaper obituaries at the time of her death she was described as "the most beloved and public-spirited resident of Madison, New Jersey." By proclamation of the mayor, all business was suspended in that city for five minutes during her funeral service, and "From every pulpit in the borough reference was made on Sunday to her." Certainly Wellesley has good reason for gratitude to her —and to the James Foundation, which in the 1950s and 1960s made several grants to Wellesley, including one for the refurbishing of the public rooms of Tower Court.

The "western dormitory," as it was known in relation to Tower Court, was designed by the architects of that building. It, too, had hand-carved woodwork and was built in the style of "the central dormitory," although it was financed by gifts to the Restoration Fund and not by an individual donor. The Trustees voted to name it Claflin Hall to commemorate Governor and Mrs. William Claflin, two of the very earliest trustees, whom the College had long wished to honor. As governor he had signed the charter granted to Wellesley in 1870; Mrs. Claflin was the first woman elected to the Board of Trustees after Mrs. Durant. Mary Claflin was an author as well as an active volunteer in many charitable and educational causes. *Personal Recollections of John Greenleaf Whittier, Old Time New England Life,* and *Under the Old Elms* were among her publications in the early 1890s. An account written at the time of Governor Claflin's death stated that "He was the first governor of Massachusetts to believe in the legal right of female suffrage. . . . When he was governor, legislative bills were enacted extending the rights of women, bettering the condition of criminals, establishing a bureau of statistics for labor, protecting destitute children, and regulating divorce." He was especially interested in education (as his father, a founder of Boston University and the person for whom a school for Negroes in Orange-

burg, South Carolina, was named, had been before him). In addition to being a faithful trustee of Wellesley from 1873 until his death in 1905, he was a trustee of Mount Holyoke, Wesleyan, and the New England Conservatory.

One special "tradition" of Claflin Hall is worthy of noting. On the long wall of the dining room with its long refectory tables, students in one of the studio art courses taught by Agnes Abbot painted murals appropriately medieval in style. Shortly before their commencement seniors for many years incorporated into the murals a small, appropriate detail —which students the following fall gleefully discovered.

Severance Hall, "the eastern dormitory," was opened in January 1927, ten years after Claflin Hall. Edward S. Harkness, a businessman whose philanthropies extended to many colleges, in the fall of 1924 had offered $100,000 toward its cost, on condition that $300,000 more be raised by April 1. The undergraduates in 1924-25 raised $160,000, Elizabeth *Severance* Prentiss of Cleveland, who had been a student from 1883 to 1886, gave $150,000, and, when the building was constructed and costs had risen, some undesignated gifts to the Semi-Centennial Fund supplemented the funds given specifically for it. Named in honor of the largest individual donor, it was designed to house 126 students.

Stone and Davis Halls were completed in 1929, as has been noted earlier. Then in January 1933, Munger Hall, the gift of Jessie D. Munger '86 in memory of her mother, was opened. Of Georgian architecture, it was the first Wellesley dormitory designed to be a cooperative house and therefore the first to have, among other means of simplifying housekeeping chores, an inter-communication system. Miss Munger, who lived in Plainfield, New Jersey, for many years frequently and unobtrusively visited her dormitory, delighting in presenting "extras" which she or the students or the head of house realized would be pleasant.

Although these dormitories, beginning with Tower Court and ending with Munger nearly twenty years later, had been built after the fire, it was not until Bates, Freeman, and McAfee Halls were constructed (Bates and Freeman in 1953 and McAfee in 1961) that all students could finally be housed on the campus—something that had not been true since the very early days of the College. Bates Hall commemorated Katharine Lee Bates '80, poet and teacher of English Literature at Wellesley throughout her long career, and Freeman Hall was named for the second president of Wellesley, in whose honor Mrs. Durant had given a dormitory on Norumbega Hill which was razed to make way for Pendleton Hall. At the time they were built, so was the dining room which would serve for the third dormitory in the group when it could be financed and in the meanwhile for the students in Navy, Homestead, and Dower, all of which, like the village dormitories, were uneconomical to operate

and unsatisfactory to live in by the mid-1950s. This dining room was named for Sophie Chantal Hart, who taught English Composition from 1892 until 1937 and whose bequest made it possible. The third dormitory was named in honor of Wellesley's seventh president, Mildred McAfee Horton. (There was already a Horton House, a faculty residence, and so it was a foregone conclusion that the dormitory would bear the name which was hers during nine of the fourteen years of her administration.)

All three of the dormitories were carefully planned, with much student consultation, to be "functional," and they incorporated various new features, including student common rooms on every floor, study and seminar rooms, etc. The living room of McAfee was very special, however, chiefly through the good offices of the architect, Joseph Richardson of the firm of Shepley, Coolidge, Bulfinch, and Richardson. He obtained as gifts from the Hearst Foundation the fifteenth century French Gothic stone fireplace enriched with fleurs-de-lis and coat-of-arms, and the Gothic ceiling taken from a patrician house in Wels, Austria, an old town situated in the Danube valley which was a trade center in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Flemish tapestry, woven in Oudenaarde in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century and presented by Louis XIV to an Austrian general, was given by Mr. and Mrs. William D. Vogel in honor of their daughters Grace *Vogel* Finnell '54 and Virginia *Vogel* Mattern '55.

A building need, long felt and often postponed, was finally realized when Alumnae Hall was opened in 1923. As early as 1908 the students, who had for several years written and spoken about the matter, formally presented to the Board of Trustees a request to be allowed "to raise funds toward a students' building." The only recreation hall was the old Barn, which had housed the College's Jersey cows until in February 1896 the Trustees voted "an appropriation of $75 with the proceeds of the extra hay in the barn to arrange the large cow-barn as an exercise and recreation room." That June Governor Claflin proposed that the old building be plastered and heated, and when at the time of the November Trustees meeting he had ascertained that the cost would be about $2,000, of which he pledged $500 and Mrs. Whitin $100, the Trustees "voted to consent to the proposed plan, provided that the necessary funds be obtained from friends." The students had used the Barn with grace and imagination for plays, receptions, and other social events. But when in 1908 the Trustees gave them permission to raise funds for a new building they set to work in earnest, by Commencement in 1909 had $5,000 on deposit in the bank and $2,700 in pledges, and persuaded the Class of 1906 returning for reunion to give $800. Succeeding generations of students had accummulated about $45,000 by the time College Hall was destroyed. Although as a result of the fire the need for the building

increased, it could not be given as high priority as the academic buildings and dormitories. The Trustees were well aware of the situation, and in March 1916, with the urging of Professor George Herbert Palmer, voted to establish the Student-Alumnae Building Fund with gifts which the Classes of 1916, 1917, and 1918 had made to the Restoration and Endowment Fund.

Finally the funds were in hand, and the cornerstone was laid at commencement in 1922. A severe winter delayed construction, however, so that the building could not be opened until December 5, 1923. It was a great occasion for the alumnae, who celebrated "Wellesley Day" throughout the country. On the campus, Florence *Besse* Brewster '05, the chairman of the Alumnae Building Committee, gave a history of the work of the committee and turned over the keys to the building to the President of the Alumnae Association, Louise *Pope* Johnson '91, who in turn presented the keys to President Pendleton as the gift of the alumnae. Ralph Adams Cram, the architect selected by the committee and approved by the Trustees, "interpreted the thought of the architects." And that evening the Boston Symphony Orchestra performed the dedicatory concert.

Another building which was a long time materializing was the Recreation Building. Less than four years after the completion of Mary Hemenway Hall, Amy Morris Homans, the Director of the Physical Education Department, had requested and received the Trustees' permission to raise money for an addition to the gymnasium and, in particular, for a swimming pool. Many alumnae who were students in the 1920s and 1930s have vivid recollections of raising money for it, dime by dime, at carnivals on the green and through countless other projects. Plans were drawn in the early 1930s by William T. Aldrich, the architect and Wellesley trustee who had designed Munger Hall. Early in 1937 the Trustees approved the leaflet which the Undergraduate Swimming Pool Committee wished to send to parents, and on behalf of the Trustees Miss McAfee also prepared an article for the *Alumnae Magazine* estimating the cost of the recreation center at $500,000, of which something more than $200,000 would build and equip the swimming pool and locker rooms, and stating that "At least $50,000 more is needed to justify breaking ground." Enough was obtained so that the Trustees decided to build the entire building exclusive of the dance studio and the bowling alleys (which, incidentally, are still on the list of unfulfilled needs). The cornerstone was laid during Commencement weekend in 1938. George Howe Davenport, a trustee from 1905 until his death in 1932, had given $50,000 for the pool, and his widow gave an additional $30,000 for it; the pool therefore was named in his memory. (The whole building was simply known as the "Rec Building," although several wistful statements

indicated that if a large donor came along, the Trustees would be happy to attach his name to it.) In any event, all of the years of planning resulted in one of the best-designed pools in the country, with an underwater observation window which not only aided instructors in their teaching but also was the delight of photographers. The building was dedicated during a three-day conference of the Eastern Society of Directors of Physical Education for College Women which was held in March 1939 on the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics and the thirtieth anniversary of its merger with Wellesley's Hygiene and Physical Education Department.

In contrast to the long period of fund raising for Alumnae Hall and the Recreation Building, the interval between the conception and completion of the Jewett Arts Center was amazingly brief—thanks to the generosity and constant cooperation of the George Frederick Jewett family. As Miss Clapp pointed out in her Report for 1953-56, "Rarely does an institution have benefactors who can do so much and give of themselves with their money, with modesty, and without dictation."

Mary *Cooper* Jewett Gaiser '23 in an oral history interview gave an informal account of the way in which the Jewett Arts Center came into being: "It was a fortunate chain of events. When I returned to Spokane from a meeting of the Board of Trustees, I explained to my husband that the College had a serious problem. The popular Art Department had grown so rapidly that Farnsworth, the existing art building, was no longer acceptable. The financial situation at the College made it impossible to contemplate a new, efficient building. The Trustees had been forced to agree to build a 'wart' on Farnsworth. I made a sad picture of an inadequate addition spoiling the present building. To my great surprise, he said, 'I have been considering making a substantial gift to Wellesley someday. Perhaps this is the day.' He believed that an act properly timed was many times more valuable than an act poorly timed. We discussed the great value of such a gift to Wellesley and Wellesley's influence in women's education. I knew Margaret Clapp's deep concern over the problem and decided to call her immediately. When we put in a call for President Clapp, the night operator informed us that the President could not receive a call after 9 p.m. Early the next morning, we called Miss Clapp, who was delighted with our news. She immediately revised the rules of her office so that the President could receive emergency calls from trustees at any hour.

"The Art Department, administrators, and Trustees decided to select the architect from a long list of names submitted by many interested people. Paul Rudolph was selected. He was an ambitious young architect whose talent had already been demonstrated. The splendid building upheld their judgment.

"While we were in the process of selecting an architect, we were spending a good deal of time attempting to develop a mental picture of our ideal building. We gradually realized that we did not want to isolate the Art Department. If we could have the Music Department in the same building complex, the two departments could cooperate on programs and exhibits. It was easy to go one step farther and plan a drama department which could relate to the first two. The only thing that the donor insisted upon was that the corridor leading from the front door to the Music Department be wide enough for exhibition space. He did not want it possible for a music student to reach her class without being exposed to art. These superb corridor exhibits have probably had more influence on the artistic interest of music students than any other device could have had."

And so it was that the Mary Cooper Jewett Art Building and the Margaret Weyerhauser Jewett Music and Drama Building, named in memory of Mr. Jewett's mother, who was a student of music at Wellesley in the 1880s, comprise the handsome Jewett Arts Center and provide exceptional facilities for students of art, music, and theatre. "One lasting sorrow came in November, 1956, in the death of Mr. George Frederick Jewett, Sr.," Miss Clapp wrote in her Report for 1956-1958. He had, however, taken part in the symbolic ground breaking on June 9, 1956, and, as Miss Clapp noted, the College "had the wise supporting counsel of Mrs. Jewett throughout the project, and the united family backing of Mr. George Frederick Jewett, Jr., and Mrs. William H. Greer, Jr. (Margaret Jewett 1951)."

The Jewett Arts Center was formally opened on October 18, 1958. A unique cornerstone was laid for a unique building, and then the Arts Center was dedicated at a ceremony in the auditorium. Other events of the day included an exhibition in the main gallery of painting and sculpture from the permanent collection of the museum, a formal dinner in the still-unoccupied rooms of the music wing, and a concert by the Budapest String Quartet which demonstrated not only the expertise of the musicians but the perfection of the acoustics. The following day alumnae and townspeople attended open houses at Jewett and at the Library to celebrate the simultaneous completion for the first time in Wellesley's history of two academic buildings.

Special note should be made of the museum collection, which covers the full range of art historical periods and, in its high quality, attests to the strong and imaginative leadership of its directors. The first was Alice Van Vechten Brown, the director from 1897 to 1930, who, when the museum was housed in the Farnsworth Art Building, arranged for several important purchases, including a Roman mosaic, "Nereid Riding a Marine Horse," the marble "Athlete" or "Discophoros" after Polykleitos,

and the late thirteenth century Italian double-scene panel, "Descent from the Cross and the Burial of S. Clara," which was obtained on the advice of Bernard Berenson. Mosaics from the excavations at Antioch-on-the-Orontes, of which W. A. Campbell of the Art Department was field director; Baroque paintings from Italy and Northern Europe; a fine collection of early twentieth century paintings and drawings by artists such as Leger, Kokoscha, Moholy-Nagy, Picasso, Lipchitz, and Kandinsky; paintings of the 1960s by Olitski, Noland, and Bush; Futurist drawings by Balla and Severini; contemporary acrylic canvases and medieval sculpture—these are among the museum's prized possessions, most of them gifts from alumnae and friends of the College and the Art Department. A fitting tribute to John McAndrew, who was the knowledgeable and persuasive director of the Museum in the 1950s, was the gift of "The Triumph of David," a splendid oil by Luca Giordano. The works of art displayed in the main gallery, the broad corridors, the sculpture court, and even outside the building, where Rodin's sculpture blends with that of the 1970s by Michael Steiner, exert the great influence Mr. Jewett wished on the artistic development of all members of the college community.

The last major building on the campus constructed during Miss Clapp's administration was the Wellesley College Club, built in 1963 by vote of the Trustees as a center for faculty and alumnae and a place where guests of the College and of members of the Club could be entertained overnight and at lunch, dinner, and special functions. Although it was to a large extent built with funds which the Trustees had been setting aside for several years for these purposes, two rooms for which special gifts were made should be mentioned. On the second floor is a large lounge, the Wall Room, made possible by a bequest from Juliette *Wall* Pope '91, who had previously given the Pope Room to the remodeled library. Miss Clapp, in an oral history interview in 1972, was reminded of a very pleasant visit she had in Washington, D.C., with Mrs. Pope who, probably because of sentiment for Wellesley and in deference to its President, wore as a dressing robe the B.A. gown that she had preserved for some seventy years. The lounge on the first floor, the Wayne Room, bears the name of Gladys *Dowling* Wayne '13. In addition to giving the funds for this room, she and her husband, who lived near Los Angeles, for many years had the custom of making gifts at Christmas and on birthdays and other special occasions to a scholarship fund which they established in memory of their daughter who had died shortly before she was to have entered her freshman year at Wellesley.

The newest Wellesley building to be used for educational purposes is one of the oldest: Cheever House, acquired from the Hunnewell Trust, is a wood frame mansion of thirty-seven rooms on four floors which was

built about 1894. It is located on twenty-one acres of woodland, open field, and swamp land extending from Washington Street to the Charles River and lying between Waban House, which has long belonged to the College, and the home of a member of the Hunnewell family. Plans for its use include offices in which Wellesley's faculty members on leave and retired professors can carry on their research. It will also be a Center for the Study of Women in Higher Education and the Professions, an independent institute devoted to women's education and professional opportunities which is jointly sponsored by the College and the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women and established with a grant of $195,000 from the Carnegie Corporation. According to President Barbara W. Newell and the president of the Federation, the Center will conduct research aimed specifically toward application in women's education and employment, sponsor symposia and training conferences, provide a central location for the collection of research findings and be responsive to the needs of women's organizations across the country, and be host to "visiting scholars whose intellectual interests are consonant with those of the Center."

The first "faculty club house," Horton House, was entirely different in function and atmosphere from the present Wellesley College Club, but it, too, met a need in its day when the faculty members who were not housed in student dormitories had to find rooms and lodging for themselves in a town which, then as now, was expensive to live in. There was little rental property of any kind and almost nothing that Wellesley faculty members could afford. The single rooms in Horton, which also had a dining room, were considered highly desirable, and the apartments in the adjoining Hallowell House were deemed positively luxurious when they were opened in 1922-23. (Edith S. Tufts '84, the Dean of Residence, reported of them: "They were promised for September 1, but the summer was a trying season for buildings because of labor conditions and September found both buildings full of workmen, and Horton in particular far from completion. The delay was most trying to college folk who needed their books and workrooms, but all things come to an end, even the excuses of the contractors. The rooms and apartments were finished one by one and the workmen pushed out.") They were built on Washington Street opposite East Lodge on the site of the old home of Mary E. Horton, one of the very early Wellesley teachers. The old Horton homestead had been used as a convalescent home for students and faculty during the influenza epidemic in 1918; the apple trees in the courtyard, which were the inspiration for an annual apple blossom and strawberry shortcake festival during the years Horton House was the faculty club before it was remodeled in the late 1950s for faculty apartments, must have helped restore the morale of the flu victims. Hallowell

was named for another of the original faculty members, Susan M. Hallowell, who made her home with Miss Horton. At the rear of the property another apartment house, Shepard House, was built in 1930 with a bequest from Julia *Bone* Shepard, who was enrolled at Wellesley in 1877-78. The architect for all three buildings was Eliza *Newkirk* Rogers '00, who taught the courses in the history of architecture in the Art Department much of the time from 1906 until 1936.

Some of the other buildings which provide housing for members of the faculty and their families warrant at least brief mention. East Lodge and West Lodge now are quaint, rather charming small houses for faculty members. Ridgeway, on Norfolk Terrace, built in 1907, has had a long history as a dining room for students living in the village and as a faculty apartment house. Crawford House, named for the first Superintendent of Grounds, whose house it was originally, became a dormitory in 1923 and was "Maison Crawford," the French house, from 1931 until 1937. Since that time it has been assigned to a dean. During Miss Clapp's administration thirty-one houses and thirty-one apartments were made available on and off the campus for faculty members. In many respects the loveliest on the campus is "Acorns," the one-story brick house near Lake Waban and the Margaret Clapp Library. Its first occupant, in 1956, was Teresa G. Frisch, Professor of Art and Dean of Students. The houses on Service Drive beside the golf course were built beginning in 1949 and continuing until the early 1970s, the duplex apartments on Weston Terrace in 1959. Since 1953, when it was substantially remodeled, Fiske House has provided apartments for faculty members and administrative officers, but it has had perhaps the most varied history, as well as one of the longest, of all the campus buildings. Initially the public school in the village, it was moved onto the campus in 1894 through gifts from two trustees, William S. Houghton and Elisha S. Converse, and was enlarged and equipped as a dormitory through a gift from Mrs. Joseph N. Fiske of Boston. It was a "self-help" house until 1939, when it became a dormitory for graduate students, chiefly those in Hygiene and Physical Education.

Three of the Society Houses are also serving functions far different from those for which they were designed. Alpha Kappa Chi, the society devoted to the Classics, had the most diverse history: the house built in 1903-04 on the hillside opposite old Stone Hall was temporary headquarters for the Philosophy and Psychology Department after College Hall fire and was torn down in 1935-36; the second house, which was occupied in 1924, served during World War II as the snack bar when the Well in Alumnae Hall was the Navy's mess hall, and it became Harambee House, a black cultural and social center, in 1970. Also during Miss Adams' administration, Phi Sigma, built in 1900, and Agora, built in 1901, were

given to the College by their members. Phi Sigma is now the center for continuing education and for personal counseling services, and thanks to a gift in memory of Priscilla *Allen* Slater '16 from her husband, Ellis D. Slater, Agora has been converted into the Slater International Center. Shakespeare (1898), Zeta Alpha (1901), and Tau Zeta Epsilon (the first house was built in 1900, the present one in 1929) continue to exist as Societies with special interests in, respectively, Shakespearean drama, modern drama, and art and music.

Two other buildings seen on the present map of the campus also have changed roles over the years. Gray House, the home of a college employee when it was built in 1914, was used by the infirmary as an annex for contagious diseases from 1921 until the new clinic and hospital were built in 1942. Thereafter it was a dormitory for members of the domestic staff until the last few years, when it became a residence for men guests of students during term time and a vacation house for foreign students during Christmas and spring recesses.

Although the College rented most of the village houses which freshmen, and sometimes seniors, too, lived in for so many, many years, it owned a few which will long remain in the memories of alumnae. The Eliot, located on the southeast corner of Washington and Cottage Streets, where the parking lot for St. Andrew's Episcopal Church now is, was originally a dormitory for some of the young women employed in an adjoining shoe factory. Named for John Eliot, "the apostle to the Indians" in South Natick, it was purchased in 1886 by Horatio Hollis Hunnewell and Mrs. Durant, who subsequently gave their interests in it to the College. It was substantially enlarged in 1911 and eventually had sixty students in residence and a dining room for about 130. This large, white rambling structure was sold after the opening of Bates and Freeman Halls enabled all students to live on the campus. Noanett, the other relatively large village dormitory, stood on the corner of Washington Street and Weston Road. The romantic, and possibly true, story goes that it was named for an English Royalist who for many years masqueraded in the area as an Indian chieftain. Miss Hazard reported in 1903 that "A company of gentlemen in the village approached the college authorities with a proposition to build a dormitory in the village which the College shall rent. This has been done and the College has leased the building, which gives a home to 60 students and table board for 25 more." About two decades later, when the owners proposed a large increase in the rent, the College bought the old brown-shingled house.

And finally among the departed—and apparently unlamented—buildings was the piggery. I became mildly fascinated to notice that it was listed in every Treasurer's Report from 1887 until 1936-37, when the item showing a $1,500 piggery disappeared. Realizing that was the first

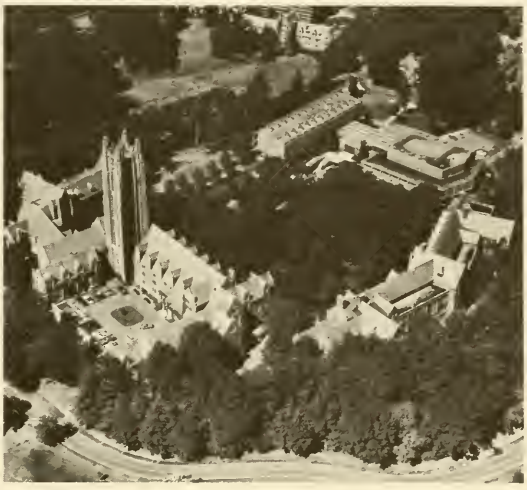
year of Mildred McAfee Horton's presidency, I could imagine her coming upon the probably unlovely anachronism and requesting its removal, and so in the course of an oral history interview I asked her about it. She disclaimed any knowledge of its existence or its destruction, although she did remember "the automotive equipment and a new grounds service building near 'the Pit' " on the golf course which, the Treasurer's Report for 1937-38 commented, allowed "the disappearance of the old barn and the slow-paced horses plodding over the campus." The piggery and the $1,315.35 blacksmith shop, one of the last to operate in this area, quietly disappeared from view and the Treasurer's Report. And I learned again the danger of uninformed interpretation of written records!

May Day in 1926: the Hen Coop; the Chapel and Old Stone Hall in the background; Dean Edith S. Tufts and President Ellen Fitz Pendleton watching from the steps of Founders Hall.

Miss Pendleton, known as "The Builder" because of her achievements in rebuilding the College after College Hall fire, and "Ariel," the electric car presented to her by the alumnae.

The Chapel, Music Hall, and Lake Waban.

The Academic Quad: Green Hall, Founders Hall, the Jewett Arts Center, and Pendleton Hall occupy what was formerly known as Norumbega Hill.



An aerial view of the campus from Homestead and the Wellesley College Club on the left to Alumnae Hall in the distance.

Galen Stone Tower and the steeple of the Chapel seen across the lake.

The Hazard Quadrangle (Beebe, Cazenove, Pomeroy, and Shafer Halls).

Founders and Green Halls viewed from across the meadow.

Munger Hall in the winter.

Whitin Observatory in the spring.

Mary Hemenway Hall and the Recreation Building.

The courtyard of Tower Court, where a sundial marks the site of College Hall Center. Claflin Hall is seen on the left, Severance Hall is glimpsed on the right.

The main entrance of the Margaret Clapp Library.

The bust of Elizabeth Barrett Browning and volumes from the Plimpton Collection pictured here are among the treasures in the Rare Book Room.

Alumnae Hall, opened in 1923, was the fulfillment of efforts begun in 1908 for "a students' building."

The completion of the Science Center will be the realization of a dream cherished since the very early years of the College.

Five of the columns of College Hall stand now as they did in 1875 when the College was opened.

Miss Pendleton, trowel in hand, at the cornerstone laying of Green Hall. On her left is Grace Crocker, who raised the funds for it.

President Margaret Clapp, the Rev. Dr. Palfrey Perkins, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Dean of Students Lucy Wilson at the dedication of Bates and Freeman Halls.

President Mildred McAfee laying the cornerstone of the Recreation Building.

George F. Jewett, Sr., speaking at the ground breaking for the Jewett Arts Center. Left to right: Paul R. Barstow, theatre; Hubert W. Lamb, music; Agnes Abbot, art; Alexander C. Forbes, Chairman of the Trustee Buildings and Grounds Committee; Miss Clapp; Dr. Perkins.

Laying the cornerstone of the Arts Center: Margaret Jewett Greer, Mrs. G. F. Jewett, Jr., Mr. Jewett, William Greer. Mary Cooper Jewett Gaiser.

George F. Jewett Sr.'s desire to have all music students "exposed to art" is a reality—and all visitors enjoy exhibitions in the corridor leading from the entrance of the Arts Center to the Music Building.

The Mary Cooper Jewett Art Building, which has what its architect called "man-made ivy."

At the dedication of the 14-inch telescope in 1966: Sarah J. Hill, Chairman of the Astronomy Department; President Ruth M. Adams; Mrs. Margaret Sawyer, the donor; John R. Quarles, Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

Ground breaking in 1973 for additions to the Library: Trustee Harriet Segal Cohn, President Newell, Librarian Helen Brown, Alumnae Association President Dorothy Dann Collins.

Galen Stone Tower, visible from all parts of the campus, is seen here from the terrace of Munger Hall. The coat-of-arms is in wrought iron.

KATHARINE C. BALDERSTON

The Great Fire

THE FIRE which destroyed College Hall in the early hours of March 17, 1914, was a decisive event in Wellesley history. It was so catastrophic that the young college, only thirty-nine years old, with slender financial backing, and already launching a million-dollar endowment fund for much-needed salary increases, might well have given up in despair. But Wellesley chose to live on. Although no undergraduate could even faintly realize the extent of the catastrophe, those of us who lived through it—the "fire generation" of 1914, '15, '16, and '17—knew that we were living through history, and having participated in it seemed a privilege. Many accounts of the event have, of course, appeared, beginning with Martha Hale Shackford's vivid and reliable account in the April 2 issue of the *Wellesley College News* (the first issue after the fire), and including the chapters in Florence Converse's and Alice Payne Hackett's histories of the College. The fact remains, however, that few recent graduates, or present-day undergraduates, have heard the tale, and a goodly number have not been aware that the GREAT FIRE ever took place. It seems appropriate, therefore, to include an account in this centennial volume of Wellesley history. The author has tried to authenticate the narrative by appealing directly to living memories, where this has been possible. If it succeeds in adding any facts, correcting any errors, or introducing for the first time any Wellesley women who never heard of the fire to a vital chapter of Wellesley history, the narrative will have served its purpose.

* * *

I must begin with the founder, who created College Hall according to his dream. Wellesley was blest both in the character and the gifts of Henry Fowle Durant. His combination of moral idealism, intellectual acumen, shrewd practicality, aesthetic sensitivity, and personal charm was, to put it mildly, remarkable. His unflagging care in supervising the builders' work during the four years of construction almost persuades one that not a brick took its place in the rising walls without Mr. Durant's eagle eye upon it. There were, we are told, seven million of them. The planning began with the choice of site on the elevated north shore of Lake Waban—now occupied by Tower Court, Claflin, and Severance. The view from this bank was as breathtaking then as it is today, a view which Matthew Arnold labeled "Extraordinary", and which lured him away from his proper place indoors in a reception line.

The ground plan of the building was in the shape of a papal cross—a central east-west axis broken by three intersecting wings. The central axis was four hundred and eighty feet long (also given by differing writers as four hundred and seventy-five and five hundred and seventy-five feet). Where the three shorter north-south wings crossed the central one there were spacious stairwells. The most important intersection was the central one—unforgettable College Hall Center. Here on the ground floor were the two major doorways of the building, one on the north side under an imposing columned porte cochère, the other on the south side opening on a pillared porch, from which a series of steps led down to lake-level. Stepping through either of these doorways, into the Center itself, was stepping into a fairy-tale—at least so it seemed to an unsophisticated freshman from the far west, accustomed to severely utilitarian school buildings. One found oneself in a lofty court, five stories high, glazed to let in sunlight. Each floor skirted this court with a wide balcony, protected by a hand-carved balustrade, each one of a distinctive design. On the ground floor itself, at the exact heart of the building, a large, beautifully designed marble basin held a tropical garden of palms and other exotic plants. The arcade which supported the second floor was formed of graceful, highly polished granite columns. This Center was the pride and joy of Mr. Durant's beauty-loving heart. In it he succeeded in his aim to reproduce the character and beauty of a Roman palazzo of the Renaissance. But it was characteristic of his shrewd practicality that at the same time he created the best possible place for informal assembly. Beginning with the seniors on ground level, each class had its separate floor. Here, packed in like sardines, one could see all of one's classmates. Here was the place for cheers and jubilation, or for important announcements such as election results. Among all the buildings since

created on campus, none has been able to rival the togetherness of College Hall Center.

The Durants were sure that beauty of surroundings was of paramount importance in the shaping of character, and they went to infinite pains to create it, both outdoors and indoors. A story is told of Mr. Durant that, when a complaint was made of the too heavy load of religious and domestic duties added to the students' serious academic work, he replied by saying, "I hope to make [College Hall] so beautiful that the girls will forgive it the work and the prayer."

No one today would wax enthusiastic over Mr. Durant's choice of paintings, etchings, and casts of classic statuary with which to adorn the corridors and public rooms of College Hall. I doubt if Mr. Durant had ever heard of French Impressionism, which made its European début in the 1870s. But the pictures he chose were in the best tradition of the Academic School then in vogue in America, and Elihu Vedder's Cumean Sybil made a lifelong impression on many an undergraduate. We may all live to see these pictures come back into favor again, if not as masterpieces, yet as delightful period pieces.

The architectural style of the building itself, like the works of art it housed, has long gone out of style, but it was a perfect example of its type, the French Second Empire, developed in France in the reign of Napoleon III, introduced in New York by William Morris Hunt and John McArthur, Jr., and adopted in Boston by the architect Hammatt Billings. Mr. Durant admired his work and chose him to design College Hall. They worked so closely together that it is impossible to know how much of the design was Billings' and how much Mr. Durant's. Billings died a year before the building was completed, but not before he had looked upon his handiwork and found it good. He labeled it his masterpiece. Mr. and Mrs. Durant seem to have been equally satisfied.*

The chief characteristics of Second Empire style were all abundantly present—the exterior features of mansard roof and a multiplicity of nonfunctional towers, spires, and pavilions, and the interior use of ceiling-high windows, stained glass, and black-walnut paneling. The Browning Room was a concentrated example of the interior style at its most elaborate—carved teak furniture, flower-painted panels, stained-glass windows. Curiously enough the building, in spite of its over-ornamentation, achieved a quiet dignity and serenity. Its grand scale and commanding

* A carefully-made plaster model of the building may be seen in the Wellesley archives of the Margaret Clapp Library, made after the fire by Edwin P. Monagham, the official in charge of the building at the time of the fire. He worked from photographs and from memory.

site contributed to this effect. Even the statues which adorned the halls and public parlors were of heroic size, drawn to scale—Niobe, Diana, Polyhymnia, classic figures all. The only statue of a modern woman allowed to compete in size was that of Harriet Martineau, carved in granite by Anne Whitney, the American sculptress. Miss Martineau was the most celebrated "emancipated woman" of the Victorian period, the champion of all far-out causes from the abolition of slavery to the adoption of Comte's Positivism. Although she was not enthroned on the west side of the palms until June of 1886, after Mr. Durant's death, she surely would have found favor in his eyes as an inspiring exemplar for his girls. She became the focus of a favorite undergraduate rite—putting the freshmen "through Harriet", which meant dragging them face down between the pedestal and rungs of Harriet's granite chair. (Wellesley girls then as now took their shining models with a grain of salt.)

Originally this great, benign building was like a medieval nunnery in its self-sufficiency. By 1914, of course, many other buildings had relieved the pressure, but it still contained living quarters for two hundred and sixteen people, with dining and social rooms for both students and faculty, twenty-eight classrooms, an assembly hall (the old chapel) large enough to seat nearly the whole student body, a large study-hall (the old library), laboratories for the departments of geology, physics, psychology, and zoology, all the administrative offices, and all departmental offices except art, astronomy, chemistry, hygiene, and music. It was still the nerve-center without which one could not imagine Wellesley to exist.

On March 16, 1914, College Hall wore its familiar aspect. A brief jubilation occurred in Center after chapel to cheer the Wellesley debating team, which had just returned from defeating Mount Holyoke at South Hadley. The corridors, between classes, buzzed with girls' voices. By the west-end elevator door the El Table functioned briskly. Mr. Tailby, the village florist, displayed his rosebuds at Center to tempt all passers-by. That evening a violin concert by a child prodigy, Nidelka Simenova, took place in the assembly hall, the proceeds from which (which turned out to be $179.76) were to aid the Bulgarian orphans of the Balkan War. (Little did we dream that we would have destitute ones of our own on our own doorstep before daylight came again.) The weather on that fateful night was normal for the date, ranging from a low of 43° to a high of 49°. The winter snow was withering away, but holding in low spots and shady places. As darkness fell a snow-fog formed, which became denser as the night progressed. There was no wind.

Then came the terrible event. At 4:30 A.M., the very nadir of human vitality, two seniors, Virginia Moffat and Miriam Grover, who shared a suite on the fourth floor across the corridor from the zoology laboratory, were aroused (I quote Miriam Grover's own words) "by a strange sound

of crackling and falling embers, and an eerie orange light through the transom of our door. As I went to the door Jinny followed me and said, 'Go tell Miss Davis' [Olive Davis, Head of Residence], which I did in my nightie, barefooted. I raced to the other end of College Hall and banged on Miss Davis' door. She did not come to the door but told me to let Miss Tufts [Edith Souther Tufts, College Registrar] know, on the floor below, and by the time I had told her the alarm had been given [by the sounding of the great Japanese bell-gong on the third floor center balcony] and we were all gathering in Center. I never went back to my room." Virginia Moffat, meanwhile, had raced to alert the night watchman at the front (north) door, who told her that the other watchman was on his rounds. The only help he gave her, as far as she remembers, was the offer of a fire-extinguisher.

While these two were rousing the authorities, two other undergraduates on the fourth floor seem to have realized almost simultaneously the need for a general alarm, and both thought of the great bronze bell-gong on third-floor-center, normally used as a dinner gong. The two were Charlotte Donnell, a senior, and Tracy L'Engle, a junior, living near each other on the fourth floor. Together they ran to the gong, on the floor below. It is difficult to tell which girl struck first, as they remember it differently. But the most likely reconstruction is that Tracy struck first, giving the gong two resounding blows before handing the mallet over to Charlotte and racing off to find Miss Tufts. Charlotte continued to beat the gong until the electric corridor bells (at Miss Tufts' order) began their clamor. Charlotte Donnell writes: "I was *the last* to make the gong sound, which I have more personal feeling about than whether I was the first to ring it." Actually, the gong sounded once more, though not through the agency of human hands. Mr. Monaghan, the building superintendent, salvaging with his men at the east end of the doomed building, heard one deep sonorous note as the gong fell through to the fiery furnace beneath, and was forever silenced.

These undergraduates, however, who have been enshrined as the heroines of the fire, refuse to accept that rôle, protesting that those who had set up and enforced the strict fire-drill rules were the true heroines and deserve the principal credit for the remarkable fact that no lives were lost nor any serious bodily injury sustained. These rules had been drawn up by Olive Davis in 1902 when she was appointed as Director of the Halls of Residence by President Hazard. Then, when the Student Government Association was founded in 1906, fire drills were placed under its jurisdiction. Under its direction a fire chief was elected by the senior class, who was responsible to Miss Davis. Each dormitory then elected its own fire chief, who in turn appointed lieutenants, each of whom headed a squad of twenty or twenty-five girls. On hearing the fire-alarm, each girl was

to close her windows and transom, turn on her electric lights, leave the room, closing the door behind her, and march with her squad in single file to an appointed place in first-floor center. The squad lieutenant had to see that all regulations had been carried out before joining her charges. The fire-chief of 1913 had insisted, against the judgment of Dr. Katharine Raymond, the college physician, on permission for an unannounced night drill, which had in fact taken place before the fire. Virginia Moffat and Miriam Grover are sure that this night drill was a major factor in preventing panic when the ordeal by fire actually took place, many girls assuming that this was simply another practice night drill.

Surely this mistaken assumption must have contributed at the outset to the remarkable behavior of the students. But by the time that the group were assembled at Center nobody could have been ignorant of the reality of the fire. Firebrands were already falling on them from above, yet all of them quietly awaited the signal for going. The unanimous testimony of all that went through the experience was that no one spoke the word "fire," no one panicked, no one broke ranks to rush back for some cherished possession.* Courage and self-control, it seems, are as contagious as panic. Even when eight people were found to be missing and Miss Davis had to postpone dismissal until they could be found or accounted for, there was no outcry. The palms were beginning to shrivel when the final dismissal took place. Most of the students left by the great north door, or by the flanking windows, a smaller number by the south door. Incredible as it may seem, the time-lapse from the first discovery of the fire at 4:30 A.M. to the final exit of the last student was only ten minutes.

In those ten minutes many crises threatened, many small dramas were acted out. It was the faculty, sixteen of whom lived in the doomed building, who caused the greatest anxiety. Mrs. Julia J. Irvine, former President of the College and serving that year as a temporary member of the French Department, had gone to Cambridge for the night without informing anyone, and her locked door had to be broken open to ascertain her absence. Miss Elizabeth Fisher of the Geology Department had been ill and did not respond to the alarm, which made it necessary for Muriel Arthur '15, fire-captain of College Hall, to return to the fourth floor to rout her out, while the fire was already blocking the stairway by

* One must except the many short dashes back before the squads were in marching order. One especially cherished tale is of Gladys Gorman, a junior who happened to be treasurer both of her class and of her society, who remembered the dues money locked in her desk drawer above, flew back three steps at a time, found her keys in her cherished Princeton blazer pocket, extracted her money, carefully relocked the drawer, replaced the key in the blazer pocket and fled, leaving the blazer to burn up. Some unknown Santa Claus later sent her a replacement.

which she had ascended. (She should surely be numbered among the heroines of the fire.) Miss Mary Whiton Calkins, the distinguished head of the Philosophy Department, was spending the night in her office on the isolated fifth-floor center, unbeknownst to anyone, but was mercifully aroused in time to escape from that isolated and vulnerable spot. Her first thought was for Miss Mary S. Case, her colleague in the department, who was a wheel-chair invalid. When she reached her on the third floor she found her already alerting others by wheeling herself from door to door. Accounts differ as to how she finally reached ground-floor. Did she slide down, as one account has it? Did two doughty students carry her down, wheel-chair and all? Somehow, under Miss Calkins' watchful eye, she reached safety.

There were, of course, moments of comedy in the tense drama. One which the students found irresistibly comic involved two of the most dignified and formidable of the resident faculty members—Miss Ellen Burrell of the Mathematics Department and Miss Sophie Hart of the English Composition Department. Miss Burrell was so convinced that this too was "only a drill" that she refused to rouse herself until Miss Hart across the hall, after two unsuccessful attempts to convince the skeptic, slammed the door with the parting shot, "Well, burn then!" This tale may be apochryphal. The occasion spawned legends. The skeptic in question at any rate did rouse herself and escape.

As soon as the students were released and could tear themselves away from the awesome spectacle before them they began forming lines to aid in the work of salvage. Many treasures could still be saved, including all the contents of the Browning Room with its precious first editions and the two portait busts of Robert and Elizabeth. Books, pictures, records, passed in bucket-brigade style down College Hall hill and across the green to the basement of the library. Everybody worked at salvage as if her life depended on it—and all done, for the most part, in bathrobes and bedroom slippers, in a temperature close to 40°. One observer of the spectacle likened the girls' organized behavior to that of honey-bees instinctively repairing their hive.

The senior officials in charge, Miss Tufts, Miss Davis, and Miss Mary Frazer Smith, Secretary to the Dean, set memorable examples. No account of the fire can omit the feats of Miss Smith. After failing to save her own desk and files, she calmly took charge of the key to the Dean's office, which she found on the rescued keyboard outside the north door, and with Mr. Monaghan's aid rescued the academic records of all the Wellesley students from 1875 to the current year. It then occurred to her that the recently completed schedule for the June final exams had burned up (a very complicated schedule indeed), so she simply said, "I will write it out while I still remember it," and proceeded to do so.

In spite of all the salvage there were, of course, enormous losses of books. All of the Physics Library of 2,500 volumes and all of the Zoology Library of 1,440 volumes burned up, as did all but 125 volumes of Wellesley's unique Library of North American Languages. This latter included the invaluable collection made by John Wesley Powell of Grand Canyon fame. The total loss in books was 5,661 volumes. The saving of paintings and engravings was more successful, as these were hung largely on the walls of the lower floors.

By six o'clock when those of us living in other dormitories were allowed to get out and join the throng on the green we viewed a scene of terrifying splendor. The flames by that time had swept all the way to the east end. The mansard roof had collapsed, dumping its heavy load of slates into the inferno below. The great towers flanking the north entrance had fallen. It was a windless morning as well as a foggy one, but the fire created its own wind. Live embers were found as far away as Phi Sigma's front walk. It was a small miracle that no other building was ignited. The flames illuminated the swirling fog-banks till they resembled a Gustave Doré illustration of hell.

Not so awe-inspiring but every bit as engrossing to the undergraduates was the spectacle of our revered elders charging about in bathrobes and bedroom slippers. Miss Pendleton was there, patrolling the bucket-brigades to make sure that no girl needed more clothing. Olive Davis swooped about like a Valkyrie, her long plait of gray hair flying out behind.

Incredible as it may seem, the entire building was gutted by 8:15. The structure that had been four years abuilding was destroyed in less than four hours.

All students were ordered back to their dormitory breakfasts and told to attend chapel service at 8:30. (College Hall waifs were somehow parceled out.) Like every other event of that momentous morning, the chapel service was something never to be forgotten. President Pendleton assumed there the stature of leadership she was never afterward to lose. After giving thanks to God for the all-but-miraculous safety of all College Hall inmates, she read the 91st Psalm and St. Paul's declaration of trust in the love of God, from *Romans* 8, which rang with new meaning for all of us. She then calmly announced that the College was dismissed for its normal spring vacation, one week earlier than planned, and would reassemble in three weeks on April 7. The choir then marched out (without organ accompaniment, as the electric power was out of order) triumphantly singing, "Who trusts in God a strong abode. . . ." Before nightfall most of the students had gone home or to the home of friends, in borrowed clothing and on borrowed money (most generously loaned by the village bank), leaving the college authorities to cope with what seemed an impossible situation.

The way they coped is graphically illustrated by the fact that when the College reassembled, three weeks later, that useful and much-maligned wooden building which the students christened the Hen-Coop had sprung up on the lawn between the Chapel and the Library and was ready for use, with all necessary plumbing, wiring, and heating installed. It housed all the necessary administrative offices and classrooms, the college post-office, and the psychology laboratory. It remained in partial use until March 17, 1931, when the college community joined in a glorious bash of demolition.

It is not within the assigned scope of this narrative to tell the remarkable story of Wellesley's phoenix-like rise from the ashes, or of how the alumnae and friends of the College rallied to raise the necessary millions. The very extremity of Wellesley's need loosened purse-strings, as did the nation-wide admiration for the disciplined courage with which students and staff met their ordeal by fire, and for the cheerful resourcefulness with which they plunged into raising money for the rebuilding. All of this would need a book in the telling.

To return to the immediate scene of the fire on that fateful morning of March 17, 1914—what was left? There loomed the great ruin, its brick walls still standing, but all the wooden parts gone and the roof fallen in, leaving dizzying vistas down precipitous narrow canyons of brick. The wood, all hard seasoned western ash, resistant to fire, when it once ignited burned like a charcoal furnace in the basement, with such intense heat that two weeks later workmen were unable to touch without gloves a marble statue lying there. The fire smoldered until late April.

The only parts of the original structure which escaped relatively unharmed were the dining-service (north) end of the west wing and the three colonnaded entrances, the south porch, the north porte cochère, and the small east porch. The saving of the kitchen-dining end was ironically due to the iron fire-wall Mr. Durant had decreed in order to save the main building in case of a fire in the kitchen end. This fragment, after serving many useful purposes, was finally torn down in 1962. Another fragment, the north-west cornerstone laid by Mrs. Durant on September 14, 1871, was discovered and saved by the demolition crew, and was used as the north-west cornerstone of Tower Court—seldom noted by the passerby. The three colonnaded entrances have received a kindlier fate. Many of the columns themselves were broken in the demolition of the ruin, but were piled no farther away than the parking lot of the power plant. Later, when the parking space was enlarged and the history of the columns all but forgotten, they were unceremoniously dumped in the margin of the Service Center on the golf course. Here quite recently they were discovered by Eleanor Blair, alumnae president of the Class of 1917, who had the imagination to see the value those broken pillars

might have for all lovers of Wellesley if they could be reassembled and erected in an appropriate spot on the campus. With financial support from the Class of 1917, they have been so assembled and erected in a spot not far from the tablet marking the center of old College Hall, in a graceful crescent at the foot of the steps leading up the Tower Court hill from the Margaret Clapp Library. A bronze plaque close by tells their story. Future generations of Wellesley girls may pause, read, and seek further knowledge of that long-since-vanished center of the old Wellesley.

The chronicler looks in vain for an answer to the inevitable query: how did the fire originate? As far as I can discover, neither President Pendleton herself nor any person in authority ever made a public statement on this moot topic. Many hypothetical explanations were made—spontaneous combustion of chemicals in the zoological laboratory, damage to the electrical wiring caused by mice, and faulty electrical apparatus were the favored theories. Since none of these could be proved, college historians, beginning with Martha Hale Shackford '96, Professor of English Literature, who wrote the superb (anonymous) account of the fire in the April 2, 1914, issue of the *Wellesley College News,* have simply stated that the origin of the fire is unknown. A document which has come to my attention seems, however, to throw the weight of probability on "faulty electrical apparatus." The document is a manuscript booklet of Wellesley memories, now in our Wellesley archives, composed by Edwin P. Monaghan, who was then assistant to the Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds, and was himself directly in charge of College Hall. In it he briefly but positively laid the blame for the fire on an electrical incubator for the propagation of beetles in the zoology laboratory, housed in a wooden frame which he considered easily inflammable and highly dangerous, and about which he had warned his employers. No hint of this has ever been made public. Could the motive have been a humane desire to spare the feelings of the beetle-propagator? The professor in question lost her life's work in the holocaust and that was grief enough for one human being to bear.

Another question arises to plague the historian. Why did the fire, once started, make such lightning progress that it could not be controlled, even though fire assistance came from every surrounding town? The answer seems to be that Mr. Durant, with all his practical good sense and foresight, had not taken a realistic view of fire danger. The earliest fire precautions had been ludicrously inadequate, consisting of twenty hand pumps, each flanked by six pails of water and manned by a fire brigade of six girls and a captain. (This might have worked effectively for a fire in a waste basket.) As we have seen, the later fire-drill rules worked superbly, but they were all designed for the safety of human beings and

ignored the building. The very design of that building made it into a fire trap, as several contemporary accounts point out. There were only two fireproof walls in the entire structure, the one already alluded to by which the kitchen-dining wing could be sealed off, and one separating the trunk room on the fifth-floor center from the main building. We are told also in Miss Shackford's memorial brochure that the floor of the chapel had been made fireproof in order to protect the library below it. What the fireproofing consisted of is not disclosed. The architectural design of the building as a whole, with its unbroken corridors stretching the entire length of the building, and the three great stairwells, especially the five-story-high updraft of Center, were all ready-made flues for the giant bonfire.

The main cause for the failure of all attempts to quench the fire was, of course, the inadequacy of the water pressure. The fire hoses could not reach above the third floor. Why the college authorities had not discovered this before is a mystery. Perhaps they had, but had not envisioned the possibility of a fire starting on the fourth floor.

The College Hall fire meant many things to many people. Everyone had her own store of memories, often conflicting with those of others. But on one effect of the fire I think all would agree: we were all shaken into a fresh awareness of the value of life and out of our particular selfish shells. And we learned that we could survive disaster. Miss Case, the philosopher who escaped in her wheel-chair, expressed her own sense of the fire's value for all of us when she said, "I have spent all my life teaching people that things that are seen are temporal, and now we have the chance of our lives to prove that the things that are unseen are eternal."

Despite assistance from the fire departments of all of the surrounding towns as well as that of Wellesley, College Hall was gutted in less than four hours. This was the scene on the morning of March 17, 1914.

The total destruction of the long corridor was almost inconceivable.

The shell of the building as it stood on the hill on May Day 1914, when sophomores formed the seniors' numerals.

BARBARA P. McCARTHY

Anniversary Celebrations

The Twenty-Fifth

When Caroline Hazard was inaugurated with due ceremony as the fifth president of Wellesley on October 3, 1899, (the eighteenth anniversary of Mr. Durant's death), very little was made of the fact that the College that fall was starting its quarter-centennial year. Of the distinguished guests who spoke at the chapel exercises and the inaugural luncheon (five college presidents and George Herbert Palmer) only President Eliot of Harvard made any reference to the anniversary. "To be sure," he said, "Wellesley College has twenty-four good years behind it." To President Eliot, President of Harvard since 1869, six years before Wellesley opened its doors, those "twenty-four good years" were still part of a dubious experiment. With what *The Churchman* on October 14, 1899, termed "somewhat unchivalrous brusquerie," he proceeded to instruct the new President of Wellesley on the uncertainties still involved in higher education for women: "It remains to show how an elaborate intellectual training may be given women without affecting injuriously any of their bodily powers and functions" and "It would be a wonder indeed if the intellectual capacities of women were not at least as unlike those of men as their bodily capacities are."

But *pace* Mr. Eliot, women in 1900 were firmly taking their place in the academic world. A year to the day after Miss Hazard's inauguration, on October 3, 1900, Smith College welcomed a large assembly of educational leaders to celebrate its quarter-centennial. Among its alumnae speakers on that occasion were two Wellesley professors, Vida Dutton Scudder, speaking for philanthropy and Mary Whiton Calkins, speaking for scholarship. The new President of Wellesley was also on the program, reminding the Smith assembly that she brought congratulations

from "I might almost say a twin sister college, since Wellesley and Smith have the same year of birth."

The only official celebration of Wellesley's twenty-fifth anniversary took place on Alumnae Day, June 27, 1900. It was a family party which included the surviving founder, Mrs. Durant, and others who had known the College from its beginning. (Strange now to think of a Wellesley reunion in which the oldest alumnae were women in their middle forties.) The main event on the program was an "historical address" by Louise *McCoy* North '79, trustee and former member of the faculty, in which she paid tribute to Wellesley's Founders, its Builders, its Benefactors, and its Daughters. The "Wellesley type," she stated, was "not yet fully fixed" but "we who belong to her brief past and those who shall immediately follow us are forming it. To us is given the moulding of a Wellesley yet to be." Following Mrs. North's talk came a dinner, "the largest in the history of the College, over five hundred sitting down." According to Miss Hazard in her President's Report for 1900, "the speeches on that occasion were both brilliant and touching." Of Mrs. Durant's words she wrote, "No one who was there would ever forget that speech and the hush which fell at the end of it." Sad that so memorable a text was not preserved!

The Fiftieth

By 1925 the higher education for women was well past the experimental stage. In fact, in a talk at Wellesley's Semi-Centennial, President Lowell of Harvard, President Eliot's successor, went so far as to call the College a Pallas Athena sprung fifty years before, "fully armed and endowed with all the wisdom of the time," from the head of Zeus (Zeus of course being colleges for men). And in the same speech, with a slight change of metaphor, he conveyed congratulations from the men's colleges, "marveling like other elder brothers that their sister had grown so tall and fair." A feminist of 1975 might suspect some degree of condescension in these compliments, but there is no doubt that they were sincerely intended. Under Caroline Hazard and Ellen Fitz Pendleton the College had acquired a solid national and international reputation. Alumnae and friends everywhere were proud of its achievements and eager to do it honor.

Plans for the fiftieth birthday were discussed as early as the fall of 1920, and separate committees set up to raise a Semi-Centennial Fund (the achievements of the Fund Committee are reported in the chapter on the College's financial resources) and to organize an appropriate anniversary celebration. The Celebration Committee from the beginning of its deliberations visualized a solemn convocation, a sort of *Te Deum* in

the spring of 1925, with guests from other colleges and universities. But the fiftieth birthday seemed to them to call also for something special, a gala extravaganza that would be peculiarly Wellesley's. For two years, according to Katharine Lee Bates, chairman of the committee, they discussed and rejected suggestion after suggestion until Marie *Warren* Potter '07 "came up with a veritable inspiration born from memories of Miss Hart's classroom." "Mrs. Potter," Miss Bates wrote in the *Alumnae Magazine,* "sped down to my study and we turned to the golden pages" —of Plato's *Phaedrus* and the myth of recollection. Between them they envisioned a great pageant which should represent landmarks in art, literature, and science (the material of a liberal curriculum) in terms of the soul's recollection of "Absolute Beauty." The committee with unanimous relief approved the idea and Mrs. Potter set out to create the script.

In the meantime other distinguished events were scheduled to mark the year 1924-25, notably a concert by the Boston Symphony Orchestra October 30, 1924, the first appearance of Serge Koussevitzky at Wellesley. The Trustees sponsored three Semi-Centennial faculty publications: Laura E. Hibbard, *Medieval Romance in England;* Elizabeth Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in 18th Century England;* and Flora MacKinnon, *Philosophy of Henry Moore.* (Later a fourth volume was added to the series, *Latin Themes* by Adeline B. Hawes, who retired in 1925.) In addition to this official series, there was a book of *Wellesley Verse 1875-1925* edited by Miss Shackford, 200 poems by 100 authors bound in Wellesley blue. Mr. Macdougall prepared a Semi-Centennial edition of the *Wellesley Songbook* and Adonais of the *News* contributed a volume of crossword puzzles. The pages of the Wellesley College *News* attest to a flurry of campus activities in 1924-25—concerts, plays, dramatic readings, sales of merchandise and personal services—aimed at aiding the Semi-Centennial Fund.

But the event which dominated the College, beginning in the middle of April, was the pageant of *The Winged Soul,* headlined in the *News* of April 16 as the "Most Spectacular Project Ever Launched at Wellesley—Embodies Plato's Doctrine of the Soul in a Presentation of Remarkable Imaginative Beauty." Professional designer and illustrator Dugald Stuart Walker, Director of the Studio Theater in New York, was engaged to design the pageant and to direct it along with the author, Mrs. Potter. The combination of these two, the *News* said, would make possible to Wellesley the "expression of the transcendental," and indeed Fannie *Lester* Hengst '26 still remembers how Mr. Walker strove to weld the cast of over 200 into some sort of "mystical whole." After each inspirational talk "he raised a vial that he said contained a drop of water from all the bodies of water in the world and he took a sip of it." Mrs. Potter meanwhile was concerned with the problem of how to make 180 indi-

vidual characters and five groups numbering from twenty to fifty "move smoothly and exquisitely across the stage of Alumnae Hall"—this when members of the cast were frequently absent from rehearsal for a "multiplicity of extra-academic engagements." In a letter to the *News* Mrs. Potter pleaded, "Success or shameful failure is literally in your hands." While the huge cast rehearsed or cut rehearsals or cut classes to attend rehearsals, hundreds of other students were busy creating sets (twenty-three) and costumes (189 individual designs) combining, as the publicity insisted, "utmost economy with an unstinted outlay of artistic talent." All this activity was to climax with the first performance of *The Winged Soul* on Saturday evening, May 23, following a very simplified Tree Day program that same afternoon. The following week would not only include three more performances of the pageant, but also Float Night, and the great academic convocation, the one day on which classes would be omitted. During this week of celebrations students were asked to double up, to sleep on army cots, in order to leave room for outside guests and alumnae. All this ominously close to final examinations. No wonder an occasional note of panic crept into editorials and free press in the College *News*. Will the faculty "make allowances?" As Katharine Lee Bates was to acknowledge later, "Both fatigue and strain there have been to a degree far beyond what was anticipated," but, she went on, "Success is a strong tonic."

And Wellesley's Semi-Centennial was a triumphant success beginning with the transcendental pageant, unified by the continuous presence of the Winged Soul, "a sophomore tall and slender in pure white" (Ellen *Bartlett* Ballou '27). Intellectual history was unrolled through processions, dances, music, dramatic scenes, and "living pictures." All the critics appeared to have had some favorite moment—the love scene from *Romeo and Juliet,* for example, or the procession of artisans, or the death of Brunhilde. The "living pictures" imitated life so perfectly in the TZE technique developed by Hetty Wheeler '02 that many of the guests could not believe they were posed. "Dante's Dream of Beatrice" by Rosetti, according to Katharine Lee Bates, "deceived even so acute an observer as the President of our twin college" (President Neilson of Smith). One of the most successful pictures came at the climax of the pageant. It was a stained glass window of the risen Christ in opalescent white, flanked by two narrower windows depicting works of mercy, with the legend, "Non ministrari sed ministrare." The composition must have been suggested by the Durant memorial windows in the chancel of the chapel (Christ in Glory, with smaller windows representing Call to Service and Life of Service) which the alumnae were about to present to the College as an anniversary gift. At the first performance, the pageant had an epilogue representing the memorial in the chapel to Alice Freeman Pal-

mer with the "daughters of the day taking up the quest." But this personal application of the play's message must have proved anticlimactic for it was cut in later performances. The News Hound lamented this omission in a limping limerick:

> There was a young lady of pageant
> Who flew in a terrible tangent
> When the one scene in which she was seen
> Was cut by an unfeeling agent.

Katharine Lee Bates prophesied that after the fatigue and strain were gone, "through many years to come the memory of those long strange weary vigils at Alumnae Hall will shine with an ever softer and more bewitching light." In this softer light Fannie *Lester* Hengst recently mused on "poor Lilith" (Lilith Lidsen, President of Barnswallows and much involved in the whole pageant), "who had to climb a very very high ladder to stand in a picture portraying Christ, and who with examinations and the pageant and everything looked more and more tired every rehearsal, so that we were always afraid she was going to fall off the ladder before she reached the fresco, mural—whatever you called it—that was up there high on the stage."

The great convocation was Friday, May 29, with sunny skies in the morning and cooling rain in the late afternoon "when it would not spoil anything." According to the *Boston Globe* the academic procession took two hours to form. Delegates (including forty-three college presidents) from 153 institutions were ranged in order of the date of founding, from Oxford University and the University of Paris in the twelfth century to Russell Sage in 1916. In line also were the trustees and faculty of Wellesley, important dignitaries of town and state led by Lieutenant Governor Allen, whose daughter Mary was Marshal of this division, candidates for honorary degrees, delegates from alumnae classes and clubs, representative Wellesley students, and, showing that Wellesley does not forget her friends, student delegates from those sister colleges which had sent contributions to the restoration fund after the College Hall fire (Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Simmons, Smith, Sweet Briar, and Vassar). Much thought obviously went into the program, which was keyed to thanksgiving and joy from the organ prelude to the postlude. Singing included the processional hymn, "Love divine, all love excelling," arranged by Professor Macdougall, an anniversary hymn composed for the occasion by Caroline Hazard, sung midway through the service, and for recessional Katharine Lee Bates's "America, the Beautiful." Two local ministers pronounced the invocation and benediction.

The first half of the exercises included a greeting from the President of the Board of Trustees, Edwin Farnham Greene, greetings on behalf

of the men's colleges and universities of New England from Abbott Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard, greetings on behalf of the women's colleges from Mary Emma Woolley, President of Mount Holyoke and former member of Wellesley's Biblical History Department, who wished Wellesley "Godspeed for the next fifty years." Following the singing of the anniversary hymn, the main address was given by James Rowland Angell, President of Yale. In a serious indictment of current education he questioned the intellectual commitment of most college students. Some extracurricular activities he recognized as legitimate, but he urged that many of the "sideshows" be eliminated.

The formal exercises culminated in the conferring of honorary degrees, a momentous event since the College had previously given only one such degree, Doctor of Science to Madame Curie in 1921. Now to mark Wellesley's first half century the degree of LL.D. was conferred on the two preceding presidents of Wellesley and on three alumnae. The citations read by President Pendleton were brief, but they convey admirably the essence of these five Wellesley women:

> Julia Josephine Irvine—"Fourth president of Wellesley College, Greek scholar, inspiring teacher, who at the call of duty left the classroom to carry the tasks of the president's office with rare insight and gallant and courageous spirit."
>
> Caroline Hazard—"Whose administration as fifth president of Wellesley College was marked by high endeavor and visible achievement, a stranger in 1899, today a member of the Board of Trustees, a generous friend, honored and acclaimed by faculty, alumnae, and her fellow trustees."
>
> Helen Barrett Montgomery—"Who adds to a wise and brilliant Christian leadership the achievement of a scholar in the Centenary Translation of the New Testament from the Greek text."
>
> Annie Jump Cannon—"Author of the Henry Draper Catalogue and responsible for the Harvard classification of the stellar spectra which is accepted by astronomers of all countries, the foremost woman astronomer in the United States, known and honored in other lands."
>
> Katharine Lee Bates—"For forty years the moving force in one of the strongest departments in the college, cherished in the hearts of all alumnae, scholar, poet, and author of the greatest of our national hymns."

The press recorded the degree-giving with appropriate solemnity, but in a letter from Miss Hazard to a friend we learn of one less dignified moment. "Did anyone tell you," Miss Hazard wrote, "about getting the

hood over my head after my degree? Miss Waite is not very tall and she stood on the step below me and some way or other my cap got knocked off, but I caught and jammed it on again." Miss Hazard evidently recovered her composure in time to make a graceful speech responding for all the recipients of honorary degrees. In Miss Pendleton, she suggested, Mrs. Irvine had a "living memorial," for, she recalled, when she became president twenty-six years before, her predecessor had advised her, "There is a young woman in the Mathematics Department who will bear watching. Keep your eyes on Ellen Fitz Pendleton."

For these memorable ceremonies the chapel, of course, could hold only a few invited guests in addition to the academic procession. According to the 1926 *Legenda,* most of the undergraduates and visiting alumnae had to be content to watch the procession outside, marveling at the "gorgeous array of academic robes and so many distinguished people." Then they assembled in Billings Hall to hear the exercises over a loud speaker. For distant hearers the whole program was broadcast over WBZ, the first time a radio program had ever originated at Wellesley College.

Early plans had called for luncheons in various dormitories, but instead a tent was erected on Tower Court Hill where all could eat together and hear more congratulatory speeches, this time by President Neilson of Smith, Dean Gildersleeve of Barnard, and Professor Alfred North Whitehead representing Victoria University in Manchester, England. Professor Whitehead caught the imagination of all the reporters with an account of a "true symbolic pageant," which he had witnessed the day before as he sat "by the banks of the lake in the golden sunlight." A young student had suddenly appeared, walked backward to the springboard and dived backward into the lake—"Young America walking backward and diving into the enchanted lake of the unknown, and there is nothing sinister about it." Of those cautious men who in the past had opposed women's education he had this to say, "If we had taken the advice of that kind of man, we would still be eating acorns." At the luncheon Miss Pendleton read congratulatory cables from Yenching University, from institutions in the United States and England, and from alumnae in California, Peking, India, Japan, and Paris. Indeed Wellesley alumnae in Paris on the same day, May 29, were holding their own Semi-Centennial dinner in the University Women's Club at 4 Rue de Chevreuse. ("Price 40 francs. Husbands welcome.") Parisian pride in their *alma mater* was intensified by an anniversary gift to Wellesley College from the French Government: two large Sèvres vases and busts by Hudon of Washington and Franklin, which had been presented on April 17 in a ceremony at the Elysée Palace.

The rest of the day included open house with special exhibits of the various departments, a Phi Beta Kappa dinner, addressed by Professor

Chauncey Tinker of Yale and President McCracken of Vassar, and, of course, in the evening another performance of *The Winged Soul,* part of which, like the events of the morning, was broadcast by radio. During rehearsals of *The Winged Soul* the cast had been frequently reminded that the pageant would "represent Wellesley to the world." From notices in newspapers and journals it is clear that not only in the pageant, but in the whole Semi-Centennial celebration, Wellesley projected a very attractive public image. The *Boston Post,* for example, termed the events a "tribute to educated, emancipated womanhood and to this women's college which in its brief fifty years has done so much to make this emancipation possible." To judge from editorials in the *News,* students of Wellesley too were suddenly aware of the larger meaning of the College, that "it is infinitely more and infinitely greater than the present student body." Reviewing the past and proud of the present, they were also thinking ahead to the future, wondering "What will it be like when I come back for the centennial?" A reporter in the *Boston Globe* caught this Semi-Centennial mood in a snatch of conversation late in the day between a father and his daughter, one of the energetic "undergraduates with their short skirts and bobbed hair" (the flappers of 1925), who had earlier been starting taxis and directing traffic. "I wonder," the girl said, "what it will be like fifty years from now." The father replied that he couldn't imagine, but went on to point out that he and his wife in their college days never could have guessed that their daughter would be as she was, "easy-mannered, frank, unafraid of any situation, conducting herself for all the world like any man at college."

The Seventy-Fifth

In the *Alumnae Magazine* for February 1950 Helen *Willis* Knight '25, writing of "the middle twenties" (the era of "flappers" and of "flaming youth") showed that after twenty-five years the Semi-Centennial was still vivid in her mind. "All the world," she wrote, "was celebrating Wellesley. Her alumnae from the wide wide world and 150 other colleges and universities had come to honor her. There were bands playing, marquees on Tower Court Green, honorary degrees for three of Wellesley's daughters, Chauncey Tinker speaking in the chapel, the Phi Beta Kappas banqueting together, and the *Winged Spirit* over all. To be a senior then was very heaven." There is an exuberance even about this nostalgic memory which is strikingly different from the sober mood in which Wellesley approached its three-quarter mark. "No pageants please! No Winged Souls!" This was the plea of those faculty members who had lived through the Semi-Centennial. Extravaganzas may have been delightful in the middle twenties when the world had been made safe for Democracy and for Ivory Towers, but the middle forties living in the shadow of the atomic bomb

had serious questions about the future. Any appropriate observance of the 75th would have to consider some of the problems that were troubling educated women, including even questions about the value of a Wellesley education. Beginning in 1947, the *Wellesley Magazine* tried to answer some of these questions in articles that were variously entitled "The Purpose of a Liberal Education," "Quality vs Quantity in Higher Education," "Higher Education—to What End?" and "Why Support a Woman's College?" A symposium of faculty and students explored the specific question "Why Wellesley?", a query which the *Magazine* later attempted to answer by specific accounts of the work of individual departments and of interdepartmental activities. At the same time through the *Magazine,* the chairman of the 75th Fund Campaign, Marie *Rahr* Haffenreffer '11, was informing alumnae that only one thing could insure Wellesley the essentials of good education (i.e., stimulating teachers, able students, excellent facilities) and that one thing was money.

Fund raising started before program planning with the formal campaign being launched at dinners, in Boston at the Statler Hotel October 1, 1947, and in New York at the Waldorf-Astoria October 15. At both of these functions, Wellesley education was visibly symbolized by Nancy Bartram '48, President of College Government, *Look* Magazine's choice of the year for the typical American college girl. As serious fund raising got underway among alumnae and friends of the College, the campus too became involved; witness faculty jelly-making, white elephant sales, student offers to serve breakfast in bed—for a price. In fact the pressure became so intense that the night before Commencement in 1948, a senior dreamed she had failed her 75th Anniversary Fund examination. This even before the official observance, which was scheduled for two years, 1948-49 and 1949-50.

The observance opened auspiciously when on October 5, 1948, the Wellesley Concert Series presented the Boston Symphony Orchestra with Dr. Serge Koussevitzky, then in his twenty-fifth and final year as its conductor. To mark Dr. Koussevitzky's own anniversary the College tendered him a reception at which many of the guests recalled with pleasure his first concert at Wellesley when early in his Boston Symphony career he had similarly opened the celebration of the College's Fiftieth. Two other anniversary events perhaps deserve special mention: a Wellesley Theater production of *The Two Orphans* as originally performed in 1875, and a mammoth exhibition in Farnsworth of faculty and staff baby pictures, with prizes for correct identification. My picture, I recall, was identified both as Miss Manwaring and Miss Moses.

It was agreed early in the planning of the 75th that the principal commemoration of Wellesley's founding should take the form of two major conferences, one in the field of science in the spring of 1949, the other in

social sciences and humanities the following fall. A planning committee, headed by Philosophy Professor Mary Coolidge, had made this recommendation after considering various ways in which the community might be stimulated to intellectual debate. Distinguished authorities, it was decided, should be invited to the College for several days to discuss important issues, and regular classes would be dismissed. The conferences would be sponsored by the Mary Whiton Calkins Fund, established in memory of a great Wellesley teacher who had been the first woman president both of the American Psychological Association and of the American Philosophical Association. It was left to two new committees, headed by Professors Mary Griggs and Louise Overacker, to arrange the programs.

The Science group chose "Energy" as the general theme of the first conference, which was scheduled for March 16, 17, 18 to coincide with the date of the signing of the college charter in 1870 and of the College Hall fire in 1914. On the first evening Harvard President James B. Conant, participating in the Wellesley anniversary as his predecessors had done twenty-five and fifty years before, gave the keynote address on "Science and Common Sense." His speech was broadcast in the ballroom to an overflow audience. Talks the following two days focused on different aspects of energy: "Utilization of Atomic Energy" by Robert T. Bacher, of the Atomic Energy Commission; "Energy of the Stars" by Cecilia Payne Gaposchkin, Astronomer at Harvard College Observatory; "Psychology and Physics" by Wolfgang Köhler, Research Professor at Swarthmore; "Some Aspects of Biological Energy" by Gerty T. Cori, recipient (with her husband) of a Nobel prize; and "Man and Energy in the Modern World," by Edward W. Sinnott, Director of Sheffield Scientific School. Dr. Sinnott's speech was delivered on the final day at an Honors Convocation where the academic procession included delegates from forty-three New England colleges and universities and from women's colleges in other sections of the United States. Each delegate walked in the procession with the Wellesley faculty member who had been assigned as his host for the conference. My partner was a Jesuit physicist from Boston College from whom I learned a great deal of science during the course of the three days. As his hostess I was invited to a Physics party at Pendleton where we admired the equipment and drank tea from laboratory beakers. But I think what pleased my guest most about the conference was the postcard which arrived in his monastic mail, naming a lady partner for him at Wellesley.

In connection with the Science Conference the Department of Physical Education staged a lively demonstration of human energy in such activities as dance, swimming, and badminton; and the library contributed two memorable exhibits prepared by Research Librarian Hannah French:

"Rare Books in the Sciences," over fifty incunabula and first editions dealing with discoveries from 300 B.C. to 1934 A.D., and "Atomic Energy for the Citizen of the World," a collection of books, pamphlets and articles on the use of atomic energy in war and peace. The Science Conference was a new all-college experience and a happy one. Typical of student reaction was the comment of an editorial writer in the *News,* who admitted that she had reacted against all science in "the feeling that with the atomic bomb it had overstepped its moral bounds," and who was grateful now for a new perspective. The speakers, she said, "made us realize that science is after all a liberal art." Mrs. Horton in her last President's Report expressed satisfaction that the conference had excited the undergraduates to "real intellectual curiosity and enthusiasm," and had "demonstrated the creative possibilities of inter-departmental activities." The importance of the conference was also recognized outside the College, as witness an editorial "Wellesley Celebrates" in the *New York Times,* March 21, 1949. After listing some of the "celebrities" who participated, the writer linked Mr. Durant's vision of the part that women could play in science with the demonstrated success in scientific fields of so many Wellesley alumnae. "Science has reason to thank Wellesley for preparing some of its more important recruits in accordance with the highest academic standards."

The second anniversary conference held October 16, 17, 18, also proved to be a genuine all-college experience. Its topic, "Constructive Forces in Education," was explored and virtually exemplified by the participants—creative artists, scholars, administrators, experts in journalism and in politics. They came not only from the United States, but from Great Britain, Sweden and India. Of the sixteen, ten were women. Some arrived in time for participation in classroom discussions. Almost all stayed at Wellesley for the entire conference so that sharing of ideas went on beyond the formal session. There was this time no academic procession, no invitations extended to sister colleges. Wellesley would be inaugurating its new president, Margaret Clapp, in March, and as Miss Overacker explained to Academic Council, "to ask the same college to send delegates to three occasions within so short a time might be considered an imposition rather than an honor." Instead the College chose to honor some of its own graduates who had distinguished themselves in the field of education.

Eighty-two Wellesley educators returned to the campus to participate in the conference and to meet the current undergraduates. Every alumna guest as well as every speaker was assigned a student hostess who took responsibility for the comfort and happiness of her special guest. This succeeded so well that when one of the speakers was asked recently for her long-range impression of the conference, her first thought was of the

student escorts. "Mine," she said, "was wonderful!" Students escorted their guests to various extra-curricular activities, including an eighteenth century concert in Billings Hall on Sunday afternoon, and tea on Tuesday at the Farnsworth Art Building, which was observing the 75th with an important loan exhibit of American water colors. The library had many of Wellesley's rare editions on display as well as an impressive exhibit of publications by speakers at the conference. In Alumnae Hall one could study the history of textbooks as illustrated by the Norton collection of the Education Department, or note trends in the employment of Wellesley graduates 1890 to 1949, through charts and graphs made by the Placement Office. The Page School offered an exhibition of the teaching of reading and a chance to observe the school in session through one-way screens.

The formal program opened on Sunday with the college chapel service where the Reverend John C. Schroeder preached on "Christianity and Our Education." In the evening, with Margaret Clapp presiding, a panel of three (Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Professor of Byzantine Art at Harvard's Dumbarton Oaks research center and a former Wellesley art professor; Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Professor of English at Columbia graduate school and former Dean of Smith College; Millicent Carey McIntosh, Dean of Barnard College) tried to predict "The Next Seventy-Five Years in the Education of Women." On Monday afternoon there were two panels, "The Role of the Creative Artist in Education" (artist Patrick Morgan, writer Katherine Anne Porter, musician Aaron Copland), and "The Financial Future of the Privately Endowed College" (Agnes E. Meyer, journalist; Seymour Edward Harris, Professor of Economics at Harvard; Mabel Newcomer, Professor of Economics at Vassar). Monday evening Senator Frank Graham, former President of the University of North Carolina, spoke on "Constructive Forces in Higher Education in America." The final day, Tuesday, was international in scope, including two panels: "Contributions of the East to the West" (Wing-Tsit Chan, Professor of Chinese Culture at Dartmouth, and Lakshmi N. Menon, chief of the section on the Status of Women at the United Nations) and "Constructive Forces in Education in Europe" (Karin Kock, first woman appointed to the Swedish cabinet, and Vera Micheles Dean, research director of the Foreign Policy Association). The climax of the conference was a talk that same evening by Barbara Ward, foreign editor of the London *Economist,* on "Education in the Free World." Miss Clapp introduced Miss Ward. By chance both had chosen to wear basic black and pearls.

The Wellesley College *News* enterprisingly recorded all the talks and question periods by means of audograph, described as "a new invention which records on plastic records that can be played back by earphones

while the transcriber types." The device may not yet have been fully perfected, for history (*via* the *News*) records that one technician (Marianne Snedeker '50), while she was preparing to record the final lecture, plugged in the cord and immediately rose three feet from the floor backstage, thus nearly spoiling Barbara Ward's lecture. The verbatim transcript of the conference, with biographies of the speakers, was published by *News* in April 1950. The talks are too diverse and too individual to admit of any quick summary. Reading them again, some points impress me, I think, because they were made a quarter of a century ago, e.g., Wing-Tsit Chan's conviction that the two parties in the Chinese civil war would eventually arbitrate and compromise ("War in China is a terrible thing, not only because of its destruction. It is terrible because it is so un-Chinese.") and Barbara Ward's warning that in education "technology begins to take the place of the old facts of good and evil." Miss Der Nersessian referred to the masculine mistrust that hindered women scholars—today we would call it male chauvinism. The panel on the Education of Women seemed to accept as a fact of life that married women, i.e. most women, would continue for the next seventy-five years to play the single role of wife-and-mother. And Seymour Harris brought bad news in a fund-raising year—wealthy people in 1949 were contributing a much smaller percentage to educational institutions than they had in 1929 or even 1939.

When the conference with all its stimulating contacts was over an editorial writer in the *News* asked, "What do we do next? Return to stenographic duty in the classrooms?" Some students probably did just that, but it is my memory that classes in the ensuing weeks kept coming back to questions that sprang directly from the conference. Classical students, for example, were much interested in Barbara Ward's analysis of our heritage from Greece and Rome. They had heard the idea before but it seemed to mean more to them when presented in company with other constructive forces in education.

In the original plans for the conference India's ambassador, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, had been scheduled to speak on the East-West panel, but had been forced to cancel the engagement when Prime Minister Nehru, her brother, announced an official October visit to the United States. As it happened, Mrs. Pandit was on campus on October 21, three days after the conference ended, when Mr. Nehru made a visit to Wellesley, the only women's college on his itinerary. Since the hour of his arrival was uncertain the College observed business-as-usual, with the understanding that the carillon would summon everyone in time for a mass assembly. The party, which included Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, arrived at the President's House escorted by three policemen on motorcycles with sirens screaming. There they met with members of

the faculty who had taught Mrs. Pandit's daughters, Chandralekha '45 and Nayantara '47. Afterwards, as Mr. Nehru stood on the balcony of the President's House looking out over the beauty of the lake and the autumn foliage, the carillon rang out and the tune it played was the Indian national anthem. The Prime Minister was taken by surprise and there were tears in his eyes. When he and his party reached the green beside the chapel, the whole college was moving out to greet them. Some of the students were already perched on branches of the trees for a better look at Wellesley's distinguished guests. It was an exciting close to a memorable week.

In 1950 Wellesley's famous date March 17 saw the inauguration of Margaret Clapp as eighth president of Wellesley. To mark the occasion the College, which in seventy-five years had given only ten honorary degrees, outdid itself in generosity and voted to confer this distinction on eleven women. The recipients included former Wellesley President Mildred McAfee Horton, and three alumnae: Belle Sherwin '90, pioneer in the League of Women Voters, Dr. Connie Guion '06, Chief of the General Medical Clinic of the New York Hospital–Cornell University Medical Center, and Caroline *Taylor* White '15, President of the New York Y.W.C.A. and President of the Wellesley Alumnae Association, "a most fitting representative of the large majority of Wellesley alumnae who as wives and mothers and volunteer workers are steadily and capably fostering the ideals of our free society." Delegates from eighty-six colleges and universities joined in the academic procession to the auditorium of Alumnae Hall, where the exercises included addresses by Miss Clapp and by Archibald MacLeish. Following the inaugural, there was a luncheon in the ballroom of Alumnae Hall at which Edward Weeks, Wellesley trustee and editor of the *Atlantic Monthly,* acted as master of ceremonies. Speakers were three of the women who had just received honorary degrees: Mrs. Horton, Dr. Guion, and Indian Ambassador Mrs. Pandit.

Recalling the high moments of 1949-50's 75th, the Wellesley *News* listed one other event which was a little like a reprise of the Nehru visit. On May 25, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, wife of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, a state which was not yet three years old, visited Wellesley, the only women's college included in the United States tour which she was making with her husband. The carillon this time played the Pakistan national anthem as a signal for the students to assemble in the Hay Outdoor Theater where the distinguished visitor, wearing native dress, spoke on Pakistan women in the modern world.

The concluding rites in the observance of Wellesley's 75th belonged largely to the alumnae. Over 2,500 of them came back to the campus, many arriving at least a day before commencement, June 12. Plans for their return had been long in the making, under the general chairman-

ship of Cynthia *Dudley* Post '34. Arrangements had been made to house them, not only in college dormitories, but also in Dana Hall and Pine Manor, and in the homes of local alumnae. And on the athletic field a tremendous celebration canopy, "the largest in New England," had been set up for their meetings. The alumnae program began on Sunday afternoon with a chapel service conducted by the Rev. Dr. Palfrey Perkins, Chairman of the Board of Trustees. That evening at ten o'clock, after baccalaureate vespers, a mammoth step-singing took place on and around the chapel steps. On Commencement Day alumnae attended an afternoon reception at which Miss Clapp and Mrs. Horton paid honor to Marie *Rahr* Haffenreffer '11, Chairman of the 75th Anniversary Fund. In the evening after class suppers came a program of light entertainment in Alumnae Hall: an old-fashioned glee club directed by Hetty Wheeler '02, followed by a fashion-show drama, with scenes from 1875, 1890, 1900, and costumes of the flapper 20s, the depression 30s, the blue-jeaned 40s. The final diversion of the evening was a faculty quiz show in which (I speak as the M. C. on that occasion) a panel of six professors proved to be "well rounded" exhibitionists, but the difficult questions were answered from the front rows by the oldest reunioning classes.

The returning alumnae had their traditional fun as "old grads" on Monday night. On Tuesday as educated women seeking answers to the problems of 1950 they gathered for a day-long conference on "Significant Sources of Security." It was a well-planned program, a fitting climax to the college conferences on "Science" and on "Constructive Forces in Education." The first speaker, Harry A. Overstreet, author of *The Mature Mind,* talking on "The Individual in a World Afraid," analyzed the pervading sense of insecurity (the word for it in the 1970s is anxiety). Dr. Frances L. Ilg '25, Research Associate in Child Development at Yale, suggested the basis for secure adult attitudes, "Foundations of Security in Childhood." The next two speakers looked to art and religion as sources of stability and strength: Francis Henry Taylor, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, speaking on "The Arts and Individual Security" and the Reverend James A. Pike, Chaplain and Chairman of the Department of Religion at Columbia, on "Inner Security through Religion." Finally Paul G. Hoffman, Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration, broadened the theme to "Search for the Road to World Security." During the speeches the sides of the celebration canopy were rolled up so that the listeners enjoyed a delightful breeze. It was probably the most attentive and surely the largest class ever assembled at Wellesley College.

If anyone would like to stage a pageant for the Centennial, he might want to consider a masque which was published but never performed. The main setting is Mount Olympus. Characters include you-naughty-

girl, you-dirty-boy, Mr. Durant (who removes his frock coat to stand revealed as the spirit of Wellesley with golden hair and Wellesley-blue eyes), Spirit of College Hall Fire, Spirit of the Fund, and Divine Idea of New England Conscience, attended by Chaperone Rules dressed as vestal virgins. In one scene anti-masquers busy themselves with drinking, smoking, petting, murder and arson, while a banner in the sky reads, "It does not shock us, but it offends our taste." This pageant to end all pageants appeared in the 1925 *Legenda* with the suggestion that "possibly it may grace our centenary fiesta." Sorry, editors, masques and anti-masques lose flavor with the years more than do ritual convocations and learned lectures. Your libretto is vintage 1925!

Wellesley's first academic procession at the inauguration of President Hazard in 1899.

President Hazard on the steps of the chapel.

The twenty-fifth anniversary celebration in 1900. President Hazard wearing a brocaded dress is seated in the front row.

Scene from "The Winged Soul," the Semi-Centennial pageant in 1925.

The director of "The Winged Soul."

The Semi-Centennial academic procession, led by Miss Pendleton, Miss Hazard, and visiting college presidents.

Delegates from foreign universities to the Semi-Centennial celebration included, on the left, Alfred North Whitehead.

"Wellesley's most beautiful girls" usher at a benefit performance for the Semi-Centennial Fund.

Margaret Clapp with recipients of honorary degrees at her inauguration in 1950. Standing: Anne O'Hare McCormick, Mabel Newcomer, Ruth Baker Pratt, Miss Clapp, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Mildred McAfee Horton. Seated: Caroline Taylor White, Esther Forbes, Tilly Edinger, Dr. Connie M. Guion, Dorothy Fosdick. Belle Sherwin's LL.D. was awarded *in absentia*.

Alumnae conference marking the Seventy-fifth Anniversary, when the largest class ever assembled at Wellesley met in the largest tent in New England.

JEAN GLASSCOCK

The Development of Wellesley's Financial Resources

At Wellesley a century ago Henry and Pauline Durant provided the buildings and the difference between the fee the students paid and the cost of their education. Now every year more than 15,000 individuals, foundations, and corporations through their gifts and bequests—plus the interest on funds received in the intervening years—do what Mr. and Mrs. Durant originally managed to do. But the operating budget in 1895-96, the first year for which a Treasurer's Report was published, was $224,002; the operating budget for 1974-75 was $17,197,260! The growth and development of the College have been as striking as these figures indicate.

Mr. Durant served as the treasurer until his death in 1881, when at his request Mrs. Durant succeeded him. She handled the affairs of the College in much the same private way he had, frequently paying expenses from her own pocket. Their friends, too, continued to help, the trustees in particular meeting needs as they arose. For example, the Trustee Minutes of November 3, 1887, recorded that "Mr. Stetson, Chairman of the Finance Committee, loaned the College during the vacation, without interest, $4,311.65 to pay for the purchase of coal. Mr. Frost of the Farm Committee had loaned the College for about eight months a full-blooded Holstein stock. Mr. Claflin had presented two full-blooded Jersey calves. Mrs. Durant gave a new first class piggery, with a two tenement house near for the residence of workmen, and also hydrants and standpipes connected with Town water."

Eben N. Horsford, a Harvard professor and great friend of the Durants and the College, the Chairman of the Board of Visitors, made gifts that were extraordinary in their variety and thoughtfulness: in 1885 a large amount "for the library, scientific apparatus, rest and recreation [i.e., sabbatical leaves] of the Professors specified, and for the pensioning of those who shall have given their best years to the College"; in 1887 he

paid "the expense of laying the new floor in the attic" of College Hall, in 1888-89 the rental of "a house in the village held ready for cases of contagious diseases"—for which President Shafer was grateful, as she was for the fact that "we have not had occasion to use it"; in 1891 he gave "an ozone generator for the chapel and a small steam engine and dynamo for the physics department." And of course near the end of the century two major buildings, the Houghton Memorial Chapel and the Whitin Observatory, came through the trustees whose names they bear.

One of the remarkable aspects of fund raising—and of college life in general—in the early days was the joining of the college community in seeing a need and setting about to meet it. In 1882-83 the students gave $800 to complete the $5,000 Durant Memorial Scholarship. On occasion faculty members initiated campaigns for funds, as a story in the December 1, 1887, issue of *The Courant* bears witness: "For several years Miss Currier, Professor of Elocution at the College, has been working to raise a fund of $5,000 which should be known as the Lewis Monroe fund and the interest of which should furnish reading and lectures in connection with the department of elocution. A sale for the benefit of the fund took place at Norumbega cottage on November 19. The interest of present and former students in the department of elocution and other friends had filled three tables with beautiful articles which sold rapidly. The one which brought the greatest price was a painting of crysanthemums contributed by Miss Bothe, Director of the Art Department. In the dining room fruit and flowers, ice cream and cake, were dispensed, and at evening the residents of the cottage gave a tableaux entertainment on the second floor of scenes from Shakespeare's dramas, and Professor George Herbert Palmer read entertaining selections in the Dorsetshire dialect. All friends of the fund will be glad to hear that $350 was cleared." The students raised the money for a boat-house below College Hall and formally presented it to the College in 1894. The Class of 1894 wanted a Students' Parlor in College Hall (nothing as elegant as the Faculty Parlor which Professor Horsford had given, but a place students could consider their own), and they raised $700 to convert a room for the purpose, and, according to the Trustee Minutes for June 1896, "The Class of 1896 offered to be responsible for $500 with which to furnish the room. The offers were accepted with thanks. Voted the work to be under the direction of the Executive Committee." Mrs. Irvine commented in the President's Report for 1897 that "In making its parting gift of $325 the nucleus of a fund which is to be called 'The Class of 97 Endowment Fund,' and the income of which is to be used for current expenses, this class has taken a lead worthy of a strong following."

Certainly the most ambitious fund-raising project of the students of the 1880s was for a new chapel. Realizing that the College could not ex-

pand the enrollment or even "invite friends to a public exercise without depriving students of the possibility of attending," the students held a mass meeting on October 11, 1887, to discuss the problem. They concluded that the cost would be about $100,000 and that "an audience room for 1,500 people would not be too large to serve the needs of the College for the coming years." The Wellesley College Chapel Fund Association was formed and Sophonisba Breckenridge '88 (who was to become one of the most distinguished pioneers at the University of Chicago) was elected president. "It was resolved that first each would give what she could individually as a small nucleus for the great sum needed, and an appeal be made to the friends of Wellesley and the college education of girls for help to raise the needed fund at once." The student officers met with the Trustees, and procedures—including "the signing of receipts by the treasurer of the Association and by ex-Governor Claflin of the Board of Trustees"—were worked out. It was indeed an impressive undertaking and is worthy of special mention not only because of the vision underlying the project and the business-like way in which it was approached but also because the students' earnestness and enthusiasm so much impressed William S. Houghton, a trustee, that he "happily thwarted" their purpose by providing the building.

As Mrs. Mansfield has pointed out in her chapter on the Alumnae Association, the first large-scale fund-raising effort of the alumnae was begun in 1887 to raise the $13,000 debt on Norumbega Hall. Students, too, and especially the Class of 1886 and Professor Horsford, its honorary member, had a share in providing money for that dormitory. The "Wellesley family" acted in concert in an extraordinary fashion during those early, experimental years of the College.

By 1895, however, it was clear that this kind of "family financing" was not adequate for a college whose student body had more than doubled and whose faculty and officers had nearly tripled since it had opened twenty years before. Mrs. Durant resigned as treasurer (but was made a member of the Finance Committee) and Alpheus H. Hardy, a trustee and businessman, was appointed as treasurer and asked to make a complete accounting of the College's financial situation. It was a gloomy picture which he presented to the Trustees and they conveyed in a statement accompanying the first published Treasurer's Report. The College had "no general endowment save recent gifts amounting to $7,000," and it had a debt of $103,048.14. Moreover, "Mr. Durant in his will made it his residuary legatee, subject to a life tenancy, and there has been a common impression that the College would ultimately come into the possession of a large property. It must now be stated explicitly that the personal estate has suffered such depreciation and loss during the last few years as to render this prospective endowment of too slight consequence to be

reckoned on in any plans for the development and maintenance of the College."

As has been noted in the chapter on the selection of Wellesley's presidents, with great common sense Mrs. Irvine stated that it was imperative to have in the position before the turn of the century someone who could "gain the interest, enlist the sympathy, and secure the support of persons who do not yet know Wellesley." She therefore resigned the presidency, and Caroline Hazard assumed the position in 1899.

Miss Hazard was—fortunately for Wellesley—a classic example of a person who becomes far more caught up in a cause than he intended. To Alice Freeman Palmer, who, with her fellow-trustee Horace Scudder, had been instrumental in persuading Miss Hazard to reconsider her refusal to accept the presidency, Miss Hazard wrote on February 24, 1899: "There is one thing I would like as clearly understood by all the Trustees as I am sure it is by you and Mr. Scudder: that I am not willing to assume the responsibility of raising funds for the College, and that I am not to be held in any way responsible for its finances." Whereupon at the first meeting of the Board of Trustees which she attended (this on September 27, 1899), it was reported that Miss Hazard's "attention was called to the use of a section of the College of Music as a lodging place for domestics; this seemed to detract from the dignity of the school, and a part of these rooms was needed for a musical library and a waiting room for students. After the Secretary [Mrs. Durant] obtained in writing the consent of the members of the Executive Committee, Miss Hazard had provided for these servants an addition to the Domestic Hall, without expense to the College." At the next meeting of the Board (November 2, 1899) the Secretary presented a minute: "This Board desires to thank President Hazard most sincerely for the generous way in which during the vacation she came to the assistance of the Department of Music and the College by providing the means to remove the domestics from the Music Hall through enlarging the Servants' Dormitory. They feel, however, that this is a legitimate expense for the College to meet in providing for the necessary service; they desire therefore to instruct the Treasurer to reimburse Miss Hazard for the generous payment." The motion was voted—and "Miss Hazard thanked the Trustees for their consideration, but thought in the present state of the finances, that the money would better remain in the Treasury for future use"!

Miss Hazard has best expressed the complexities of the situation which she found awaiting her when she took office: "In 1899, while all the externals were in a flourishing condition and the busy college life went on, to those who had charge of the administration of the College there was a heavy cloud on the horizon. The College was burdened by debt; it had small financial resources and was living on its income from day to day. It

was most important to make this beautiful fabric secure, and the task was one of extreme delicacy, that of putting in foundation stones while the structure was already standing in apparent security. This task has taxed the patience and the ingenuity of all those connected with the administration."

She immediately set to work on all fronts, simultaneously paring expenses, planning for additional income by increasing the student body, and seeking large amounts of money. The greatest coup achieved during her first year was the promise to Miss Hazard and her brother Rowland (who served as a trustee throughout her administration and whose constant helpfulness to Wellesley during those years has probably never been fully and publicly recognized) which was made by John D. Rockefeller: he would give $100,000 for general endowment on condition that the College would raise funds to eliminate the debt, which by 1899 totaled $109,223.62. Heroic efforts on the part of the alumnae, Miss Hazard, and the trustees resulted in obtaining in six months the funds to meet Mr. Rockefeller's requirement and receiving his $100,000 in September 1900. Miss Hazard commented: "The great pressure of debt has been lifted. It is difficult to imagine the relief which this gave. There was no longer a blank wall to beat against, but a pathway to future prosperity once more."

The next major breakthrough also came from John D. Rockefeller. Following "a personal interview with his son," Miss Hazard wrote, Mr. Rockefeller offered the College $150,000 for the installation of the central heating plant without which additional dormitories could not be built and the College expanded. Again the gift was conditional: it must be matched by an equal amount for endowment by Commencement 1903. Miss Hazard's account is masterly in its understatement: "The large correspondence which this matter has entailed, the many personal visits which the President made in this connection, and the constant effort to secure the completion of this gift, proved a matter of absorbing and almost overwhelming occupation. It was not until three days before Commencement that the amount was actually secured, and the Trustees will appreciate that at times the burden rested heavily. It is therefore with feelings of great satisfaction and thankfulness that we can record that the effort is finally successful."

An almost incredible complete turnaround in the College's financial situation was accomplished by 1903, the end of Miss Hazard's first four years in office. In 1889 the endowment for current expenses was $7,000; by 1903 $250,000 had been added for general endowment, $125,000 for professorships, and $45,000 for scholarships. In addition, the $109,000 debt was canceled, $150,000 given for the heating plant, and a bequest of $60,000 with which to build Pomeroy Hall had been received. In all,

$739,000 had been paid into the college treasury, and Miss Hazard could write, "We can confidently feel that such conditions as those of growth, of economical administration, of wise outlay, are our best guarantee of wider usefulness."

Of course, much remained to be done—as is always true as long as an institution is viable! Ever since 1897 the faculty, trustees, and officers had stressed the importance of a library building. Finally in 1905 Andrew Carnegie offered $125,000 for the purpose, provided, however, that the College raise an equal amount for general endowment. This seemed an impossible task in view of the sums which had been raised recently, but the potential donor was adamant about the conditions, the Trustees eventually accepted them, an appeal was made to students and alumnae, and the work of meeting the terms began. Miss Hazard announced the provisional gift in chapel on Saturday morning, May 20, 1905. According to the *Wellesley College News,* "Immediately every girl in college resolved herself into a committee of ways and means. Generous donations came in from the various societies and other organizations, from alumnae and friends of the College. Signs fluttered on doorposts: 'Shoes polished here for the benefit of the library fund!' 'Papers copied!' 'Mending done!' Even our own beautiful Tree Day was for the first time opened to the public. Each individual wanted to help and the result was that at the Alumnae Luncheon on June 28 it was announced that $29,793 had been raised toward the endowment." As had been the case with the $150,000 to match the gift for the power plant, the total amount was secured only a few days before Commencement—this in 1907.

In summary at the time she resigned in 1910, Miss Hazard reported that "thirteen college buildings have been added, besides the five small society houses and additions to Norumbega and the servants' dormitory. Five of these buildings are students' houses—Wilder Hall and the four quadrangle houses; five are academic—the Observatory, Billings Hall, the Botany Annex, Mary Hemenway Hall, and the Library; one is for general equipment—the Power House; and two are dwelling houses—the Observatory House and the President's House." She also calculated that, including the repayment of the debt, the College's funds had been increased by more than $860,000. It is only fair to add that she took at least equal satisfaction in the enrichment of the College's art and library collections, the ninety-five percent increase in the number of students, the fifty-five percent increase in the number of officers of administration and instruction, the raising of the standards for admission and for graduation, the creation of four new departments (Astronomy, Economics, English Language, and Hygiene and Physical Education), and a twenty-seven percent increase in the number of courses of instruction offered.

And it is both significant and in character that she wrote: "In making

my final report I must again call the attention of the Trustees to the need of further endowment. A good beginning has been made, but it is only a foundation to build on. The question of college salaries is one which is demanding attention all over the country. Wellesley should not lag behind in a movement to better them. Other occupations are offering inducements which men and women with families dependent upon them cannot afford to neglect. The inspiring influence of a good college teacher is something that cannot be measured in material values, but the gift of a life can at least be recognized by a salary which will put its recipient beyond actual need. . . . The colleges are the last stronghold of idealism, without which a country dies. Let us try to make conditions somewhat more ideal for those who make the college. Colleges of less than our size and equipment are carrying on active campaigns for large endowment. I hope the Trustees will see their way to organizing such a movement in the near future, setting at least a million as the goal."

Her "hope" was heartily endorsed by the trustees. After the Alumnae Association in June 1912 voted to cooperate with the Trustees in a Million Dollar Endowment Fund for faculty salaries, the campaign was launched in March 1913. President Pendleton was able to report that fall an anonymous gift of $100,000 "received through a member of the Class of 1879" and a pledge from the General Education Board of $200,000 on condition that the remaining $800,000 was secured by June 30, 1915. An alumnae committee with Candace C. Stimson '92 as chairman began organizing committees from Wellesley Clubs throughout the country. At the request of the recently-formed Graduate Council (the forerunner of the Alumnae Council), which contributed $500 for the purpose, Miss Pendleton made plans for a tour beginning on March 20, 1914, of Wellesley Clubs, especially those in the far west, "with the expectation," she wrote, "of securing their hearty cooperation in the work of raising the million dollars for endowment."

Then on the morning of March 17, 1914, College Hall was destroyed by fire, as Miss Balderston has vividly described. The trustees and the alumnae determined to complete the Million Dollar Fund and to raise an additional $1,430,000 for restoration by June 1, 1915. The trustees and alumnae changed the names of their committees to Endowment and Restoration, and the campaign began. Miss Pendleton reported that "At the outset an incalculable stimulus was given by the offer of $750,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation. The response of the alumnae and former students was immediate. Although no appeal was made to them, the undergraduates at once began to make plans." On April 15, as soon as the Hen Coop, the temporary administration and classroom building, was completed, Miss Pendleton embarked on her visit to Wellesley Clubs, although she had time to go only to Cleveland, Chicago, and Milwaukee.

The story of the rebuilding of the College after the fire—an effort not wholly achieved until 1936—is recounted in the chapters on the grounds and on the buildings; here we shall simply record the extraordinary fact that the Restoration and Endowment Fund was completed on January 1, 1915, six months ahead of schedule, although, as Miss Pendleton noted, "the outbreak of the European War and the resulting financial condition made the completion of the fund more uncertain than had been anticipated."

The next campaign for capital gifts was the Semi-Centennial Fund to raise $9,000,000 by 1925, the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the College. Never in Wellesley's entire history has there been such an intensive, truly "whirlwind" campaign—and it must also stand as a model for thorough preparation. For the first time the College employed as consultants (this in the summer of 1920) a professional firm: the recently-established John Price Jones Corporation of New York City. Elsie Goddard '06 was appointed as executive chairman, and during the fall she formed a strong organization and opened headquarters at 275 Lexington Avenue in New York. Then, according to Miss Pendleton, "In connection with a special session of the Graduate Council a conference was held at Wellesley in November 1920 for all workers on the Semi-Centennial Fund. This conference was primarily for the purpose of making the fund workers, district chairmen, class representatives, faculty and trustees familiar with the plans of the headquarters staff. In connection with this conference a mass meeting of the student body was addressed by various alumnae and a meeting was given over to a rehearsal of the academic assets of the College. This meetings was in charge of the faculty committees and was very successful in bringing out the strong points in the various departments, and in awakening enthusiasm among the alumnae for a faculty that had accomplished so much under the handicaps that have existed since the fire." The first goal was "the imperative minimum": $2,700,000, of which $2,000,000 was for faculty salary endowment, $300,000 for a student- alumnae building, $300,000 for a hall of residence, and $100,000 for faculty housing. The offer of $500,000 from the General Education Board conditional on raising the other $1,500,000 for salary endowment provided a great stimulus.

"Because of business conditions," the launching of the campaign was postponed until February 12, 1921. At Commencement that June Miss Pendleton was able to announce that the entire $2,700,000 had been given or pledged. "Experienced businessmen regarded the accomplishment little short of a miracle, in view of the financial situation," Miss Pendleton wrote. "It was possible only through the magnificent support given by the alumnae, with the hearty cooperation of Trustees, faculty and other friends, old and new. . . . The number of alumnae and former students

contributing to the Fund is amazingly large; 96.5 percent of all living graduates made gifts, and if all former students are counted, 90.5 percent contributed. This constitutes a record which has not been reached in any of the other college campaigns and proves the loyalty of Wellesley women. Such an achievement promises well for the future and gives courage for the task to be accomplished by 1925."

The record of alumnae participation remains unequaled, and raising $2,700,000 in four months in 1921 was indeed "little short of a miracle." Still, however, $6,300,000 ($4,800,000 for specific buildings and $1,500,000 for endowment) remained to be raised. The fund raising firms consulted were unanimous in the opinion that it could not be raised by Commencement 1925 because "the alumnae and their relatives and friends, as well as the trustees, had already made gifts, largely in the form of pledges, to the first phase of the Fund. Nevertheless, the General Campaign Committee agreed that on the basis of Wellesley's needs this goal must be achieved as soon as possible, and decided that professional services should not be employed." Instead, Grace G. Crocker '04, the new alumnae trustee, was asked to assume the responsibility.

In view of the high-pressure campaign which preceded her efforts and the years of the great depression which her efforts encompassed, her feat is perhaps unparalleled in the annals of college fund raising. In her final report (typically made only after all of the pledges were paid and the books of the Fund were closed in 1936), Miss Crocker gave a remarkable account of the way in which she set about her staggering assignment. "In surveying the field for the new task it seemed wise to begin by finding out the regions of greatest wealth in the country, as there had been some shifting as a result of the war and post-war boom. A financial expert very kindly made this survey in 1922 for the College," Miss Crocker wrote. "He rather conclusively established the fact that the states of New York, Ohio, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California were the centers of greatest wealth."

Accordingly, she concentrated on these six states, personally presenting to key persons (trustees, alumnae, or husbands or fathers of alumnae) in each city and working out with them "the details of the approach to each individual large giver. . . . Pamphlets were sent from time to time to all Wellesley women to keep them in touch with the College and to stimulate their interest in Wellesley. Specially designed pamphlets were given to potential donors, and a wide use of the guest house at Wellesley was made. . . . The efforts were in the main characterized by the quiet solicitation of gifts from individuals of large wealth. It was a task that had to be pursued slowly and patiently, for new friends had to be won for the College and then persuaded to express their friendship in terms of dollars, and dollars in large figures." Appeals to educational foundations

which she made after study of their "objectives, gifts, etc." resulted in $375,000. In Miss Crocker's opinion, several "conditional gifts did much to stimulate interest and to encourage other donors to give more generously": for example, Julius Rosenwald of Chicago offered $25,000 when an equal sum was raised from alumnae there; Edward S. Harkness in November 1924 offered $100,000 toward the cost of Severance Hall on condition that an additional $300,000 should be raised by April 1, and in February 1929 he offered $175,000 for endowment if the $525,000, the amount necessary to complete the endowment part of the Semi-Centennial Fund, were secured; in November 1929 the General Education Board, which had already given $500,000 to the first phase of the Campaign, agreed to give the last $300,000 needed to complete the $9,000,000.

"A voluntary birthday gift from all alumnae in the Semi-Centennial year of 1925 netted the Fund in cash and pledges $221,000," and at the same time a campaign under student direction with Eleanor Hunter '25 as chairman brought $152,000 in cash and pledges from students and parents, with six of the parents, who served as sponsors of the campaign, giving about a third of the total. After the Alumnae Fund was initiated in 1928 its gifts to the Semi-Centennial Fund by 1936 totaled $125,260. All in all, Miss Crocker was able to say, "To the more than 15,000 friends of Wellesley who enabled the College to exceed by the notable sum of $687,227 her ambitious goal of $9,000,000, the Trustees are deeply grateful."

Certainly it was a spectacular achievement. Ironically, however, the very success of the two phases of the Semi-Centennial Campaign also created what would prove to be problems: the dissolution of the excellent regional organization after the first phase of the Campaign; belief that the College's financial needs had been met and that any which emerged in the future could be cared for by the very low-pressure Alumnae Fund and by largely self-stimulated special gifts. In a recent oral history interview Mildred *McAfee* Horton recalled that when she was elected president in 1936, Robert Gray Dodge, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, told her categorically that Wellesley was fully built and in very good shape financially, and he assured her that she "would not have to be involved with money-raising." "Of course the first week I was there Ruth Elliott [the Director of Hygiene and Physical Education] came in and told me about the Recreation Building which she was raising money for, and we certainly needed an enlargement to the infirmary," Mrs. Horton commented.

These two building needs were met in her administration; the Recreation Building was completed in 1939, and the infirmary in February 1942, although it was nip and tuck whether the final materials and equipment for it could be obtained as a result of the outbreak of World War II. A

Trustee Endowment Committee which was organized in the spring of 1939 formulated a list of needs totaling $6,000,000, half for endowment and half for buildings. In publishing the list in the President's Report for 1939-40, Miss McAfee added: "The decision was made by the Board of Trustees that it was not desirable to conduct an extensive campaign for funds, but that a continuous effort should be made to maintain the interests of potential donors and to increase their number." Miss Crocker loyally continued to serve until the summer of 1940 when, Miss McAfee wrote, "the doctors prevailed upon her to resign from her strenuous work." In the Report for 1940-41 the President noted that "Since Miss Crocker's resignation, plans for increasing the resources of the College have been more or less in abeyance. The plan of organization was strengthened with the appointment in January of Clemewell Lay '19 to combine the office of Director of Publicity with that of the Secretary of the Committee on Endowment. . . . Plans for increasing the resources of the College are again being actively considered."

Funds were raised to establish the Mayling Soong Foundation in honor of Madame Chiang Kai-shek at the time of her twenty-fifth reunion in June 1942, and a program was instituted for "Associates," principally non-alumnae, who were invited to give annually at least $100. The timing of that program was incredibly unfortunate, however: the letters of invitation were delivered the morning after the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Nevertheless, a fairly substantial number of the recipients (including Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, and Henry R. Luce, Editor of *Time* and *Life,* brothers of alumnae) responded—and with astonishing promptness considering their responsibilities in connection with the war.

During the war years there was perforce a hiatus in any fund activities other than the regular Alumnae Fund. With the cessation of hostilities and Mrs. Horton's return to the campus from the Navy, there was, as she has said, "a sense of urgency to get started on the 75th Anniversary Fund." Clara *More* deMorinni '04, who had been the head of house at Tower Court since 1938, was appointed Endowment Secretary in 1945 and served in that capacity until 1947. Preparations were begun in 1946 for the 75th Anniversary Fund Campaign. "There was never a more opportune time for an anniversary gift to the College," Mrs. Horton stated in the President's Report for 1945-46. "For two years we have operated at a large deficit. The fees were increased in the spring when it became evident that even the budgeted deficit would be exceeded. Salary needs are becoming increasingly urgent. The cost of living has increased approximately forty percent since 1939. The salary scale has been increased once, thanks to the generosity of Miss Candace Stimson's bequest, but the increase represents less than ten percent."

Marie *Rahr* Haffenreffer '11, the trustee member of the triumvirate which shared presidential duties while Mrs. Horton was Director of the WAVES, was appointed Chairman of the 75th Anniversary Fund Campaign and, Mrs. Horton wrote, "A general committee including trustees, alumnae, faculty, parents is in process of formation and has had a preliminary meeting of the members already appointed. Three officers are at work in the headquarters office established in Green Hall." All three were former WAVE officers: Vida Buist, the ranking woman officer in the Bureau of Supplies who had previously had fund-raising experience with the British War Relief Society and the Navy Relief Society, was the executive director of the campaign; Margery S. Foster '34, whose civilian experience had been with a large insurance company, was the comptroller; I, who had had public relations experience in and out of the Navy, was in charge of publicity.

Probably the most important (and certainly the most energy-consuming) of the initial tasks were setting up a national fund-raising organization and modernizing the College's procedures for raising and recording gifts. (For example, gifts to the Alumnae Fund were recorded with pen and ink in ledgers.) Mrs. Haffenreffer, who was widely known and greatly admired by alumnae all over the country, traveled extensively and wrote countless letters to persuade able women, often leaders in their communities who had not necessarily been concerned with Wellesley affairs, to aid the College in the time of crisis. The calibre of the fifteen regional and the one hundred sixty district chairmen and the national committee members appointed by the opening of the campaign in 1947 is the clearest indication of the success of her patient persistence.

Mrs. Horton also commented in her Report: "An initial survey of fund-raising possibilities was made by the John Price Jones Corporation of New York from whom we expect to receive continuing advice as the plans progress." What she, quite understandably, did not say was that the firm's analysis concluded that Wellesley could not expect to obtain more than $4,000,000 by 1950—nor did she say that the 75th Anniversary Fund Committee, like the Semi-Centennial Committee twenty-five years earlier, keenly aware of the urgent needs of the College and of the loyalty of Wellesley alumnae, established what the professional fund raisers regarded as an unrealistic goal, in this instance $7,500,000 by June 1950. Time proved that the fund raisers were right about the money ($4,181,915 had been received by June 30, 1950, and there were outstanding pledges of about $176,000) and that the committee was right about the loyalty of the alumnae (89.9 percent made gifts during the three years of the campaign). A remarkable fact was that the $4,000,000 objective could be exceeded with so few large gifts: the largest was $100,000, and there were two gifts of $50,000, also from alumnae.

Certain other facts emerged sharply. The financial situation of the College required the allotment of the entire $4,000,000 equally to endowment of faculty salaries and of scholarships for students; there were no funds available for the dormitory for four hundred students, which had been estimated at $1,500,000, or a library estimated to cost $2,000,000, to say nothing of improved facilities for art and music. Also, as Miss Clapp wrote in her Report for 1949-50, "Years ago, upon the completion of the Semi-Centennial Fund, the off-campus relationships established during the drive were not sufficiently maintained. In the recent campaign it was soon evident, as stated in President Horton's report for 1947-48, that: 'Had we maintained for twenty-five years the contacts which were established at the time of the Semi-Centennial Fund there might have been more financial results for effort which has gone into the presentation of Wellesley's present needs. . . .' The careful organization built so arduously during the three campaign years will be maintained. . . . Wellesley College ended this year with a surplus, a small one admittedly, but its first in six years; and it looks forward, not to an end of financial problems, but to greater courage in facing them, because of the wealth of evident goodwill and strengthening of its financial fiber which the anniversary and the drive have brought."

"The careful organization built so arduously" has been maintained. In fact, the 75th Anniversary Fund ended officially on June 30, 1950, and the Wellesley College Development Fund opened its books the following day. The Alumnae Association and the Board of Trustees had voted for a two-year experimental period to continue the merging of college and alumnae fund raising through the new Development Fund; "by 1952 the success of the venture was so evident that the Board and the Alumnae Association agreed to continue indefinitely their united efforts in behalf of the College," Miss Clapp reported. On the National Committee of the Development Fund were representatives of the Trustees and of the Alumnae Association, certain administrative officers of the College, and a few alumnae chosen as "at-large" members. As Miss Clapp commented, "geographical representatives and class representatives worked in steady cooperation." Katharine *Timberman* Wright '18 was the first chairman of the committee, and she and Miss Clapp devised a plan to create a relatively small, extremely hard-working group whose organization has been retained ever since in very large measure. Her successors, all of whom have provided strong leadership, have included Jeannette *Johnson* Dempsey '24, Alice *Clough* Evans '19, Mary *Sime* West '26, Rose *Clymer* Rumford '34, Betty *Freyhof* Johnson '44, and Mildred *Lane* Kemper '44. The staff support was headed by Margery S. Foster '34 from 1950 until 1955, by Virginia V. Sides '44, who came to Wellesley from the National Science Foundation, from 1955 to 1968, and since that time

by Albert E. Holland, formerly a vice president of Trinity College and president of Hobart and William Smith Colleges. Elinor *Anderson* Gilfillan '29 was in charge of the annual giving program from 1952 until 1969. Fortunately for the College, Catharine *Bogert* Butchman '35, who returned to Wellesley as Miss Crocker's secretary and is now research coordinator in the Resources Office, has provided valuable continuity except during World War II.

Mrs. Wright, in reflecting on the early years of the Development Fund, wrote: "Suddenly, the climate for all colleges improved and Wellesley was ready to take its long leap forward. Money, which had been so hard to raise during the 75th, was easier to come by, and money brought with it the good things that money can buy—new buildings, many of them, and faculty salaries large enough to make the faculty hold up their heads and stand tall. Enough cannot be said for the leadership of President Clapp during this happy, happy time. Truly this was one of Wellesley's greatest periods." Accounts of the buildings constructed during Miss Clapp's administration (1949-66) and of the unique gift from the Hunnewell family of eighty acres of woodland between Pond Road and the west shore of Lake Waban are contained in the chapters on the grounds and the buildings. The figures compiled by Mr. Wood on page 390 show that during that period the book value of the College's investment increased from $15,450,235 to $68,466,232, and the market value from $15,718,359 to $99,092,745—increases respectively of 343 and 530.43 percents.

And of course Mrs. Wright was correct in emphasizing the great importance placed on improving faculty salaries. This was a paramount, abiding concern, but a few highlights are worthy of special mention. Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont, a Smith alumna and trustee, in 1953 not only made a generous bequest to her own college but willed to each of six other women's colleges, including Wellesley, $250,000 for faculty salary endowment. This amount the College voluntarily matched as soon as possible, establishing in appreciation a Wellesley College-Lamont fund. When the Ford Foundation made to a very substantial number of institutions, including Wellesley, basic grants equaling the total faculty salaries they paid in 1954-55, Wellesley was also one of 126 liberal arts colleges which received supplementary grants of approximately half of the basic grants. (These supplementary grants were awarded to the colleges which had made the greatest progress in improving salaries since World War II.) Consequently Wellesley received from the Foundation in 1956 and 1957 a total of $1,348,000. Then in the spring of 1957 the College announced a goal of $15,000,000 for faculty salaries—the largest amount any college in the country was attempting to raise solely for faculty salaries. This goal was fully achieved by June 30, 1964, "and in addition," Miss Clapp

reported, "the College received a gift of $350,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Shelby Cullom Davis (Kathryn Waterman '28) in honor of Mrs. Davis's mother, Edith *Stix* Wasserman '97, to establish a Foundation for Far Eastern Studies."

The Ford Foundation was also instrumental in helping Wellesley "take its long leap forward" when in 1961 the College was selected as one of the first eight colleges to take part in a major new program to make substantial grants on a matching basis to certain privately supported liberal arts colleges. Offered one dollar for every three dollars raised between July 1, 1961, and June 30, 1964, up to a maximum of $2,000,000 from the Foundation, Wellesley not only met the challenge but was the first of the eight colleges to do so, achieving the goal on December 31, 1963, in half the allotted time. "But the alumnae knew that Wellesley's financial problems were not solved as of December, and they have persisted in working to strengthen the College," Miss Clapp wrote appreciatively in reporting the raising of the $6,000,000.

Indeed, in the fall of 1964 the Trustees established another large goal, this for $21,000,000 with no time specified for completion. It did, however, focus attention on the seven major needs of the College: continued improvement of faculty salaries; instructional reinforcement (books, laboratories, fine arts); scholarships and financial aid; the residential requirements of students (in particular, the renovation of Stone and Davis Halls and the quadrangle dormitories); faculty housing and improved pensions and stipends during leaves of absence; conservation of the campus (especially the meadows, lakeside paths, and trees); "continuing education of alumnae to strengthen them for the demands of today's world." That goal was reached on May 31, 1971—and on July 1 plans were started for a Centennial Fund. (Elisabeth *Luce* Moore '24, a Wellesley trustee from 1947 to 1965, Chairman of the Publicity Committee for the 75th Anniversary Fund Campaign who continued—because of her extraordinary flair and great interest—to help superbly on fund literature as long as she was on the Board of Trustees, recalled in an oral history interview having said at the conclusion of the 75th: "All alumnae know we are just going to have a perpetual campaign.")

Certainly the alumnae and their relatives and friends and other friends of the College have responded magnificently. During the first twenty-four years of the Development Fund (July 1, 1950 to July 1, 1974) their gifts and bequests to the College totaled $69,479,318; and, as Mr. Wood's statistics indicate, the effect is cumulative and the tempo is accelerating. Of the total amount, the alumnae have been directly responsible for $45,093,574; 40.3 percent of that sum has come from bequests. Perhaps more surprising is the fact that 33.8 percent of the $24,386,244 from non-alumnae has also been received through wills—surprising because some large

grants from foundations (the Arthur J. and Nellie Z. Cohen, Ford, James, Kresge, Henry R. Luce, and Mellon Foundations in particular) are included in the total received from non-alumnae.

These statistics indicate clearly the tremendous importance of bequests in the sustaining and developing of the College. Also, while the making of a will is a matter each person determines privately, tribute for Wellesley's pioneering and enlightened program to acquaint alumnae and friends with the value of bequests to the College must be paid to Dorothy *Bridgman* Atkinson Rood '10 and Mary *Cooper* Jewett Gaiser '23. Nearly thirty years ago Mrs. Rood established a Bequest Committee composed of Wellesley-related lawyers and trust officers—this in the days when even mentioning bequests was still considered in questionable taste. She was also responsible for the publication of among the first, if not the very first, booklets and leaflets on the subject issued by any college, and she initiated the use of the inside of the back cover of the *Alumnae Magazine* to tell of bequests the College had received. Since Mrs. Rood's retirement from the Board of Trustees in 1959, Mrs. Gaiser has with great devotion and imagination served on the Development Fund Committee as Chairman of Bequests, continuing to do so even after completing in 1970 the maximum term of eighteen years on the Board.

The gifts and bequests of $1,000 and more received through the Development Fund were published in President's Reports from 1950 through 1966. There is not space here even to list the large gifts and bequests received since that time—a matter of regret on one hand and of rejoicing on the other hand that they are so numerous! But without doubt they and the steady, loyal support of a large percentage of alumnae provided the basis on which a survey conducted by Gurin, Barnes, and Roche, the College's present firm of fund-raising consultants, led to their conclusion that a ten-year centennial program of $70,708,000 could be achieved. This, it will be remembered, was in contrast to the appraisals of the professional consultants twenty-five and fifty years previously!

And so it was that President Barbara *Warne* Newell announced on March 8, 1973: "An historic decision was made by the Trustees of Wellesley College on the morning of January 18, 1973. They approved a ten-year centennial development program of $70,708,000, the largest goal ever sought by a college of Wellesley's size." She then outlined in some detail the centennial needs, which in summary are $31,000,000 for endowment, $14,000,000 for unrestricted annual budget support, and $25,708,000 for buildings. The amount for endowment includes $11,000,000 for faculty salaries and instruction, $9,000,000 for student aid, $4,500,000 for new programs and educational research, and $6,500,000 for general endowment. To meet the building needs, $6,658,000 will be designated

for the additions to the Library; $10,253,000 for a new science building and $3,652,000 for remodeling Sage Hall so that the two connecting structures will combine to form a Science Center; $3,465,000 to remodel Pendleton Hall for the social sciences or humanities and free space in Green and Founders Halls for the expansion of the other disciplines, and $650,000 to remodel the west end of Pendleton for art seminar rooms and studio-workshops; $1,030,000 to remodel part of the interior of the Jewett Arts Center.

As Mrs. Newell stated: "In 1975, Wellesley will enter its second century. We have both the challenge and opportunity to make certain that the College begins its new life fully prepared to assume the great responsibilities that will come to it in its next one hundred years."

Katherine Anne Porter, whose prize-winning *Ship of Fools* had just been published, in 1962 inaugurated the Wilson Lectures. Miss Clapp announced the establishment of the Wilson Lectures by the bequest of Carolyn Wilson '10, and Edward A. Weeks, Wellesley trustee and editor of *The Atlantic Monthly,* introduced Miss Porter.

Robert Frost "said," to use his phrase, his poems at Wellesley many times over a period of nearly fifty years thanks to the Katharine Lee Bates Poets' Reading Fund given by Eunice Smith '98. The last time he was here, however, he gave a special Jewett Lecture in 1960 and afterwards talked informally with students, English Professor David Ferry, and others in the lounge of the Recreation Building, adjoining Alumnae Hall, where the lecture was held.

HENRY A. WOOD, JR.

The Wellesley College Endowment

While Wellesley was opened in 1875, it is regrettable that financial records are lacking for the first twenty-six years. A search has produced only a few scattered records, due no doubt to the great Wellesley fire of March 17, 1914, when College Hall, where the financial records were stored, was completely destroyed. This report, as a result, will be concerned almost entirely with the figures from 1901 through 1973.

There are, however, Trustee Reports for the three years of 1896, 1897, and 1898, and they are rather pathetic reading. The Committee of Trustees for the year ending July 31, 1896, points out that when the College opened in 1875 there were thirty teachers and officers, and 300 students. By 1896 the figures were 94 and 721, increases of over 300% and 240% respectively. It had been necessary to increase board and tuition four times in the twenty-two-year period. Furthermore, in 1896 the general endowment, and by this was meant endowment for any purpose, was a pitiful $6,944 out of securities with a book value of $237,458. The result was the necessity of borrowing over $103,000 from Funds—mainly scholarship and library. It is not surprising that the Trustees also reported that "no college in the country is or can be made a self-supporting institution."

In addition to these woes there was some shocking news about Mr. Durant's property. His will had made Wellesley his residuary legatee, subject to a life interest (his wife's). Wellesley had had the commonly held belief that it would ultimately receive a large property. The personal estate, however, had suffered "such depreciation and loss during the past few years as to render this prospective endowment of too slight consequence to be reckoned with in any plans for the development and maintenance of the College." With all that Mr. Durant had done for Wellesley before his death (many of the college buildings were built by him) and Mrs. Durant after his death, this must have been a shattering shock. The

Report in 1898 showed a continuation of the deficit, with the warning that "Wellesley has no present resource but its tuition receipts to meet the ever-increasing demand for its development and growth. It follows that its insignificant endowments must be indefinitely multiplied or its expenses reduced." A promise of things to come was a munificent gift of $50,000 in 1899, the use of which was free for the trustees to decide.

There is no report for 1900. But 1901 showed a large turnaround for the better. By year-end Funds had gained $269,695 and for the first time there was a General Endowment of $109,150, as well as a Professorship Endowment of $125,000, which with other smaller sums made a total of $610,363. A small decline in 1902 was followed in 1903 by a notable gain to $780,566, which included cash of $86,449 and mortgages of $194,300. At this point it should be noted that the Endowment Funds did not and do not include real estate, for the reason that unlike mortgages the real estate has not produced income, because it is almost always used for educational purposes, such as instruction, administration, or housing. From then on until 1923, when the market value of the endowment was first shown, the increase, while not uninterrupted, was very substantial, and the book value had jumped to an amazing $5,617,811. This was an increase of $4,831,245 for the twenty years or an average of $241,862 per year. At that point the market value was 101% of book. Bonds and mortgages were just over 85% of the total, with common stocks adding another 13.7%.

There follows a five-year comparison from 1923 through 1973, which shows the various figures and percentages:

	BOOK VALUE	MARKET VALUE	% MKT TO BOOK	% BONDS	% COMMON
1923—	$ 5,617,811	$ 5,683,232	101.00	84.4	6.0
1928—	7,584,328	8,354,426	110.20	88.6	6.5
1933—	9,152,729	7,429,380	82.00	84.3	10.4
1938—	10,156,909	8,799,339	86.80	71.8	19.6
1943—	10,597,035	11,089,694	101.96	54.5	33.6
1948—	14,611,227	16,124,875	110.36	34.3	39.3
1953—	20,440,501	24,491,735	119.82	40.2	42.2
1958—	34,021,244	48,262,832	141.90	48.8	32.7
1963—	54,416,920	83,633,912	153.69	48.9	37.9
1968—	78,538,146	119,480,683	152.13	51.9	35.2
1973—	106,349,224	129,490,655	121.76	32.0	49.6

It might also be of some interest to show the dollar gains in market value made during this same fifty-year span:

	$	%
1923-1928	$ 2,671,194	47
1928-1933	925,046 (Loss)	11
1933-1938	1,369,959	15
1938-1943	2,290,355	22
1943-1948	5,035,181	68
1948-1953	8,366,860	52
1953-1958	23,771,097	95
1958-1963	35,371,080	73
1963-1968	35,846,771	43
1968-1973	10,009,972	8

This fifty-year period shows clearly the changes in investment practices that were taking place. The percentage invested in common stocks rose steadily from 6.0% in 1923 to 42.2% in 1953, and then after a decline to 35.2% in 1968 rose to a new high figure of 49.6%. If to that was added the convertible preferred stocks, the figure was over 63%.

Of interest also is the fact that during the fifty years from 1923-1973 there were twelve years—1931 through 1942—when the market value of General Investments was lower than book, the lowest ratio being 65.40% in 1932. In all others from 1923 through 1930, and again from 1943 through 1973, the market value exceeded book each year, the highest ratio being 161.88% in 1961, and the most recent as of June 30, 1973, being 121.76%.

It is true of course that the increasing emphasis on common and convertible preferred stocks has resulted in a lower rate of return on the investments. At the same time it has sometimes made possible stock investments of a sort which might otherwise not have been considered.

Perhaps the most unusual investment was the purchase in 1966 of a one-eightieth share in the perpetual royalty rights of "Listerine" paid by what is now Warner Lambert Pharmaceutical Co. Warner Lambert, or rather a predecessor company, had tried twice in court to eliminate these perpetual royalties, but had lost both times. The one-eightieth share was bought for $470,000, with an annual royalty payment equal to about 8% of the cost. A decision was made to take as income only the average rate of return on Wellesley's common stock portfolio at the time of that purchase, which was 3.14%. By this procedure the book value has been

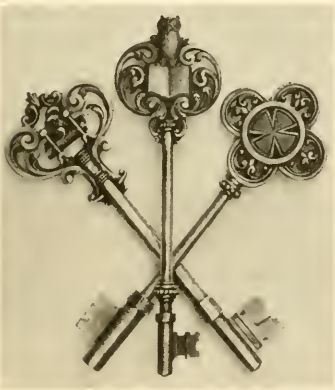
GENERAL INVESTMENTS OF WELLESLEY COLLEGE

YEAR	BOOK VALUE	MARKET VALUE	MARKET TO BOOK	BONDS	PREFERRED	COMMON	CASH + SHORT	MORTGAGES ETC	OTHER
1901	660383			←	581,090	→	29337		
2	607789			358804	4500	65455	8644	110385	
3	780560			407034	—	89258	86499	194300	2770
4	748834			402029	6459	92875	42676	204800	
5	720962			394011	—	94500	27650	204800	
6	734500			391850	—	106509	35324	197350	34.73
7	776504			440796	1500	132202	10656	191350	
8	767149			420796	1500	133605	19407	190441	
9	762121			423459	7000	140712	209	190241	
1910	842651			480364	9931	158875	231	193250	
1	918799			549593	13287	157705	10213	188000	
2	938314			572863	11905	164515	2280	186750	
3	1009117			646644	12612	166321	2290	181250	
4	1662871			1272588	13287	170516	30780	175700	
5	2690669			1889921	12267	138601	489930	159950	
6	3127945			2767397	10770	235389	—	117750	
7	3192114			2889640	5914	195310	—	101250	
8	3271771			2866140	7254	270127	25000	103250	
9	3197076			2893464	1340	220072	—	82200	
1920	3194766			2616537	44987	463492	—	69750	
1	3702662			2986820	92567	463052	—	62729	
2	4642064			4110283	70734	415488		42350	3209
3	5617811	5683293	101.00	4737729	54815	768008	—	54050	3209
4	6137412	6436309	105.00	5382894	6698	702120	—	45700	
5	6857544	7515262	109.00	6175562	31635	632147	—	18200	
6	7487635	8514069	114.00	6923070	69678	478387	—	16500	
7	7429540	8426028	113.50	6224776	127742	294999	650000	132024	
8	7584328	8354426	110.20	6710925	285506	492674	—	95823	
9	8023770	8998097	112.00	7051586	285506	620505	—	66173	
1930	8747217	9558571	109.50	7604550	326112	774155	—	42400	
1	7759810	7548833	97.40	6542771	336074	844016	—	36950	
2	9234617	6026293	65.40	7810918	326870	983254	80125	33450	
3	9152729	7429380	82.00	7699202	388947	952030	80000	32550	
4	9361100	8134070	87.00	7726917	481581	1049652	—	22950	
5	9501283	8681204	91.40	7548885	549998	1382250	—	20650	
6	9515151	9382998	98.50	7222301	787983	1489717	—	15150	
7	9866923	9412542	95.50	7203043	756294	1888324	—	19262	
8	10156909	8799339	86.80	7266160	881857	1990960	—	17932	
9	9825178	8723722	89.00	6219167	997670	2656186	—	12155	
1940	9814061	8366909	86.30	6120897	1024484	2656630	—	12040	
1	10563819	9501140	95.00	6331161	1160318	3059966	—	11916	NOT
2	10515673	9028395	85.70	6259977	1181310	3062619		11766	POOLED
3	10597035	11089694	101.96	5787951	1238324	3559144		11504	
4	11817956	13042332	105.15	5357745	2159436	4289271		11616	↓
5	12411784	14137222	113.90	5468963	2296187	4345436	213476	11428	75693
6	12756841	15700000	123.20	4700890	2910860	5033911	46786	11278	53116
7	13217620	14468131	109.46	4230968	2999938	5692609	158088	51162	85055
8	14611227	16124875	110.36	5011525	3206177	5743889	505554	59026	85056
9	15450235	15718359	101.74	4709617	3377953	6521237	852158	55946	33323
1950	17145484	19338805	112.79	5931951	2702795	7535007	912690	29717	33324
1	18128071	22001815	121.37	6520209	2512540	7985659	1060882	15458	33324
2	19268655	25078367	130.15	7757661	2677203	8178855	605937	15675	33324
3	20440501	24491735	119.82	8200762	2857617	8490253	817316	41229	33324
4	21916029	30055452	137.14	8760533	3071089	8963181	1660717	27185	33324
5	24916775	39292020	157.69	10411549	9420713	10203432	802616	27431	51033
6	30775159	45687971	148.46	14928637	3343846	9722874	1901057	53959	824786
7	33536746	47369139	141.25	15729573	3200269	10985168	2718212	54388	849196
8	34021244	48262832	141.90	16608201	3369184	11120206	2027360	54749	1095855
9	35585332	54874000	157.10	17866150	2925971	12492184	1149890	55282	1254379
1960	39144793	54257000	155.43	19797391	2718721	13754346	1586259	39697	1307339
1	47992960	71217777	161.88	21760244	2703005	16919768	1289599	13005	1907339
2	50760864	68394071	134.74	25338339	2773545	20182307	1158117	95680	1212876
3	54416920	83633912	153.69	26574563	2656384	20533407	3320565	94034	1237467
4	59515563	92790158	155.91	28435456	2411628	24445918	2980111	142647	1049803
5	62527389	97534993	155.99	30567188	1903207	25241008	3553496	97745	1114745
6	68466232	99092745	144.74	36731279	2540329	24601326	3354373	96225	1145700
7	72651285	107151307	147.49	41507265	3338593	24584471	1464863	639757	1118 6336
8	78538146	119480683	152.13	40683065	4503394	27640805	4042281	560093	1107848
9	83705968	118356193	141.40	42315182	4874851	32876766	1452544	1083385	1103385
1970	88404888	94201959	106.56	43389010	4098193	38705482	23443	1051035	1137725
1	90066054	129889237	124.50	36984380	4407891	41567796	2965089	2705184	1439714
2	99551503	142201035	142.93	37676223	1938073	47474585	4589561	3365331	4507730
3	106344224	129490655	121.76	32071651	1606012	52840621	11.094652	4303791	4432497

written down by the balance of the royalties from the original cost of $470,000 to a present book value of just under $87,000, and it is hoped and expected that within the next two years, the book value will be $1, and thus Wellesley will then be receiving perhaps $60,000 a year of income on a $1 investment.

Admittedly this short account of the Wellesley College endowment is a rather sketchy one, but it does give a fairly accurate picture of what has been developing. It is a heart-warming tribute to all the alumnae and friends who over the years have given so generously not only of their own resources, but also of their precious time. Wellesley will be forever in their debt. It is particularly appropriate to realize that without the guidance of the Presidents such results could not have been possible.

The keys of the College.



President Hazard's scallop shell motif on Whitin Observatory.

The coat-of-arms on Tower Court.

Windows with significance: the coat-of-arms in Green Hall; Captain John Beebe's ship in Beebe Hall; mathematical symbols in Shafer Hall honoring Miss Shafer.

One of the figures carved in wood in the Great Hall of Tower Court.

JOHN R. QUARLES

The Role of the Trustees

"To raise money and handle investments"

"To hold title to property and provide the necessary facilities"

"To handle the business end of the college"

"To oversee the entire operation and assure maintenance of the college's standards and the accomplishment of its stated purposes"

"To provide the three Ws generally expected of trustees—Wealth, Wisdom, and Work, at least two of which should be required to qualify a candidate"

"To select the president and establish procedures for the selection of the faculty"

"To serve as a connecting link between the institution and the several segments of its public—alumnae, donors, prospective students, public officials, news media and others"

These seem to be the most common immediate-reaction responses to the question "What do you consider the principal duties and responsibilities of college trustees?" (Our primary interest here is in colleges, but what is said about them on this subject applies equally to universities and certain other eleemosynary institutions.)

The diversity of these answers reflects not only the lack of any common understanding of the function of college trustees but also considerable difference of opinion as to how the trustees fit into the overall structure. Even among the trustees themselves there is a wide range of opinion concerning their duties and responsibilities. Examination of the practical aspects of some of the answers given above may not prove anything, but hopefully it will help in understanding the problem.

The one function of the trustees as to which there can be no dispute is the selection and support (and if necessary the removal) of the president. The methods by which choices have been reached at Wellesley are dis-

cussed elsewhere in this volume. Suffice it to say here that while no one questions the ultimate responsibility of the trustees for the selection, there is substantial difference of opinion as to the extent to which alumni, faculty, students, and administration should be involved in the process, with a strong trend at the present time to enlarge their participation.

The powers of the president and the extent of supervision by the trustees are usually not covered by specific delegation to the appointee but are determined by reference to the pattern that has evolved in practice over the years. Naturally, they vary from one college to another and from one administration to another, depending on the personalities involved.

Perhaps the most widely quoted expression of opinion on the relationship between the trustees and the president comes from an address by Charles A. Coolidge, for many years senior member of the Harvard Corporation: "Let me emphasize one point which I think is the most important single rule for a university trustee . . . *Don't meddle.* . . . As a layman you should recognize that it is the president's and the faculty's job to educate. As a trustee you should see that these men are capable and you should work hard to help them in every way, but you should not try to do their jobs for them. In short, you should see that the university is well run by someone else and not try to run it yourself." Not all trustees are willing to go this far, but Morton A. Rauh in his *College and University Trusteeship* expresses the opinion that this is representative of the sentiments of most enlightened trustees today.

The next area in which there is a substantial consensus on the role of trustees is the handling or close supervision of the financial and business affairs of the college. Many trustees assume that they are directly responsible in this area and should be personally involved in administration through the investment, finance, buildings and grounds and similar committees. Even here, however, it is easier to state the principle than to apply it. For example, in theory the annual budget controls expenditures and is a tool of the trustees for this purpose. But in actual practice, typically the budget is developed department by department in cooperation by the members of the departments and the business manager with the approval of the president. The finance committee participates in varying degrees but usually only in an advisory capacity, without authority to give final approval or disapproval. The process is long and tedious. Ultimately, the composite budget in final form is presented to the board in summary fashion by the president with a recommendation of approval from the finance committee.

Meanwhile, in order to hold competent faculty members and procure new ones, and for various other reasons, it has been necessary for the president to commit the college in advance for a major portion of the

total budget. Another major portion is represented by fixed charges and built-in increases which cannot be reduced without complete disruption. Thus, by the time the budget reaches the board for its approval, there is little the board can do other than rubber-stamp it.

Since the sole purpose of the college is to educate, and all else is incidental to that purpose, the relationship of the trustees to the educational program is crucial. Here the trustee is in a most difficult situation.

In the first place, the trustee is morally and legally responsible for the standards and conduct of a highly specialized professional enterprise completely outside the scope of his training and experience. In America, there has developed a strange and theoretically indefensible practice of placing lay boards of trustees in charge of certain types of public professional institutions, notably hospitals, universities, and colleges, and making them responsible for the maintenance of proper professional standards. The average college trustee is poorly qualified to pass judgment on curriculum, teaching methods, or individual teacher qualifications. This is in striking contrast to the situation of a business corporation's board of directors, most if not all of whose members are business or professional people experienced in dealing with similar issues and problems in their own respective principal occupations.

In the second place, the professionals are jealous of their prerogatives and justifiably maintain constant pressure, in the name of academic freedom, tenure, and superior expertise, to protect and enlarge their measure of control over academic matters. In theory, the trustees appoint the faculty, and in fact they normally do go through the motion annually of voting the appointments. As in the case of the budget, however, they have little choice and the vote is a routine formality. Many faculty members are protected by tenure. Others have received assurances before the matter reaches the board. The trustees have not had the time, even if they had the competence, to do the necessary homework. Individual trustees have more confidence in the judgment of the department heads, the deans, and the president in such matters than in their own and their fellow trustees' judgment. The system at least has the merit of periodically reminding trustees and faculty that the board has the ultimate authority and responsibility, and of providing a specific opportunity for the trustees to raise questions and deal with unusual situations and emergencies.

Here again, as with the powers of the president, the extent of delegation and the relationship between the trustees and the faculty are worked out in practice rather than in theory. The best thing that can be said for such flexibility is that it seems to work remarkably well—but it presents its problems.

Partly as a result of frustration in feeling the desire to contribute and

to justify their election to the board, and finding the ground already firmly occupied by the faculty and administration, and partly because of the very nature of the enterprise and its relationship with the public, many trustees seek and find opportunities for useful service outside board meetings and committee work, in the areas of fund raising, publicity, promoting public understanding and good will, and the like. In fact, this type of activity has become so general that it is now recognized as a normal incident of trusteeship, and it is not uncommon for trustees to be chosen in large part on the basis of their qualifications for it. At Wellesley it represents a significant part of the work of the trustees, especially those who are also alumnae of the College. In her article entitled "What Do the Trustees Do," published in the May 1956 issue of the *Alumnae Magazine,* Cynthia *Dudley* Post '34, then an alumnae trustee, said, "Another important aspect of a trustee's responsibility, not defined in the bylaws, involves work 'in the field' (i.e. away from the campus) and comes under the general heading of public relations."

In discussing individual volunteer services, perhaps a word of warning is in order. This can be dangerous ground for the inexperienced trustee, as the line between helpful service and harmful meddling is a thin one. The damage caused by the well-intentioned but overzealous trustee, especially in undertaking "to be helpful" to the faculty and students, can outweigh the benefits. There is no evidence that this has ever been a problem at Wellesley.

What has been said about the practical limitations on the trustees' exercise of control should not be interpreted as suggesting that they are mere figureheads. By virtue of having the power to step in and take charge at any time, and perhaps even more by reason of the unselfish dedication with which they perform their duties and the high regard in which they are held, they make their influence felt all along the line, usually without the question of who has what authority to do what having to be raised.

The net of all this is that there are few established guide-posts and in general each board of trustees has found itself obliged, within wide limits, to chart its own course and determine what powers it will exercise directly and what it will delegate, and free to change course from time to time as deemed expedient. In any individual case, the role of the trustees can be determined only by examining what they and their predecessors, and the faculty, president, and others under their supervision, have actually done over the years. The fact that such an unregulated and unsupervised practice has worked as well as it has can be attributed only to the kind of persons generally chosen as trustees.

An interesting factor in shaping the concept of the college trustee's function, which may have contributed to the scope of his potential activi-

ties and his freedom of choice among them but which appears to have escaped attention, is his heritage of both trust and corporate backgrounds and precedents. If the college is incorporated, as is usually the case, the governing body, whether called corporation members, directors, regents, trustees, or whatever, is the counterpart of the business corporation's board of directors. The relevant Massachusetts statute (G.L. Ch. 180) provides that instead of directors, a corporation organized, *inter alia,* for educational purposes may have a board of other officers "with the powers of directors."

Although trustees and corporate directors both serve in fiduciary capacities and have parallel functions, there are significant differences between them. The powers of directors vest in the board as a body, and can be exercised only by majority vote of a quorum. An individual director, as such, has no authority to act on behalf of the corporation. Unless he is placed on a committee or given other specific assignment by delegation, his duties are fully discharged by keeping himself adequately informed and attending and voting at board meetings. At present there appears to be a definite trend in America and abroad imposing greater social responsibility on business corporations and requiring directors to take into account the interest of the general public rather than solely the financial interest of the stockholders, but directors still can act officially only as a board, by vote in a meeting or, in some states, by written consent.

A trustee of a conventional operating trust, on the other hand, qua trustee, acts individually or jointly with co-trustees as directed by the will or trust instrument. There is no necessity for formal meetings or votes but there may well be a requirement of being directly involved in the operation of the trust, with only limited power of delegation, and the individual trustee may have original (as distinguished from delegated) authority to act on behalf of the trust.

If the analogy of the corporation director alone applied, the sphere of activity of the college trustee would be far narrower than it is generally assumed to be. If the analogy of the traditional trustee also applies, the college trustee has a wider range of duties and responsibilities. Traditionally, and without the propriety of their so doing being questioned by anyone, college trustees have assumed duties and responsibilities which would generally be regarded as inappropriate for business corporate directors. If an institution originates as a trust and the trustees organize a corporation to carry out the program, with themselves and their associates constituting the board, the trust flavor is likely to carry over and influence the attitude and conduct of the board members. The common use of the term "trustee" itself is suggestive.

As a matter of fact, as colleges individually and collectively have developed organizations and procedures to handle more and more adminis-

trative matters and have delegated more and more authority and responsibility in academic matters to the faculty, the individual and collateral activities of the trustees have become increasingly important.

In view of the importance to society of having the best possible pattern of college governance, it is indeed surprising that no authoritative or generally accepted definition of the respective roles of trustees, president, and faculty has been achieved in one way or another. None has. In some cases the subject is dealt with in the charter or bylaws of the institution, but even here the coverage is frequently in such general terms that it provides little control or even guidance in specific situations.

Against this background particularly, it is interesting to take a look at the records of the original trustees of Wellesley College and then, by examining the way some typical situations and issues have been handled, to trace the evolution of the concept of the trustees' role over the intervening one-hundred-year period, which has witnessed such dramatic and fundamental change in every aspect of life in America.

* * *

When Mr. and Mrs. Durant decided to establish a college for women, they selected six friends to participate with them in the undertaking. These eight petitioned the legislature for a charter and (to ignore the legal red tape) became the original members of the corporation. There was no mention of directors or trustees and for several years there were only two bylaws, the first fixing the date for the annual meeting and the second specifying as the officers to be elected a president, a vice president, a treasurer, and a secretary.

A committee appointed to draft a code of bylaws apparently was unable to agree on what its provisions should be and after being granted several extensions of time ultimately asked to be relieved of the assignment and a new committee was given the job.

The organization meeting and the first annual meeting (1871) were each referred to as a "meeting of the corporation"; but in both the notice and the minutes of the annual meeting in 1872, that meeting was referred to as a "meeting of the trustees." Thereafter, the members appear to have been regularly called trustees, but for some time were still mentioned as individuals and not as a board. Apparently, the transition in terminology occurred without any formal action and even without realization of its happening. There is nothing to indicate that it was regarded as of any significance.

At the first meeting of the corporation, Mr. Durant was elected treasurer and Mrs. Durant secretary. They served as such until Mr. Durant's death in 1881, at which time, in accordance with his expressed desire, Mrs. Durant succeeded him as treasurer, while continuing to serve also

as secretary. When the Executive Committee was created, Mr. Durant was appointed its chairman.

Although the minutes record the dates of the commencement of construction of the first college building and of the laying of the first stone, the cornerstone ("without any public ceremony"), and the first brick, there was no vote authorizing the construction or approving the design or the building contract. (Perhaps the simple explanation is to be found in the fact that the building was built on the Durants' land and paid for with Durant money.)

For several years, there were no recorded meetings other than the routine annual meetings, and even these were poorly attended. Undoubtedly, there were informal meetings and consultations of which no record was kept. The behavior of the members was much more consistent with that of trustees than with that of corporate directors.

The minutes of the third annual meeting (1873) record recognition of "the need of a larger number of trustees" (but no explanation of why!) and the election of eight additional men, incidentally all clergymen. At this meeting, Mrs. Durant, on behalf of the College, accepted an indenture and a deed of the campus land from Mr. Durant, and for the first time the trustees as a body tackled the job of getting organized to run the College. They appointed Mr. and Mrs. Durant and the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel G. Clark a committee to select teachers, and Mr. Durant and the Rev. Dr. Edward N. Kirk a committee to prepare and submit a curriculum. They established an executive committee with broad general powers and specifically directed it to appoint a board of visitors to attend classes and report their observations.

At an adjourned session of the meeting, the committee to select teachers reported that they had appointed Miss Ada L. Howard as the first "President of the Faculty and of the various Professors and Teachers." There followed a vote committing the general management of the College under authority of the Trustees "to the President" (obviously meaning the President of the Faculty rather than the President of the corporation), with the provision that the several instructors would assist her and report matters requiring her attention.

By other votes, the professors and teachers were designated the Faculty, given certain responsibilities, and directed to meet with the President weekly for reports and consultation; and annual examinations of students in the presence of trustee representatives were directed.

Incidentally, there was no vote then or later defining the duties and powers of the treasurer. Mr. Durant had chosen that office rather than the presidency, presumably because it gave him control of finances, and he set the pattern which has been followed ever since. As an elected officer the treasurer reports directly to the Board of Trustees and its Fi-

nance and Investment Committees rather than to the President. He, like the President, is an *ex officio* member of the board. He maintains his own office and staff in Boston. This dichotomy, under the general supervision of the Board of Trustees, has worked reasonably well, although on occasion in the earlier years the President has felt that she should have more voice in the financial affairs of the College, and that the treasurer has too much control of the purse strings.

Anyone reading the minutes of the earlier years in the light of modern practice must be particularly impressed by the extent to which the Trustees undertook to supervise both content and methods of instruction and to regulate all activities of faculty and students. Examples picked at random include prescribing the curriculum, supervising examinations, assigning space in College Hall, selecting the ministers for Sunday chapel services, specifying the time for faculty meetings with the President, designating the chairman of faculty meetings, changing "recreation day" from Saturday to Monday, authorizing the faculty to require "a little less work of sophomores" and "to have due regard for the health and strength of pupils without regard for any specified amount of work to be done in each Department," and relieving students of dishwashing as a part of "domestic work." At the same time major business and policy decisions were left to Mr. Durant without even the formality of Board approval.

It is also interesting to note the extensive use of *ad hoc* committees to investigate specific matters and report recommendations for action by the full Board instead of delegation of authority to standing or special committees or individuals to take the required action.

Whatever the pattern may have appeared to be on paper, it seems obvious that as long as Mr. Durant lived all important decisions were in fact made by him. The soundness of those decisions is evidenced by the rapid and healthy growth of the College. By the time of his death in 1881 it was firmly established and, except for chronic financial problems, running smoothly.

At his death the situation changed. The people whom he had brought in as trustees and faculty had minds and wills of their own and, while they had deferred to his judgment, without his leadership it was inevitable that differences of opinion would surface and changes would occur.

Mrs. Durant, a person of strong character and convictions in her own right, tried valiantly to hold the line against change, at times on the basis of her own convictions and at times out of respect for her husband; and at first she was successful.

When there was a proposal to relax the requirements as to religious qualification of trustees and faculty members, Mrs. Durant quoted Mr. Durant's charge to the trustees in his will not to permit any change in his design—and the proposal was defeated, 11 to 4.

When it was proposed to make attendance at prayers Sunday night and Monday morning voluntary, such a change was found to be contrary to Article VII of the statutes. The proposal was dropped but notice was immediately given of a proposal to amend the statute at the next meeting.

When the critical financial situation of the College made an increase in tuition imperative, Mrs. Durant opposed it on the ground that it was inconsistent with the basic purpose to make education available to poor and rich alike—and recorded a lone negative vote.

When a man was suggested as the first candidate for consideration by the Search Committee for the fifth President, Mrs. Durant said, "If we get a man now we will never again have the place for a woman in all probability." The man's name was dropped from the list and in due course Caroline Hazard was chosen. The significance of this decision cannot be overemphasized. As a precedent, it has been followed in every subsequent election.

Initially the operation of a farm providing vegetables and dairy products for the College was an integral part of running the College. Mrs. Durant found this quite burdensome and, at her request, a Farm Committee of Trustees was appointed to advise and assist her.

Notwithstanding the benefit from the farm, the use of the students for housekeeping and some kitchen services, and the practice of all possible economies, at times there were serious operating deficits which were made up in part by "borrowing" from restricted funds. When Mrs. Irvine was elected President in 1895, she agreed to accept *provided* the Board would pass a resolution pledging to eliminate all loans from funds given for special purposes before the end of the year and then to publish a full financial report. The matter was referred to the Executive Committee and the Finance Committee and after receiving their reports, the Board voted to meet her requirements. Thus, before the turn of the century, the Wellesley President was making the Board toe the line.

By all odds the most troublesome issue with which the Trustees have had to cope through the years has been the conflict between the original design and the changing demands of the times on the religious issue. There was no uncertainty or ambiguity as to the intent of the founders. The purposes for which the College was established were to glorify God and promote the worship of Jesus Christ. All meetings of the Board of Trustees opened with prayer. Most of the early trustees were clergymen. Trustees and faculty were required to be devout Evangelical Christians. There was even a proposal to require trustees and faculty to subscribe to a formal creed. On occasion, appointments were held up pending investigation of the candidate's religious beliefs.

Students were required to attend worship services daily through the week and three times on Sunday, and, in accordance with the first bylaws,

to pursue "the study of the Holy Scriptures . . . throughout the entire College course under the direction of the Faculty." Mr. Durant found the excitement and hilarity of commencement offensive and out of harmony with the purpose "to please God in all things." He proposed elimination of commencement and substitution of simple delivery of diplomas following the baccalaureate sermon. This was approved by the Board of Trustees for the then current year, but by the following year he had died and regular commencement was resumed.

Against the ever-increasing pressure of faculty and students for liberalization, the Trustees have fought a rear-guard action, giving ground slowly but in each case irretrievably, sometimes by frankly facing the issue, sometimes by "interpretation," as the Supreme Court has dealt with the Constitution.

Thus the religious motif has gradually been chipped away until today scarcely a vestige remains. To some it is gratifying and reassuring that practicality can prevail over obsolete terms and conditions, however firm and explicit they may be; to some it is puzzling and disturbing that a donor's wishes, expressed as the basis of a gift, can be denied while the gift is retained.

The final development in the process came in 1967 in the restatement of qualifications of trustees and faculty members and the elimination of the required course in Bible. These were warmly debated issues, especially the latter as it involved inevitable weakening of Wellesley's outstanding Biblical History Department, on one side, against the inconsistency of continuing Bible as the only required course, on the other. In the end, recognizing it as a question of curriculum, jurisdiction over which was vested in the faculty by the bylaws, the Trustees bowed to the faculty's decision and enacted the necessary bylaw amendment.

The period of most intensive activity of the Trustees was that immediately following the "Great Fire" in 1914. The problems required no major policy decisions and involved no major differences of opinion. President Pendleton lost no time in setting the course. The Board had the responsibility of implementing the rebuilding program, and this it did with vigor and enthusiasm, meeting as a board and taking action by recorded votes, in striking contrast to the individual action of the original trustees at the time of the first building program. It delegated certain responsibilities to the Executive Committee, which constituted itself a Committee on Buildings and Funds, and it made full use of other committees. It sought and seriously considered advice from various sources, including the College Art Department, the faculty, and the alumnae. But it was on the job constantly as a Board overseeing both the raising of funds and all aspects of the construction program.

World War II presented the Trustees with a new and different kind of

responsibility. The President, Mildred McAfee, was appointed Director of the Women's Reserve of the United States Naval Reserve and was given a leave of absence from the College, leaving the Trustees with the responsibility of providing for its administration in a most difficult period. This emergency was met by dividing the duties of the office among the Senior Alumnae Trustee, Marie *Rahr* Haffenreffer, as Administrative Trustee, Ella Keats Whiting as Dean of Instruction, and Lucy Wilson as Dean of Students. To prevent unnecessary changes in the composition of the Board, the bylaw provision limiting trustees to a total of eighteen years of service was suspended for the duration of the war. When Miss McAfee returned to duty, she found the administration of the College in good order.

The admission of men to Wellesley on an exchange basis presented no problem for the Trustees. The movement began in 1967 with an exchange of ideas between the Presidents of Wellesley and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The details were worked out by representatives of the respective faculties and administrations. The program when presented to the Board was so obviously desirable that it was approved without hesitation. Subsequently it was expanded to other colleges by Wellesley's joining the Eleven College Exchange, almost as a matter of course, thus changing it to the Twelve College Exchange.

There was, however, a related issue, the answer to which was not so easy: Whether Wellesley would grant degrees to men. This was a matter of far greater significance than appears on the surface. The granting of degrees to men would mean adopting coeducation and abandoning Wellesley's traditional status as a women's college, with all that such a change implies. Alumnae became seriously concerned and took strong positions. The trustees were badly divided. It seemed essential to settle the issue before launching the Centennial Fund Campaign. When it came to a vote on April 15, 1971, a substantial majority of the trustees favored accepting men only on an exchange basis and not as candidates for degrees. Thus Wellesley is committed to remain a women's college.

Another controversial issue which came to a head during this period of abnormal student unrest pertained to the parietals. Badly stated, the question was whether men would be admitted to students' rooms at all hours without restriction. The proposal was strongly supported by an imposing majority of the students, including their elected leaders, principally on the ground that, as mature young women, each of them should be free to determine whom she would have in her room and when. It was opposed on grounds of morality, health, safety, fairness, and expediency. Feelings ran high. A large group of parents appeared before the Board and made a formal presentation in opposition. Dire consequences were confidently predicted, whatever the Board's decision.

The crucial factor turned out to be an agreement made in 1918 between the faculty and the student body, with the Board's approval, giving the College Government Association authority over the social aspects of student life. Pursuant to that agreement, the College Government acting through the Senate (its legislative body, made up of ten students, three faculty members, and four administrators) enacted legislation giving students individually the option of living in a dormitory under the existing regulations or one without such restrictions. This compromise was approved by the faculty, acting through the Academic Council. The President apparently had power to veto the action, and the Board could have overruled the action or revoked the authority and responsibility previously delegated. Both the President and the Board felt that doing so would be breaking faith with the students and making a mockery of the fifty-year-old agreement, and the Board formally voted that it would not be in the best interests of the College and its students to take any such action.

Realizing the importance of having a clear vision of Wellesley's purposes and goals and having a structure appropriate for their achievement, in the spring of 1969 the Board established a Commission on the Future of the College and provided it with adequate staff and finances for a study in depth of its subject. Two years later this Commission brought in a comprehensive report with specific findings and recommendations and supporting factual data. The Board received this report with enthusiasm and has found it extremely helpful in its planning.

Analysis of the events and decisions described in the foregoing pages with a view to discovering what the trustees have considered their duty and how they have performed it discloses (a) an early transition from individual to corporate action, followed by the development over the years of a pattern of vitally important committee work and outside work by individual trustees, especially those who are also alumnae, in the areas of public relations, fund raising, and related activities; and (b) a consistent trend toward decentralization and delegation of responsibility and authority, greater involvement of faculty and students at all levels, and less Trustee regulation of individual behavior. The Board remains ultimately responsible and periodically it is called on to decide policy questions or to act on major matters, but the day-to-day operation of the College has been largely delegated to specialists: academic matters to the Academic Council, social matters to the College Government, administration to the President, finances to the Treasurer, and fund raising to the Development Office and alumnae. Students and faculty share in decision-making processes. Trustee participation at the operating level consists principally of work on specialized standing committees on which faculty, students, and administration are also appropriately represented, but on

all trustee standing committees a majority must still be trustees. The respective functions of these committees are sufficiently indicated by their titles: Finance, Investment, Buildings and Grounds, Nominating, and so forth. Trustee meetings are devoted principally to hearing reports from the President, the Treasurer, and the committee chairmen, acting on faculty appointments, and granting degrees. The Executive Committee, composed exclusively of trustees, meets monthly and exercises the powers of the Board between its meetings. Other committees meet as their duties require.

The Board is composed as follows: the President of the College, the Treasurer of the College, and the Alumnae Association President *ex officiis;* one trustee nominated by the faculty each sixth year for a term of six years; four alumnae trustees nominated by the Alumnae Association for six-year staggered terms; one alumnae trustee from the graduating class nominated each third year for a three-year term by the members of that class, the next preceding class, and the next following class; and not fewer than twenty nor more than thirty-five trustees at large nominated for six-year staggered terms by the Nominating Committee of trustees, faculty, and students. Trustees of this last-mentioned category are limited to a total of eighteen years of service, whether or not contiguous. In making their selection, the Nominating Committee must bear in mind, in addition to maintaining a broadly representative and well-balanced Board with the obvious individual qualifications, the need for a sufficient number of local business and professional men to serve on several of the operating committees and to be available for special services at the call of the President. Wellesley does not choose trustees on the basis of their ability to make or procure gifts. The exceptionally high attendance at board and committee meetings and willingness to take on additional assignments attest the interest and devotion of the trustees.

As Wellesley looks ahead to its second century, the Trustees know what its goals are and they are confident of its ability to achieve those goals. They believe that it can remain sufficiently flexible to adjust to change in the future as it has done in the past.

John R. Quarles, Chairman Emeritus of the Board of Trustees, and President Barbara W. Newell at her inauguration in 1972.

Until the Wellesley College Club was built on the campus, the Board of Trustees often met in Boston and usually sat rather formally around a directors' table. At the meeting in the 1950s pictured here, the Rev. Dr. Palfry Perkins, Chairman of the Board, presided, Miss Clapp sat on his right, and Treasurer Henry A. Wood, Jr. was the fourth from the left of those standing. In a photograph taken in the Wall Room of the Club, Mrs. Newell and Chairman Nelson J. Darling, Jr., were seated much more casually on the davenport in the foreground.

JOAN FISS BISHOP

Wellesley Alumnae in the World

THE LIVES OF WELLESLEY ALUMNAE provide an exciting panorama of both discernible patterns and innovative new thrusts in the activities and interests of college-educated women. Within succeeding eras of the past century came changing mores, needs, and convictions. The social milieu, the development of the College, and the students in each period reflect their influences on each other. The objectives of Wellesley College and the purposes of the students who came to the College have in the lives of alumnae reflected this mutuality and interaction.

The Early Years: 1875-1900

In the first two Calendars published by the College, clear definitions of its purposes are given. The Wellesley College Calendar for 1876-77, the year after the College opened, stated: "Wellesley College has been established for the purpose of giving young women who seek a collegiate education, opportunities fully equivalent to those usually provided for young men. It is designed to meet in the most comprehensive manner the great demand for the higher education of women which is at this day so remarkable a feature in our national life. . . . The low price of tuition, the difficult courses of study, the higher courses for Honors, and the methods of instruction, are all carefully arranged with special reference to the wants of those who desire to be trained as teachers. Others who have not this intention, but desire an equally advanced education, will be admitted."

The next year, the 1877-78 Calendar amplified the statement: "The general design of the College is to provide for the radical change in the education of women, which is made necessary by the great national demand for their higher education. By a gradual and almost unnoticed revolution, the education of the youth of our country has, to a great ex-

tent, passed into the hands of female teachers. There are more than 300,000 women engaged in teaching in public and private schools. This fact has been, to a large degree, the origin of the demand for a higher education. It should also largely influence the character of the instruction which is to be given to those who are to become the teachers of the country. The leading objective of Wellesley College is to educate learned and useful teachers, and this is kept in view throughout all the courses of study, and in all the methods of instruction."

In addition to placing this kind of emphasis on the preparation for teaching, Wellesley had in the early days "teacher specials," known as "T-specs." by the regular students. Stone Hall was built for them in 1880; there lived the somewhat older women who had already been engaged in teaching and wished to fit themselves for higher positions by taking somewhat advanced study in one or more subjects.

Small wonder then that the alumnae of Wellesley in the nineteenth century so generally chose the teaching profession. (On the other hand, Maria S. Eaton, a young chemistry teacher, in 1885 wrote to Professor Eben N. Horsford of Harvard, who was chairman of Wellesley's Board of Visitors and president of a chemical company: "Perhaps I might sometime happen to ask you whether you supposed it likely that any of our graduates could possibly find a place to serve an apprenticeship in practical chemistry, in the hope of becoming workmen in some chemical works? They are asking whether they have all *got* to teach? Whether there is not some other occupation?") Some married without working; others married after some teaching. A substantial number remained single and chose as a way of life the revered post of teacher.

The concern of the College to help its graduates who wished to teach "find a suitable situation" was soon demonstrated. The Teachers' Registry was established in 1878, a year before the first class was graduated in 1879.

In June 1888, Helen A. Shafer, that year the Acting President, stated that the thirty-four graduates who wished to teach had secured positions and "most gratifying reports come to us of the faithfulness and efficiency of our students in their service as teachers." And she commented, "The advantage that accrues to the College from this branch of its work [The Teachers' Registry] cannot well be overestimated." The Secretary of the Registry commented: "It is often urged that the profession of teaching is overcrowded, and that the attention of educated women should be directed to other callings," but added, "there is an unfailing demand for capable and well-equipped teachers."

A clear picture of the Wellesley alumnae of those early years is found in the President's Report for 1892: "The thirteen years which have passed since the first class of eighteen members was graduated from the College,

afford us perspective sufficient for an adequate and comprehensive view of the graduate career of our alumnae, and the impress of these women upon the world in which they work and move. Of these seven hundred and thirty-four graduates, five hundred and forty have engaged in educational work, one hundred and thirty-four have married, twenty-three have died, twelve hold the medical degree and are practicing physicians, fifteen are trained librarians, nine have engaged in foreign, and eleven in home missionary work. Many of this number are in conspicuous positions of responsibility. I believe that the insight and practical efficiency of our alumnae have been amply demonstrated in the world of affairs. On the side of their immediate relations to the College and their sense of obligation to their *Alma Mater,* our graduates have met every test of loyalty and ability."

The transition from teaching to library work was an observable pattern among some of the fifteen librarians in 1892.

That twelve Wellesley graduates held medical degrees by 1892 and were practicing medicine is extraordinary for that time! The records during these early years about alumnae are sparse. It appears that Alice *Tripp* Hale '81 was the first doctor. She studied at Women's Medical College in Philadelphia in 1883-85. Ruth *Webster* Lathrop '83 was the second who became a doctor. Mary Chase '84, the third, studied at Women's Medical College in Philadelphia in 1884-85 and next at New York Medical School, then came to the New England Hospital in Roxbury. Harriet A. Rice '87, a black student, was one of the early doctors. She was a student at Ann Arbor in 1889 and at Women's Medical College of New York Infirmary, receiving her M.D. in 1891; in 1892 she was an interne at New England Hospital for Women and Children, Boston; in 1893 she did post-graduate work at Philadelphia. Dr. Rice then was an instructor at Women's Medical College, Chicago, from 1893 until 1895, in 1895-96 was a resident at Hull House, Chicago, in 1897 Medical Superintendent at Chicago Maternity Hospital. Her subsequent appointments are not clear until World War I when she offered her services to France at the first need for doctors in 1915 and served for three and a half years in French military hospitals. Dr. Rice was awarded the *"Medal de Reconnaissance"* by the French government for her "immense services." Newspaper clippings in 1919 tell of her return and visit to Wellesley when she told "thrilling and impressive tales of her experiences."

Influenced no doubt by involvement in the Christian Association to which all students of the College belonged, as well as by family influences, by 1892 nine alumnae were engaged as foreign missionaries and eleven as home missionaries. From the earliest days of the College there had been daughters of missionaries who after graduation returned as missionaries themselves. Gertrude Abigail Chandler '79, who was born in South India

and returned there as a missionary, was one of these.

Among the missionaries from Wellesley were doctors. Ruth P. Hume '97 exemplifies these. She was born in Ahmednazar, India, one of a long dynasty of "missionary Humes." After receiving her M.D. from Women's Medical College in Philadelphia in 1902, she returned to India. Her class book in 1910 reported that she was "both physician and surgeon, the only foreign trained one in a city of 40,000 and a wide district beyond." In starting, she had to break down prejudice against her sex. At first "most of the babies born were girls"—another difficulty. Much of her work was as Director of the Hospital for Women and Children at Ahmednazar, as well as the only doctor. Contracting "an obscure disease of the East," she died in 1931.

Understanding of the thoughts and activities of alumnae of the nineteenth century can be gained from the collection of Christmas letters of the Class of 1880. Katharine Lee Bates '80, distinguished Wellesley faculty member and president of her class for many years, compiled these letters periodically and wrote summaries. In 1901 she stated: "We spinsters are really in danger of falling into a minority. Let us, the faithful remnant, stand shoulder to shoulder against the assaults of the Winged Boy and do our best to keep our remaining little band of 17 intact." In 1903 she reported: "We were 41 at graduation. During our first decade 6 fell silent. Of the 41, 20 have married. . . . The mothers by divine right of the body . . . may proudly claim to have enriched the world with 24 boys and 23 girls. . . ."

An interest in the law had appeared. Flora Matteson '82 is believed to be the first Wellesley alumna to study law. Isabel Darlington '96 was the first woman admitted to the Pennsylvania Bar, this in 1897. Elva *Young* Van Winkle '96 was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar in 1898. She was active in the founding of the American Association of University Women and was "an energetic advocate for women in law and business." An earlier graduate, Gail Laughlin '94, later became a lawyer. A suffragette, she was active in promoting the legal and social advancement of women and encouraging them to excel. She campaigned for the 19th amendment. In 1927 she became the first woman elected to Maine's House of Representatives where she served for three terms, and three subsequent terms in the Maine Senate. Gail Laughlin was the founder and first president of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women.

In view of the concerns of these early lawyers to give new dimensions to women's roles, it is relevant to listen to the words of Caroline Hazard, who was the president from 1899 until 1910. In a speech, "Ideals in the Education of Women," given at the Twentieth Century Club in Boston on February 17, 1900, she said: "It is impossible to say . . . 'This is for men,' or 'This is for women,' for though there is the ideal masculine and

feminine type, yet qualities overlap, and a feminine soul is sometimes lodged in a masculine body, or the contrary is the case . . . the gifts of Nature are distributed equally to men and women."

The social and economic unrest at the turn of the century aroused advocates of new concepts of service and reform among Wellesley alumnae, as is demonstrated by the following examples. Mary Dewson '97 for twelve years served as Superintendent of the Massachusetts Girls Parole Department and was Secretary of the Massachusetts Commission on Minimum Wage Legislation. An industrial economist, she spent many years working for social causes through changing the legal process. After helping to draft the Social Security Act in 1937, she became the first woman member of the Social Security Board. Mary Barnett Gilson '99 was a pioneer in industrial and labor relations, well-known during the years from World War I through World War II for her accomplishments in personnel management. Sophonisba Breckenridge '88 became Kentucky's first woman lawyer in 1897. She led in the recognition of social work as a professional service and in 1920 founded the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration.

The Commencement of June 1900 marked the close of twenty-five years of academic work at Wellesley. The alumnae numbered 1,860. In the Historical Address on Alumnae Day that year, Louise *McCoy* North '79 gave this summary: "What shall we now record of the daughters of Wellesley? . . . How has it fared with us since college days? Teaching? Ah, yes, at least 42% of our number, in nearly every State in the Union and in lands across the sea. . . . In professional life? Lawyers seven and doctors twenty-three. Writing books? A modest library, of which some volumes have been very widely read. A few pictures in the Paris salons have borne Wellesley names, and two at least of our number are helping to make new music in the world. In missionary work? From China, Japan, India, Turkey, Siam, France, Africa, and from the isles of the sea, from city slums, from Utah, from the schools for the Indian and the negro, from homes for the blind, the dumb, the orphan child, from hospital ships and battlefields comes in many voices the glad answer, 'Yes!'. Still climbing the hill of knowledge? Verily, as more than a score of doctorates of philosophy, and nearly one hundred and fifty other degrees of high distinction emphatically attest. . . . On the school boards of various towns and cities, as trustees of educational, philanthropic and missionary institutions, in publishing houses and business offices, in various lines of literary labor, in the organizations of the church and the settlements, Wellesley graduates are seeking to fulfill their part. Married? By at least four hundred and fifty-seven firesides the name of Wellesley is a household word . . . we find that in the classes from '79 to '90, inclusive, forty-three and one-half percent have received the degree of MRS."

Expanding Horizons: 1900-1918

By the first decade of the twentieth century, it had become apparent that no longer was teaching the only suitable career for a woman college graduate. Now recognition was developing that college women were embarking increasingly into various professions and businesses. The Teachers' Registry had been incorporated into the Appointment Bureau, which helped graduates secure positions of many kinds.

Fifteen years later, in 1915, Florence Converse in *The Story of Wellesley* gave this overview of those who had graduated (only graduates were eligible for membership in the Alumnae Association): "The women who constitute the Wellesley College Alumnae Association numbered in 1914-15 five thousand and thirty-five (those with B.A.'s and M.A.'s). Authoritative statistics concerning the occupations of Wellesley women are not available. About forty percent of the alumnae are married. The exact proportion of teachers is not known, but it is of course large. The missionary record for 1915 would seem to indicate that there were then about one hundred Wellesley women at mission stations in foreign countries, including Japan, China, Korea, India, Ceylon, Persia, Turkey, Africa, Europe, Mexico, South America, Alaska and the Philippines.

"From time to time, the alumnae section of the *News* publishes an article on the occupations and professions of Wellesley graduates with incomplete lists of the names of those who are engaged in Law, Medicine, Social Work, Journalism, Teaching, Business and all the other departments of life into which women are penetrating. . . . In 1914 [there was] the list of Wellesley women known to be the Heads of 18 private schools in the country as well as others in schools in Germany, France and Italy. The tentative list of Wellesley women holding positions of importance in social work, in 1914, is equally impressive. The head workers at Denison House—the Boston College Settlement—at the Baltimore Settlement, at Friendly House, Brooklyn, and Hartley House, New York, are all graduates of Wellesley. Probation officers, settlement residents, Associated Charity workers, Consumers' League secretaries, promoters of Social Welfare Work, leaders of Working Girls' Clubs, members of Trade-union Leagues and the Suffrage League, show many Wellesley names among their numbers. A Wellesley woman is working at the Hindman School in Kentucky, among the poor whites; another is General Superintendent of the Massachusetts Commission for the Blind; another is Associate Field Secretary of the New York Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation; another is Head Investigator for the Massachusetts Babies Hospital. The Superintendent of the State Reformatory for Girls at Lancaster, Massachusetts, is a Wellesley graduate who is doing work of unusual distinction in this field. Mary K. Conyngton, Wellesley '94, took

part in the Federal investigation into the condition of women and child wage earners, ordered by Congress in 1907, and has made a study of the relations between the occupations and criminality of women. Her book, 'How to Help,' published by the Macmillan Company, embodies the results of her experience in organized charities, investigations for improved housing and other industrial and municipal reforms. In 1909, Miss Conyngton received a permanent appointment in the Bureau of Labor in Washington, D. C.

"Among her many journalists are Caroline Maddocks, 1892, and Agnes Edwards Rothery, 1909. Of her poets, novelists, short story writers, the names of Katharine Lee Bates, Estelle M. Hurll, Abbie Carter Goodloe, Margarita Spalding Gerry, Florence Wilkinson Evans, Florence Converse, Martha Hale Shackford, Annie Kimball Tuell, Jeanette Marks, are familiar to the readers of the Atlantic, the Century, Scribner's and other magazines; and the more technical publications of Gertrude Schoepperle, Laura A. Hibbard, Eleanor A. McC. Gamble, Lucy J. Freeman, Eloise Robinson, and Flora Isabel MacKinnon, have won the suffrages of scholars."

Political suffrage was a live and controversial concern during this period, both at Wellesley College and in the country at large. When Ellen Fitz Pendleton '86 was inaugurated in October 1911, her address pointed to the dual purpose of a college: preparation of the scholar and training for citizenship. By 1912, it is said, the women's suffrage movement had developed fresh momentum, and women's right to vote was endorsed by the majority of Wellesley students. Certainly a number of Wellesley alumnae were in the vanguard of suffrage activities, although there were also others as strongly anti-suffrage, believing it would debase womankind. It was not only the professional and working woman who felt the call to active citizenship. Many of the homekeepers were equally earnest and interested in voting and in civic and political questions.

In those years just preceding World War I, pacifism and preparedness were issues of high priority also. Alumnae views and activities were represented in both movements.

World War I and Its Aftermath

When the war began, however, alumnae rallied in strong support of the needs of the nation and its allies. The Alumnae War Service Committee (Grace Crocker '04 Chairman) was established and raised funds and provided volunteer workers for four relief units, of which three served in Europe and one in the Near East.

In the April 1919 *Wellesley Alumnae Quarterly,* Elizabeth Manwaring '02 wrote about "Wellesley Women in the Service Overseas": "At least

183 women of Wellesley training or connection have borne a part in work overseas for the Allies. Their work has touched upon most every such war activity open to American women; they have served in war departments, army headquarters, canteens, hospitals, munition centers, administrative offices, libraries, devastated regions, prison camps; and not only in France and England, but in Italy, Serbia, Russia, Rumania, Siberia, Egypt, Palestine. The incomplete figures at hand show 37 in hospital work; 44 in other Red Cross undertakings of various sorts, 62 in the work of the YMCA and 13 in that of the YWCA; 11 with other organizations; 3 in war departments or in the army; one war correspondent, and 12 not yet classified."

It is remarkable to find a woman reporter abroad in World War I. Carolyn Wilson '10 went to Paris in 1914 as Paris correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune* and was in all the nations then at war except Russia. The alumnae notes in the *Wellesley Quarterlies* of that period contain more news of alumnae service abroad than in this country. In the October 1919 *Quarterly,* however, Olga S. Halsey '12 made this observation in her article on "Wellesley Woman and Army Ordnance": "The war work of Wellesley women in Washington, though less picturesque than ambulance, canteen and reconstruction work, is perhaps for that very reason less familiar. But in Washington, one was very conscious of their presence; one met them everywhere, running into them on the street, finding them in the long weary lines of the ever popular cafeteria and in office building corridors. We were there in force . . ." Alumnae served in numerous government departments such as State, War, Navy or the U. S. Shipping Board.

In reviewing the card records for individual alumnae kept by the Wellesley Appointment Bureau, one finds alumnae working in diverse businesses and industries, and with organizations here such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the YMCAs. And the Wellesley alumnae serving as volunteers for Liberty Loan campaigns were legion.

With the signing of the Armistice, work related to the war effort vanished. However, the introduction of women into diverse fields and the changes in labor policies had lasting effects. The peace-time economy found many alumnae in work not chosen or available in pre-war days. Others returned to pre-war interests and occupations. The '20s was a period of contrasts. It was an era when for some, life was placid and pleasant. It was also the era when a new woman, the flapper, emerged, who in society flaunted signals of liberation with short skirts, cigarettes, and bootleg gin. The 19th amendment passed, bringing women's emergence to equal citizenship. The decade showed mounting prosperity in the economy. Class notes of that time in the *Quarterlies* suggest that many chose early marriage after graduation, without further study or employ-

ment. Others reported extended periods of travel or residence abroad with classmates. Graduate study in Arts and Sciences mounted. Teaching and group work continued as interests for employment. But there were others who took different routes. Secretarial positions were reported as fine opportunities. Social work, newspaper reporting, some statistical and research and personnel positions appeared in alumnae reports.

The distinction Wellesley women had achieved—or would achieve—as scientists was strikingly revealed in an article in the May-June 1974 issue of *American Scientist*. A study of the baccalaureate origins before 1920 of the women in the first three editions of *American Men of Science* disclosed that more graduates of Wellesley were included than of any other college or university in the United States—precisely twice the number of the women graduates of the University of Chicago and four times the numbers of those from Oberlin, Stanford, or the University of Wisconsin.

The Wellesley Alumnae Quarterly in November 1922 began a feature, "Introducing Our Alumnae," to show the diversity of alumnae accomplishments. Included in the first feature article were an author, singer, landscape architect, pathologist, household adjuster, specialist in masks and dances, bookshop owner, legislator and county commissioner, and pediatrician.

In the June 1930 *Wellesley Alumnae Magazine,* an article by Alice I. Perry Wood, Director of the Personnel Bureau (formerly the Appointment Bureau), summarized "What Do Alumnae Do?" In February 1928 a questionnaire had been sent by the Bureau "to all graduates for the special purpose of obtaining a report of their occupations, as well as other general questions." To this questionnaire, the Personnel Bureau received 7,148 replies out of a possible 9,027. Miss Wood pointed out: "A comparison of the figures for the whole group with those for recent classes brings out some significant tendencies. Educational work occupies the most important position. The percentage of teachers in the whole group is 47.5%. In the class of 1928, of those holding positions on November 1 of that year, 31% were engaged in teaching and 69% in non-teaching occupations. . . . Business positions, on the other hand, show a great increase . . . the whole group, 5.4% . . . the class of 1928, 10%. . . . Under business, secretarial work is not included, nor department store positions. . . . The work in department stores has risen to great popularity. In the whole group the percentage in department stores is 1.5% . . . in 1928, 10%."

The report from this questionnaire contains the first substantive evidence of dual careers, combining marriage with gainful employment: "The alumnae who are illustrating the possibility of carrying on a home and also a professional or business career, number 481 in the cards re-

ceived. Of these 161 are in teaching and 320 in non-teaching professions." Miss Wood concluded that because occupations of Wellesley alumnae were shifting and fields of occupations open to women were widening, periodic surveys such as that in 1928 could be of considerable general sociological interest, as well as of interest to Wellesley.

The Great Depression of the 1930s

The halcyon days of the twenties ended abruptly with the financial crash and Great Depression years which followed. In the *Wellesley Alumnae Magazine* of February 1931, Frances Perkins, then Industrial Commissioner, New York State Department of Labor, in her article, "Unemployment Prevention," emphasized: "Today unemployment is everyone's concern. . . . With a crisis at hand today, we have nothing to offer but relief."

Graduates throughout the thirties sent reports of searching for any job possible for months and months. One reported triumphantly in 1932, "After ringing doorbells for 8 months, I at last have a job! I will be a clerical worker in a small business office. My salary—$12 a week." Businesses were closing or cutting staff drastically. An alumna wrote, "My job in New York looks so temporary now, I shall go to Washington in hope of finding something permanent." Teachers in public schools took periodic salary cuts. One reported in 1934 that her salary had been cut $100 each year from the $1,200 she had started with in 1931. In private schools apprentice teachers taught without pay for one or two years, hoping to qualify for a regular teaching appointment. No one left her job—a new one was too uncertain. The last one in was the first to go when a cut in personnel had to be made. It was a period when most organizations refused to hire a married woman, saying one wage earner in the family was enough. Many marriages were postponed for years. Few girls would wear an engagement ring, for that was anathema to possible employers. Necessity pushed many Wellesley graduates into any job available. For a number, however, this proved to be the start of a career they would not otherwise have had. Some who started on the bottom rung remained and rose high in the organizations in later years. The numbers of those going on for further study dropped. Those who did found graduate programs welcoming, for candidates were few. During this time the government developed new expedients to provide jobs, such as the WPA and N.Y.A. New agencies to alleviate distress and need, such as the Social Security Administration, were established. Wellesley alumnae were in the ranks of those initiating these programs, while there were others who in those difficult years were recipients. During the thirties there were also those who were prospering in diverse fields. Two series in

the *Wellesley Alumnae Magazine* of that period, "Our Post-War Generation" and "Wellesley in the World," recounted these success stories.

World War II

In the years preceding Pearl Harbor, pacifism and preparedness again loomed large in alumnae concerns. With the entry of the United States into World War II, a quick response of Wellesley alumnae to war-time needs was clear.

One phenomenon was the induction of women into the armed services. Records are available for 306 in the WAVES, WACS, Marines, and SPARS. They ranged from the classes of 1916 to 1945. Mildred McAfee, President of Wellesley College, went on leave to serve as Director of the WAVES. It is not surprising, therefore, to observe that the greatest number of Wellesley graduates in the armed services chose to serve with the WAVES. The majority of those from early classes (1916-29) entered in 1942 and early 1943 when the women's corps in all services were being established and trained people with special skills sought. A number of these came from educational administration and personnel and promotion in business. The middle group (1930-39) had widely varying backgrounds. Those from 1940-45 had little previous work experience. There was heterogeneity in their backgrounds—and in their assignments: meteorologist at a Naval air station, cartographer in Military Intelligence, Flight Control Officer for Air Transport Command.

Among the war correspondents were Wellesley alumnae. Patricia *Lockridge* Bull '37, after working in Washington for Elmer Davis at O.W.I., became foreign correspondent for the *Woman's Home Companion,* and was the first woman correspondent in the Pacific, landing with a Marine division on Iwo Jima. In Europe she covered the break-through at Remagen and was the first woman correspondent to go into the concentration camp at Buchenwald. Charlotte *Paul* Reese '38 covered the Caribbean zone for the *Chicago Times* at the start of World War II.

With manpower shortages acute in war-related needs, recruiters from government and business sought frantically for help from colleges to alert graduating seniors and alumnae to these needs. During the war years alumnae, both recent and not so recent, responded. In aircraft and many other factories were found alumnae who became 90-day wonders, quickly trained and quickly thrust into responsibilities inconceivable in pre-war years. Grim necessity forced new approaches to filling manpower needs. Those with some math or science became engineering aides or junior engineers. College graduates became supervisors or administrators in many sectors with rapidity. Alumnae at home with children came out in numbers when four-hour shifts were established in factories and businesses.

Adaptations never dreamed of in pre-war years were tried and found successful. Few graduating seniors would consider traditional needs on the home front such as teaching, social work, or jobs in insurance, investment houses, merchandising. The numbers of alumnae going on for further study were few. These routes were thought to be out of the mainstream of war-time urgencies.

War relief work claimed many Wellesley alumnae as volunteers. One example was the project bringing hundreds of children from Britain for the duration to house and care for. Another was the USO, which needed much help for its manifold and widespread programs. War Bond drives were mainly dependent on volunteers for their success.

The Post-War Years

When the war ended in 1945, just as in the '20s there was a "return to normalcy." The late '40s found many employers relieved at the return of men as employees and no necessity for split shifts and other accommodations made in war-time emergencies. Among Wellesley classes graduating at this time there was general expectation for a job to give independence and a chance to use abilities and skills acquired during college years. For example, only fifteen of the Class of 1947 planned neither further work nor study. Recent graduates generally expected to work only a few years and then turn to marriage, rearing a large family and serving community and cultural needs as volunteers. Graduates of those classes after the war still had some of the expectations raised by the widespread needs during World War II. To come to terms with the changed employment picture was difficult. However, those who had long-range professional interests embarked on the training and experience required for such goals, and successfully achieved them.

Distinctive experiences followed the war for some alumnae, such as Hannah *Schiller* Wartenberg '42, who was hired by the War Department to go to Nuremberg as a translator at the War Crimes Trial, working mainly in the trial of the Nazi judges and prosecutors. Another was Eunice *Stunkard* Latham '45, who worked for UNRRA in the Displaced Persons Division. One of its duties was to find out where twenty million DP's were located. Later she was assigned to Germany, where her responsibilities with DP's mounted. The UNRRA personnel officer there who redeployed UNRRA personnel into the field was Betty *Freyhof* Johnson '44. Some of the other alumnae serving with UNRRA were Ruth *Anderson* Lusky '41, who worked in the American zone in Germany; Dorothy Clark '29, research assistant to the Historian of UNRRA in Washington; and Louise Tibbets '39, loaned by the American Friends Service Committee to work in UNRRA camps for displaced persons in

southern Italy. Olga Zhivkovitch '40 worked with DP's for the Unitarian Service Committee in Greece and later in the Middle East.

New fields of dramatic growth had emerged and in them were Wellesley alumnae. The 1941 classnotes reported in the *Wellesley Alumnae Magazine* in 1950: "A number of us have become air-minded including Betty *Hartz* Carroll who flew with the WASPS: Helen *Bazell* Willey (ex '41) who is training vets to fly, and already famous Selma Gottlieb. She began with helicopter research at Franklin Institute, enrolled at N.Y.U. for her master's degree in aeronautical engineering, and then was made partner of Bernard Szncer, New York designer. She assisted in the design and building of two helicopters for Intercity Airlines of Montreal and has been acclaimed throughout the aeronautical world."

By the '50s, women had surfaced in major political elective offices. Among the eight women in Congress was Marguerite *Stitt* Church '14, elected to the U. S. Congress as Representative from the 13th District of Illinois, where she served from 1950 to 1963. She became a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and was appointed to many sub-committees affecting U. S. foreign policy. Also concerned with economy and efficiency in government, she was on the Committee on Government Operations and took the lead in plans to implement the proposals of the Second Hoover Commission for reorganization.

Probably the most rapidly growing of all new fields was electronic data processing. During World War II, this technical and scientific development had emerged in response to war needs. After the war this process burgeoned in the commercial markets. UNIVAC (Remington-Rand) and IBM became synonymous for this process. By 1960, graduates with a background in mathematics or physical sciences were eagerly sought for work as Computer Programmers, Systems Analysts, Systems Engineers. (The EDP field has continued its phenomenal development since that time. Not only alumnae with mathematical and scientific backgrounds have entered it, but also scores of those from majors ranging from Art to Zoology, if they have analytical ability and interests.)

In the decade following World War II, representatives of the Placement Office made hundreds of field visits each year to seek job opportunities and interest employers in considering and hiring Wellesley graduates. Employers in business, industry, and government were not keen on hiring women as trainees when they were generally considered transient workers on the way to matrimony. This was a period when secretarial skills became a *sine qua non* for employment in these organizations.

With the increasing prosperity of the economy and resulting personnel needs, a wider range of opportunities began to emerge. Records of that period show banks, investment business, insurance companies, and busi-

nesses of many kinds sending recruiters to Wellesley and other colleges to seek able women with "executive potential." This was a period also when the "war babies" were swelling the school population. Teachers were in short supply. Public attention focused on this great need. Harvard had established the first Master of Arts in Teaching program with internship appointments in schools to prepare liberal arts graduates to meet requirements of the public school systems. Dozens of universities throughout the country did the same. During this period teaching again claimed a large number of Wellesley graduates, as had been the case in early years. During the '50s and until 1968, the greatest numbers of graduates going on for further study were those in Ph.D. programs in Arts and Sciences to prepare for college teaching, or in M.A.T. or M.Ed. programs for elementary or secondary teaching.

The Survey of 1962

In 1962 for the first time in many, many years, Wellesley College undertook a major survey of the activities of its alumnae after leaving the campus. In October of that year, questionnaires were mailed to 24,046 alumnae, and a response of nearly 70% was received. In "Genus: Alumnae; Species: Wellesley" in the *Wellesley Alumnae Magazine* of Autumn 1964, Hélène *Kazanjian* Sargeant '40 reported on that survey: "The immense variety of their activities and interests clearly indicates there is no stereotype of a Wellesley alumna, except that she has interests beyond herself, has skills and competences and uses them. These highlights emerged from the study:

"More than half of the alumnae continued their education at graduate, professional or other institutions after leaving Wellesley; many of them obtained advanced degrees. More than four-fifths had been employed at some time after leaving Wellesley. A large proportion married college graduates at a fairly early age, raised families of two or three children and sent these children to college. All supplemented their daily responsibilities by many community, civic, religious, and cultural activities.

"The survey revealed that 82.6% of all the alumnae were married, or had been married; two-thirds of them between the ages of 20 and 29. The alumnae who replied to the questionnaire had produced more than 31,000 children. Nearly 30% of the married alumnae had two children; 24% had three. Thirteen percent reported no children; others had families that ranged in size from one child to more than ten.

"A total of 3,197 alumnae reported that they had undertaken graduate study in arts and sciences in institutions throughout this country and abroad. . . . About half of those who entered graduate study in arts and sciences obtained degrees. . . . A master's degree was the highest held

by approximately four-fifths of the group; nearly one-fifth earned a Ph.D. or D.Sc. degree. Of the alumnae who attended graduate schools of arts and sciences, nearly a third studied in the field of their undergraduate major. Approximately 25% (4,231 alumnae) had attended one or more institutions for professional training. . . . Among the Wellesley graduates who went on for professional training, about half (1,780) reported that they had obtained degrees, and about half of these (856) were in the field of education. Aside from education, the largest numbers were in the fields of medicine, nursing, health (297 degree holders), social work (263), library science (188), and law (117). More than a quarter of the alumnae (26.5% or 4,418 women) reported that they had undertaken study at other types of institutions. Forty-three percent of those who had taken any of these special courses were enrolled during the period 1950-1962. Some of the special training was preparatory to future employment, and some solely for general knowledge and pleasure.

"Eighty-three percent of the alumnae reported that they had been employed at some time after leaving Wellesley. Only 11% stated explicitly they had never worked. A few did not reply to this question. A third of the alumnae were employed at the time of the survey; about two-thirds of these women were working full-time, the balance part-time. Of the 10,732 married alumnae who responded to a question concerning their employment in relation to marriage, 39.3% stopped work at marriage, 14.4% continued to work, 22.4% stopped but returned to work later, and 19.7% began working after marriage. Another 4.3% reported other patterns of employment. In view of the number of alumnae who returned to the labor market 20 or more years after graduation, it is interesting to note that a single report of the years of employment between graduation and marriage no longer described the employment record of most Wellesley graduates. The most significant aspect of the survey's report on employment lies in the wide diversity of occupations reported rather than in the similarities. The largest percentage, 39.5%, of the working alumnae were employed by educational institutions at the time of the survey or had been so employed previously. Another 24.9% of the alumnae were or had been employed in business and industry. Again the variety of the jobs defies simple definition. The Placement Office has identified about 130 major categories of employment, ranging from accountants to zoologists. Each of these categories in turn embraces an enormous diversity of positions. As might be expected, Wellesley was represented in a range of nonprofit institutions. For example, 7.2% of the alumnae who had worked were employed in social service organizations, 6.4% in local, state or federal government, and 5.9% in medical research projects. Almost 5% of the alumnae reported themselves as currently self-employed, a growing trend that had also been observed by the Placement Office. These

women include public relations consultants, real estate brokers, interior decorators, architects and landscape architects, caterers, newspaper publishers, and owners of art galleries, laundries, and shops selling children's apparel, books, gifts, shells, and other merchandise. The part-time workers were engaged in more than 60 main occupational areas. . . . Of the 13,442 alumnae who reported length of employment, 49.3% stated they had worked more than five years. Almost 2,400, or nearly 18%, had worked 20 or more years.

"A compilation of the replies of alumnae to questions concerning community, political, alumnae, religious and cultural activities also revealed an enormous variety of interests. . . . Most Wellesley alumnae were or had been concerned with several organizations and multiple responses totaled 55,658 past and present community activities. Many were active in positions of leadership: 39% had held offices in 11,219 civic and social service groups. Among all alumnae respondents, the following organizations ranked in the order listed: Community Chest 42%; PTA 41.2%; Red Cross 33.3%; Hospital auxiliaries 30.4%; Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls 28.3%; League of Women Voters 20.8%; AAUW 16.5%; Garden Clubs 14.2%; YWCA and YWHA 13.5%; Junior League 12.4%; Women's Clubs 9.5%. In addition to these organizations, . . . it was apparent that Wellesley women were active on behalf of a great many other causes and groups. These included social service organizations for children, the blind, and the aged; planned parenthood; the United Nations Associations; the DAR; library and school boards; the Foreign Policy Association; community planning groups; the American Civil Liberties Union; the NAACP; the Urban League; historical societies and many, many others.

"Reporting in a non-national election year . . . 12.5% indicated they were involved in politics. . . . More than half of the Wellesley graduates who replied to the questionnaire stated they had been active in Wellesley alumnae activities. . . . Aside from attendance at religious services, approximately 30% reported they were currently engaged in religious activities . . . and 50% had been . . . prior to the survey. . . . A fifth had held offices in 3,926 religious organizations."

Dramatic Contrasts in the 1960s

The decade of the sixties became one of dramatic contrasts. During the early sixties the interests and patterns of graduating seniors and alumnae were comparable to those in the fifties. But as the decade progressed, drastic developments in attitudes and expectations emerged at Wellesley as they had in other educational institutions and in society at large. A dissatisfaction with things as they were and strong measures to initiate

change showed in many movements. Revulsion against the Vietnamese War, dissatisfaction with government, with the business community, with society in general, were not confined to those of college age but were certainly characteristic attitudes in that group. Administration of any sort was suspect—and The System must be changed. The turbulence on the campus initiated changes at the College. Many recent graduates were strongly motivated to seek jobs with new cause organizations they found worthy—and did work with less regard for salary or advancement opportunity. A few opted to leave The System to be itinerants or strive for self-sufficiency in rural communes. 1968 was the last year that a majority of those going on for further study chose the academic routes to a Ph.D. for college teaching or graduate study in Education with a view to elementary or secondary school teaching. Over-supply of teachers was beginning to be evident.

Concurrently the Women's Movement had been growing in strength, and acceptance of many of its objectives became wide-spread. College students and alumnae, recent and not-so-recent, became career-oriented. They were encouraged in their hope and expectation of careers throughout their lives—whether married or single. No longer was a job considered an intermediate step from college to matrimony, as had been a general expectation in the last few decades. Joint planning of young alumnae and husbands meant accommodations on both sides. Broken was the pattern of the wife working to put her husband through school; now each expected to carry through professional training—and did. Multiple applications for graduate schools soared—a new variable had been added: both wife and husband needed to be accepted at institutions in the same general location. Professional rather than academic programs mounted to high priority—as did the interest of professional schools in seeking well-qualified women candidates. A tidal wave of applicants to law schools came from Wellesley, as from many other colleges. The same was true of medical schools. Administration as a field which had been highly suspect a few years before now became worthy and a way to effect change. Programs in management and administration (business, education, public, etc.) came into favor, and the encouragement of able women candidates by such schools kept pace. In 1973, about three-fourths of the graduates going on for further training entered professional schools.

The 1970s: New Options for Women

At the same time, organizations that had seldom looked for executive potential or abilities among women now sought able young graduates for their executive training programs. Suddenly numerous requests came to the Career Services Office also for qualified women candidates for top

administrative or professional positions. Coeducational colleges and universities actively looked for women for faculty positions. The Federal Government made appointments of many more women to high level positions—in contrast to the situation in the early sixties when this was chiefly a matter of exhortation rather than action. Examples among Wellesley alumnae were the appointments of Mary Gardiner Jones '43 as the only woman on the Federal Trade Commission, of Bret Sturtevant '42 as the first woman Chief Examiner for the U. S. Patent Office, of Betsy *Ancker*-Johnson '49 as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Science and Technology. State governments moved more slowly, but move they did. The appointment of Nancy *Bartram* Beecher '48 as Chairman of the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission is one illustration. To elective office came Lila *Manfield* Sapinsley '44 as Rhode Island's first woman senator. At the local level Wellesley alumnae were elected members of school boards, selectmen in communities in increasing numbers.

During this period phenomenal numbers of "re-entry" alumnae surfaced, largely from the decades of the '40s and '50s. They had been engrossed with family responsibilities, had served as valuable volunteers in their home communities and elsewhere—and now began an ardent soul-searching. Did they want to continue that life-style? Did they want to seek further training (generally part-time) to prepare for career interests? Were their competences such as to enable them to re-enter at once the job market on a part-time basis? Since the part-time job market is sluggish, a number found the third option a discouraging prospect. Those available for full-time work fared better.

The diversity of the choices made by Wellesley alumnae now employed is exciting—and impossible to encompass in a brief report. From the 6,000 to 7,000 alumnae in touch with the Career Services Office each year a broad spectrum of college women at work is available. In 1972-73 they reported from fifty states and twenty-three foreign countries. Some were seeking upward mobility, had need for geographic change, were exploring change of field, or were making re-entry plans; others, knowing of the Career Services Office's interest in their progress, reported recent accomplishments.

The range of current employment extended in education from preschool through elementary, secondary, and college and university teaching and administration, as well as the many special fields that have emerged. Those in areas other than education include administrators in fields such as Advertising, Electronic Data Processing, Foundations, Industry, Libraries, Medical Research, Publishing, and many others. Those in types of job classifications other than administrative range through Actuaries, Anthropologists, Architects, Astronomers, Bacteriologists, Chemists, Decorators, Designers, Economists, Editors, Financial Workers, Lawyers,

Librarians, and into over 100 more general categories. That a liberal arts education at Wellesley may be the start to anywhere has ample documentation.

Alumnae from Foreign Countries

The impact of Wellesley alumnae has not been confined to the U. S. For example, in Japan in 1947 Teruko *Nakamura* Tanaka '26 was the "only woman faculty member on the staff of one of Tokyo's largest men's private universities,"—this being Keio University. Tamaki Uemura '15, the first woman minister to be ordained in Japan, was the first person (man or woman) to be invited to the United States following the surrender of the Japanese. "She took back to Japan with her a specially prepared Bible for presentation to the Empress from the women members of the National Council of the Presbyterian Church." Yoshi Kasuya '23 made a major contribution to higher education for women in Japan. A teacher at Tsuda College, she became its president in 1952 and served until her retirement in 1962. She was a trustee of other educational institutions, in 1951 was elected president of the Japanese Association of University Women, and in 1961 received the Emperor's Blue Ribbon medal for "distinguished achievement in the field of education" given by the Japanese government.

In February 1947, Esther *Merrick* Crane Kelser '23 and Yuki *Domoto* Maki '24 revived the Tokyo Wellesley Club "as a postwar organization," and had a luncheon meeting with thirteen members present: six American, six Japanese, and one Chinese. The really extraordinary feature was that the Chinese alumna, Grace *Zia* Chu '24, was then the wife of the representative of China who had signed the surrender documents on the USS *Missouri*. According to Mrs. Kelser, this Chinese alumna and the Japanese alumnae, whose nations had so shortly before this time been at war, met with great friendliness in the spirit of Wellesley.

A sizeable contingent of Wellesley alumnae was living in China in the early years of the 20th century. Reports in the Wellesley *Quarterlies* in 1919 by Sophie C. Hart, well-known member of the Wellesley English Composition Department, told of the activities of alumnae she had seen in Canton, Hangchow, Shanghai, Soochow, and Nanking. Some were natives of China, others the daughters of missionaries. These were teachers and doctors, some under missionary auspices, others not; missionary workers in other assignments; and many serving with the YWCA. One of Wellesley's first Chinese students, Pingsa *Hu* Chu '13, had started the first *Ladies Home Journal* in Shanghai when she returned there. In Miss Hart's chronicle, she recounted that in Shanghai: "Miss Mayling Soong, '17, has also helped in the YWCA work, taking a class; in a recent financial campaign which the Association made, she was most active

and, I am told, presided most beautifully at one of the meetings." Mayling Soong after her marriage to Chiang Kai-shek became one of the distinguished women of the world. Her place in the affairs of China and later the Republic of China is so well-known no repetition is needed here.

Although special mention has been made here of Japanese and Chinese alumnae—in part because, interestingly enough, the first foreign students at Wellesley came from those countries which opened reluctantly to outside influence—a large number of students have come from all parts of the world, and the majority of them have returned to their own countries where they have been active in many, many fields. This will probably continue to be the pattern for the ninety-three students from forty-two countries enrolled in 1973-74 and for their successors across the years.

Alumnae of the Graduate Department of Hygiene and Physical Education

Another group which should be singled out for special consideration comprises the graduates of what was from 1909 until 1953 Wellesley's only professional school, that in physical education. As has been recounted in the chapters on the buildings and on the grounds, the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, which had been founded in 1889, moved to the Wellesley campus in 1909 and was merged with the Department of Hygiene and Physical Education. Because the Boston Normal School was coeducational and 435 men and women had been graduated from it, the College acquired by a kind of process of adoption Wellesley's only alumni, and also a number of women who never had any courses here.

In 1939, Margery F. S. Taylor '38 (M.S. '40) in "Professional Training at Boston Normal School of Gymnastics and at Wellesley College" reviewed the fifty years from 1889 until 1939 and the achievements of the 435 graduates of the School and the more than 500 graduates of the Department at Wellesley. She reported: "Prominent women leaders in physical education in the United States since the founding of this School have been in large measure graduates of the School and its successor, the Department of Hygiene and Physical Education at Wellesley College. Sixty-two positions as Director of Physical Education in colleges, universities and teachers colleges are held by graduates of the School and the Department. Nineteen are Directors of Physical Education in private schools. . . . In high schools, . . . fifteen are directors. Fifteen alumnae are connected with state, city or town administration of health and physical education. Three normal schools or schools of physical education have as their Director a graduate of the School or Department. Others are found in a miscellaneous group of types of position."

Mabel Lee, one of the very distinguished early members of the profession, attended the Boston Normal School in its last year and received the certificate from Wellesley in the first year of its program. The year following her retirement in 1952 as Director of Physical Education at the University of Nebraska, she held a Fulbright Award in Iraq, where she served as Consultant to the Ministry of Education. Recognition she received included being the third recipient of the Hethrington Award from the American Physical Education Association and election as a foreign member of the German Academy of Physical Education and as an honorary member of the West Pakistan Physical Education Association. In 1974, she received a Presidential Service Award from the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation for outstanding contributions as the association's first woman president and first archivist.

Of the more than 650 graduates of Wellesley's program, eleven have been elected as Fellows of the American Academy of Physical Education, and many have held and continue to hold leading positions in colleges and universities and in professional organizations, and have been honored in various ways by their profession. Two examples from each decade of the program's existence may give some indication of the contributions the program and its participants have made.

Elizabeth Halsey HPE certificate '16, M.A. '23 received the Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, taught at Wellesley, and served as Director of Physical Education for Near East Relief in Greece before becoming Professor and Director of the Department of Physical Education at the University of Iowa. She is a Fellow of the American Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation and in 1951 received an Alumni Citation at the University of Chicago. Helen W. Hazelton HPE '19 was president of the National Association for Physical Education of College Women, a Fellow of the American Academy of Physical Education, and Director of Physical Education for Women at Purdue University.

Josephine *Rathbone* Karpovich '21 HPE '22, M.S. '23 obtained the Ph.D. degree at Teachers College, Columbia University, where she taught for many years. She is well known for her research and publications on muscular relaxation. Her studies of physical education in other countries took her to China, England, and India. The American Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation elected her a Fellow. Anna S. Espenschade M.S. '26 received the Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. She was in the Institute of Child Welfare there, devoting the major part of her career to the study of motor development of children and adolescents, a field in which she was recognized as the profession's most accomplished investigator. Following her retirement she went on a speaking tour to South Africa and another to the Orient which

was under the auspices of the International Congress of Health, Physical Education and Recreation.

In 1931 Ethel *Martus* Lamther received the M.S. and Chieko Utsumi the HPE certificate. Since that time the first has been at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and the second at Women's Christian College in Tokyo. When the Department of Physical Education, of which Mrs. Lamther was the Director, became a School of Physical Education, she was named its Dean and has developed highly regarded programs in both undergraduate and graduate work. And in Japan Chieko Utsumi has been Director of the Department of Physical Education at her alma mater, Women's Christian College, and active in Japanese and international associations in health and physical education.

Betty Spears M.S. '44 received her Ph.D. from New York University and in 1960 returned to Wellesley as a faculty member and from 1961 until 1973 was the chairman of the Department of Hygiene and Physical Education. A Fellow of the American Academy of Physical Education, she is currently Professor of Physical Education at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. She is a frequent contributor to professional journals and the author of several books. At present she is working on a biography of Amy Morris Homans, the first chairman of the Department of Hygiene and Physical Education at Wellesley College. H. Isabel Nel M.S. '47 received her doctorate at Stellenbosch University, Capetown, South Africa, and is Senior Lecturer and Head of the Woman's Department, Department of Physical Education, there. She has been chairman of the South African Association of Physical Education and Recreation and of the National Research Project Concerning Proficiencies of Movement Programmes, and Vice President of the International Association of Physical Education in Sports for Girls and Women. In 1969 she was a lecturer at the Sixth International Congress of that International Association which was held in Tokyo.

Beverly Bullen M.S. '50 taught at Wellesley until she entered the Harvard University School of Public Health in 1958. She received the Sc.D. in 1963, was awarded a National Science Foundation Fellowship to study in Denmark in 1964-65, and is now the Director of the Graduate Program in Health Dynamics at Sargent College of Allied Health Professions at Boston University. One of the last people to obtain the M.S. in the Wellesley program, Janet R. Felshin M.S. '53 received the Ed.D. at the University of California, Los Angeles. After teaching at the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Nevada, and Ohio State University, she was named Professor and Coordinator of Graduate Studies in Hygiene and Physical Education at East Stroudsberg State College in Pennsylvania.

A Microcosm: Alumnae on the Board of Trustees

As the responses to the survey conducted in 1962 made abundantly clear, the alumnae have "supplemented their daily responsibilities by many community, civic, religious, and cultural activities." How to illustrate these manifold contributions so characteristic of many Wellesley alumnae was puzzling. Finally the decision was made that the alumnae who have been elected as "regular" trustees (that is, on the nomination of the Board of Trustees itself) or as "alumnae" trustees (on the nomination of the Alumnae Association) might serve as a microcosm. Alumnae who have served *ex officio* as President of the College or of the Alumnae Association or the "young" trustees elected only by members of three classes have not been included in this study.

The biographies of these sixty-four past and present trustees exceeded expectations in revealing the volunteer and professional diversity and the patterns of life and service which characterize many Wellesley alumnae —diversity and patterns which had been sensed impressionistically but perhaps never before had been set forth. From the early days to the present, there has been a mixture of trustees with on-going careers and those who had positions for a time but after marriage concentrated on volunteer activities. A few, particularly in the earlier decades, never worked for a salary but had continuous activities as volunteers following graduation; a few in recent years have re-entered their professions after their children have become older and more self-sufficient. A wide geographical spread has been evident, as has a great range in activities, volunteer and paid. And, even through the bare bones of the records, the individuality of these women shines brightly.

Several of the very early trustees who were alumnae had previously been members of the Wellesley faculty. The first, Marion *Pelton* Guild '80 (trustee 1889-95), was an instructor in English Literature from 1881-83; Louise *McCoy* North '79 (trustee 1894-1927) had taught Greek from 1880 until her marriage in 1886; Estelle *Hurll* Hurll '82 (trustee 1894-98) had been an instructor in Ethics from 1884 to 1891. Anna *Brown* Lindsey '83 (trustee 1906-18) taught English Literature at Wellesley in 1888-89 before receiving the Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, marrying a professor at Columbia, and becoming an author; Edith *Jones* Tower '16 (trustee 1934-40) remained at Wellesley as an assistant in Geology the year following her graduation and then, while doing graduate work at the University of Chicago, met her husband and thereafter concentrated on volunteer activities in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, New York City, and Carmel, California. Not until 1970 was another former faculty member elected as an alumnae trustee: Barbara *Buckstein* Green '54, a member of the Political Science Department from 1958 until 1968, who in 1965

received the Morris Ernst Award for Outstanding Teacher. Since leaving Wellesley (because of her husband's professional interests—another familiar pattern), she has taught political science at Cleveland State University and been Director of General Education there. A trustee having a very special relationship to Wellesley was Grace G. Crocker '04 (trustee 1922-46), who after teaching in independent schools and serving first as an alumnae trustee was an extraordinary successful fund raiser as Director of the Semi-Centennial Fund and Executive Secretary of the College.

Nine other trustees have had continuing careers in academic institutions. Winifred *Edgerton* Merrill '83 (trustee 1898-1904), the first woman student to be admitted to graduate work at Columbia and to receive a Ph.D. there (this in 1886), one of the five persons responsible for the founding of Barnard College, and active in the suffrage movement, was for twenty-five years head of the Oaksmere School for Girls in Mamaroneck, New York. Three others were principals of schools: Charlotte H. Conant '84 (trustee 1918-24), Co-founder and Co-principal of Walnut Hill School, Natick, Massachusetts; Bertha Bailey '88 (trustee from 1930 until her death in 1935), Principal of Abbott Academy, Andover, Massachusetts; Jessie C. McDonald '88 (trustee 1920-26), Principal of National Cathedral School, Washington, D. C. Ruth S. Goodwin '98 (trustee 1914-20) was for many years a teacher at Friends' Select School in Philadelphia; she was also the traveling councilor of the Graduate Council (the forerunner of Alumnae Council) and, as Miss Pendleton noted, visited "all Wellesley Clubs from the Atlantic to the Pacific in the winter and spring of 1913." Margaret *Elliott* Tracy '14 (trustee 1936-42) taught economics at the University of Michigan for a quarter of a century beginning in 1924 and became a full professor—indeed a remarkable achievement in those days for a woman in a large coeducational university. Like Mrs. Tracy an economist who received the Ph.D. degree from Radcliffe, Jean *Trepp* McKelvey '29 (trustee 1947-52) is now Professor Emeritus at the New York School of Labor Relations at Cornell. An internationally known labor arbitrator, she was the first woman President of the National Academy of Arbitrators and in 1973 received a special award for distinguished service in labor management relations from the Federation Mediation and Conciliation Service. Barbara *Loomis* Jackson '50 (trustee 1970-) was Research Associate for the Englewood, New Jersey, School Development Program and Acting Coordinator for a Supplementary Center for Early Childhood Education. After receiving the Ed.D. at Harvard, she was Deputy Assistant Administrator for Education and Training in the Model Cities Administration and Field Supervisor of the Street Schools in Boston and is now Associate Professor of Education and Director of the Doctoral Program in Educational Administration at Atlanta University.

Appropriately, all three of the medical doctors in the group have taught in medical colleges as well as practiced their profession. Hilda *Crosby* Standish '24 (trustee 1956-62) in Shanghai was associated with Women's Christian Medical College and Margaret Williamson Hospital before practicing in Hartford, Connecticut, and lecturing about social hygiene problems. Like Dr. Standish a graduate of Cornell Medical School, Anne *Cohen* Heller '41 (trustee 1971-) is now Professor at the State University of New York College of Medicine (Downstate), New York City, Visiting Physician at Kings County Hospital, and Research Associate at Jewish Chronic Disease Hospital in Brooklyn. Carol *Johnson* Johns '44 (trustee 1971-), a graduate of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, is Associate Director of the Medical Out-Patient Department and Director of the Medical Clinic and Sarcoid Clinic at the Johns Hopkins Medical School and Hospital, while also teaching and doing clinical research there. (It is of interest to note that both Dr. Standish and Dr. Johns are married to doctors.)

Two in the group have been lawyers: Sara M. Soffel '08 (trustee 1940-46) and Mary Gardiner Jones '43 (trustee 1971-). When Judge Soffel, the first woman judge in Pennsylvania, retired in 1970, the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* honored her with a full-page tribute, announcing "We think fifty years in the legal profession and a lifetime dedicated to the Pittsburgh community deserves every accolade." Miss Jones was a lawyer in major New York City law firms and in the Anti-Trust Division of the U. S. Department of Justice before she served from 1964 to 1973 as the only woman member of the Federal Trade Commission. She now holds a joint appointment as Professor in the Schools of Law and Business Administration at the University of Illinois.

A woman of great distinction in the realm of public service was Ruth *Baker* Pratt '98 (trustee 1934-52), the first woman member of the Board of Aldermen of New York City and the first Congresswoman from New York. She served her district for two terms: 1929 until 1933. Thereafter she continued as a volunteer in a wide range of civic, educational, and cultural activities. Betsey *Ancker*-Johnson '49 (trustee 1971-) entered government service in 1973 as one of the top-ranking women members when she was appointed Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology of the U. S. Department of Commerce. Previously, having obtained the Ph.D. in physics at the University of Tuebingen, she had a distinguished career as a research physicist in several companies, most recently with Boeing while she was also Affiliate Professor of Electrical Engineering at the University of Washington.

Among these trustees beginning with Anna *Brown* Lindsey '83, there have been authors of books in a wide variety of fields. Bertha *Palmer* Lane '91 (trustee 1904-08) wrote children's stories and plays. Helen *Bar-*

rett Montgomery '84 (trustee 1908-16), who was awarded an LL.D. at the Semi-Centennial celebration in 1925 because she had added to "a wise and brilliant Christian leadership the achievement of a scholar in the Centenary translation of the New Testament from the Greek Text," also wrote mission study books and was "a licensed Baptist minister and a well-known Chautauqua lecturer." Helen J. Sanborn '84 (trustee 1906-17) wrote principally about travel in Central America and Mexico. Julilly *House* Kohler '30 (trustee 1954-60), author of many books for children, has a deep concern in the establishment of good reading habits by children and adolescents and has written articles and lectured on this topic.

It is interesting to notice that five alumnae trustees, in addition to all of their volunteer activities for various organizations, have been closely associated with their husbands' businesses or professions. After her husband's death, Willye *Anderson* White '08 (trustee 1946-52) managed his business for seven years and also gave strong leadership in Seattle to the Children's Orthopedic Hospital, the Symphony, music and art foundations, the YWCA, the Red Cross, and War Bond drives. Although Grace *Ballard* Hynds '17 (trustee 1944-50) had expected to teach history after graduation, war pressures took her into the construction business with her father from 1917 until 1925, and she was then an active officer in her husband's construction business until 1954—at the same time serving on the Advisory Council of the New York Housing Authority and as Consultant to the U. S. Housing Authority. While she lived in Springfield, Massachusetts, from 1917 until 1955, the life of Calma *Howe* Gilkey '15 (trustee 1942-48) was closely entwined with her husband's career as a minister; she was active both in church affairs and in community affairs, serving, for example, on the boards of the Red Cross and YWCA and as Scout Commissioner, President of Family Service, and Trustee of the Community Chest. Frances *Jackson* Minifie '38 (trustee 1965-71), the wife of the rector of Grace Church in New York, has also been involved with a wide variety of church and community-related projects and, as she reported in her class book thirty years after graduation, her life "is a casserole." As the wife of the President of Pomona College, Carolyn *Bartel* Lyon '28 (trustee 1958-65) has been concerned with American academic life, both on and off the campus. She also assisted her husband in editing *The American Oxonian,* the quarterly magazine of the Association of Rhodes Scholars.

Many trustees, whether married or single, have made their contributions primarily in community activities. One of the earliest alumnae trustees was also one of the earliest prominent volunteers in the United States. Adaline *Emerson* Thompson '80 (trustee 1894-1914) was the oldest of five daughters, all Wellesley alumnae, of Ralph Emerson, a western pioneer, a manufacturer and inventor, and a friend of Abraham Lincoln's

and Henry Fowle Durant's. Mrs. Thompson continued to live in Rockford, Illinois, where she was a civic and cultural leader. She was also President from 1891 to 1896 of the College Settlement Association. Another graduate of the '80s, Alice *Upton* Pearmain '83 (trustee 1918-28), was Chairman of the Board of the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae (the forerunner of the American Association of University Women) and a founder of two organizations for women college graduates: the College Club of Boston and the Club for University Women in Washington.

The three who attended Wellesley in the 1890s were indeed giants in their time, and in different fields and parts of the country. Belle Sherwin '90 (trustee 1918-52) was one of the founders and the second President of the League of Women Voters, and was the president of the first consumers' league in the country and later a member of the National Consumers Advisory Board of the NRA. Regarded as one of Cleveland's first citizens, she was, beginning with her crusading for women's suffrage in 1912, a national leader for equal economic and educational opportunities for women. She and her college friend and colleague on the Board of Trustees, Candace C. Stimson '92 (trustee from 1916 to her death in 1944), were wise and generous philanthropists. Miss Stimson was active in Wellesley's World War I War Services program and in World War II in Greek War Relief, and throughout her life was concerned in New York City and elsewhere with cultural and civic matters. Alma *Seipp* Hay '99 (trustee 1924-30) from Chicago had a life-long devotion to musical activities. A guarantor of Ravinia Festival, a governing member of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the Chicago Civic Music Association, she also played the violin in chamber music concerts for many years.

It was interesting to speculate on whether there have been in the decades since the turn of the century marked shifts in the principal volunteer civic activities of the trustees who have to a considerable extent devoted their energies to them, and also, in many instances, to their churches. (Many of these women, too, have been "gainfully employed" for a time, usually between graduation and marriage, and most of those mentioned previously have given a good deal of time as volunteers in their communities.) The following summary of an informal study gives the results —which, not surprisingly perhaps, were not in all respects anticipated.

Helen *Knowles* Bonnell '07 (trustee 1928-34), a social worker until her marriage in 1915, was active throughout her life in international, national, and local organizations in Philadelphia. Among them were the English Speaking Union, Foreign Policy Association, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, National Consumers League, Women's Trade Union League, Public Charities Association of Philadelphia, Bureau of Occupations of Trained Women.

The interests of Harriet *Hinchliff* Coverdale '10 (trustee 1932-38), the niece of Adaline *Emerson* Thompson '80, the first trustee wholly oriented towards volunteer service, spanned a wide range: AAUW, the International Federation of University Women, Reid Hall in Paris, the League for the International Institute for Girls in Spain, YWCA. Her classmate, Dorothy *Bridgman* Atkinson Rood '10 (alumnae trustee 1926-32 and regular trustee 1941-59), was also enormously involved with the AAUW, serving in various important capacities. In Minneapolis and Minnesota, where she was concerned with many projects, she was perhaps best known for her work with the Minneapolis public library system, on whose board she sat from 1949 until 1962 and of which she was president for the last three years of her term. She was president, too, of the Friends of the University of Minnesota Library. Marie *Rahr* Haffenreffer '11 (trustee from 1936 until her death in 1958) was unique in her service to Wellesley in that as the senior alumnae trustee during World War II she shared with Deans Ella Keats Whiting and Lucy Wilson the presidential responsibilities while Mildred McAfee Horton was Director of the WAVES. Upon the expiration of her term as the elected representative of the alumnae, she was immediately re-elected to the Board. She was also awarded the LL.D. degree in recognition of her exceptional service to the College. Her chief interests, in addition to Wellesley, were the Massachusetts Parent Teachers Association, Boston YWCA, Age Center of New England, and the United Community Services. Elizabeth *King* Morey '19 is a third alumna who was elected as an alumnae trustee (1948-54) and then served as a regular trustee (1957-64). She has been active in particular in educational work in New York City with the Public Education Association and the Parents League and as a trustee of St. Christopher's and the Brearley School. Another trustee who has rendered unusual service to Wellesley is Katharine *Timberman* Wright '18 (trustee 1950-68). President of the Alumnae Association during World War II, she was the first Chairman of the National Development Fund Committee. She has lived throughout her life in Columbus, Ohio, where she has been President of Planned Parenthood and a leader in the Community Chest, United Nations Auxiliary, Children's Hospital, Junior League, and YWCA.

Including Carolyn *Bartel* Lyon '28, who has been mentioned previously, there have been ten trustees from the 1920s—and an impressive contingent they are! Mary *Cooper* Jewett Gaiser '23 (trustee 1952-70) wrote in her class record book at the time of her fiftieth reunion: "I have spent a good share of my life being a volunteer . . . exciting, stimulating work." In the area of education, she has been a trustee of Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington, American University of Beirut, and the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, and was appointed by the Governor to the Council on Higher Education for the State of Washing-

ton. Her activities in Spokane and elsewhere to sustain music and the arts, and in health and medical research programs and in political, social welfare, and religious service have been legion. The civic interests of Jeannette *Johnson* Dempsey '24 (trustee 1952-58) have brought responsibilities as an officer or board member in diverse organizations such as the Cleveland Society for the Blind, Cleveland Playhouse, Maternal Health Association, Junior League, Cleveland Garden Center, Friends of the Land, Family Service Association, Cleveland City Hospital, and Community Chest. Carrol *McCarty* Gundersen '24 (trustee 1962-68) "was practising involvement for a generation before the word became a political slogan," the LaCrosse, Wisconsin *Tribune* commented editorially. In Wisconsin she and her League of Women Voters colleagues were among the first concerned with water resources, park proposals, etc.; she has also served in various key positions on the national board of the League. When she was named Man of the Year for LaCrosse in 1949 and Wisconsin Woman of the Year in 1968, she was honored not only for her work in the League but also for her leadership in local and state commissions and committees for the public good. Probably Elisabeth *Luce* Moore '24 (trustee 1947-65) has received more honorary degrees from prestigious educational institutions than any other woman volunteer in the world, and the number of times she has been the first woman to hold important positions is notable. Among them are Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the State University of New York, the nation's largest university system with its more than seventy campuses, and President of the Institute of International Education and of the Asia Foundation. For many years she headed the national and international YWCA programs to train leaders for volunteer service; her continuing interest in the Far East has led to a decoration from the Republic of China, years of service to Wellesley-Yenching, and the presidency of the China Institute and the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. Although Eleanor *Wallace* Allen '25 (trustee 1949-67) has been active in many cultural, church, and political affairs, she has especially focused her attention on medical institutions, serving as a trustee of Norwood and Boston Lying-In Hospitals and as a member of the corporation of Massachusetts General Hospital. Her classmate and long-time friend, Chaille *Cage* Thompson '25 (trustee 1950-56), had several years of experience in business before she became a teacher and Chairman of the Language Department at the Kincaid School in Houston. Since her marriage, she has been active with the Girl Scout Council, Child Welfare Clinic, YWCA, and other organizations in Houston. Katherine *Drake* Hart '26 (trustee 1964-70) is a Texan equally well known for her community service and for her scholarly attainments. Having received the M.A. from Columbia in 1928, she was awarded the Ph.D. (also in French) by the University of

Texas in 1955, when two of her children were receiving respectively B.A. and M.A. degrees. Named Volunteer of the Year in Austin in 1963, appointed by the Governor to the State Historical Society Team, a member of the Austin Public School Board, and Secretary-Treasurer of the Texas Association of School Boards, she also returned to professional work and since 1957 has been Director of the Local Historical Collection of the Austin Public Library. Planned Parenthood, Hermitage Society, and Alliance Française are among the boards on which she has served. In addition to having an unusually large number of assignments on standing and special Wellesley Trustee Committees, Mary *Sime* West '26 (trustee 1961-73) has participated in New York City as an officer or board member of such groups as the Council of Girl Scouts, Brearley School Parents Association, the Chapin-Brearley Program and Stony Wold Sanitorium Corporation; in Katonah, New York as a trustee of the library; and in New Hampshire as a director of MacDowell Colony. Harriet *Segal* Cohn '28 (an alumnae trustee from 1968 to 1974 and immediately thereafter elected as a "regular" trustee) has been a community leader in the Boston area through organizations such as the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Girl Scouts, and Jewish Family and Children's Services. She has been a corporation member of Beaver Country Day School and a board member of the National Women's Committee of Brandeis University, a director of Hecht House, and the only woman officer and trustee of Associated Jewish Philanthropies.

Of the five trustees who are graduates of the 1930s, Frances *Jackson* Minifie '38 has been prominent in activities in New York City, as has been mentioned, Mildred *Hinman* Straub '30 (trustee 1966-72) in Albany, New York, Cynthia *Dudley* Post '34 (trustee 1952-58) in the suburbs of Boston, Rose *Clymer* Rumford '34 (trustee 1960-) in Baltimore, and Mary Ann *Dilley* Staub '37 (trustee 1966-) in both the Boston and Chicago areas. In the more than 150 year history of the Albany Academy for Girls, Mrs. Straub was the first woman President of the Board of Trustees; she was also the first woman to serve as Budget Committee Chairman of the Community Chest and one of the first two women bank directors in Albany. Mrs. Post is President of Hathaway House Bookshop, a non-profit joint project of the College and the Town of Wellesley, the first woman incorporator of Babson College, and a trustee of Newton-Wellesley Hospital. She has also been active in the Community Fund, PTA, and Friendly Aid. A case worker after graduation, Mrs. Rumford continued this interest on the Board of Managers of the Maryland Children's Aid Society and the Montrose Training School for Girls and with the Baltimore Council of Social Agencies. She has also been a trustee of the Maryland Hospital Council, the Calvert School, and Roland Park Country Day School and has been prominent in local and national garden

club and conservation concerns. Mrs. Staub has become involved in community interests wherever she has lived. For example, in Weston, Massachusetts she was President of the Women's Community League; in Glencoe, Illinois she has been President of the PTA, a board member of Glencoe Family Services, and on committees for the Community Chest, Red Cross, Infant Welfare, Illinois Children's Home Aid, and United Charities. She was President of the Alumnae Association in 1964-67.

Anne *Lineburger* MacDonald '41 (trustee 1958-65), like Katherine *Drake* Hart, who had graduated fifteen years earlier, resumed her career after years of concentrating on volunteer activities, in her case in Akron, Ohio, and Washington, D. C. She became a teacher at Holton-Arms School and currently is Chairman of the History Department at National Cathedral School. The Smithsonian remains a primary volunteer interest, and she has been Chairman of the Docent Committee and given lectures on her specialty, gems and minerals. The present Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Betty *Freyhof* Johnson '44 (trustee 1967-), has had a wide range of civic interests in Cincinnati, Ohio: President of the Cincinnati Scholarship Foundation, member of the board of the Health and Welfare Council and Children's Federation for the Community Chest, on the Advisory Board of the Cincinnati Council on World Affairs, the Junior League, League of Women Voters, the Women's Committee in Democratic campaigns, trustee of the Hillsdale-Lotspeich School. Her classmate, Mildred *Lane* Kemper '44 (trustee 1965-), in Kansas City, Missouri, has served on the boards of the Junior League, Friends of Art of the Nelson Gallery and the Kansas City Art Institute, and been active in the Missouri Repertory Theatre Guild. Suzanne *Carreau* Mueller '46 (trustee 1972-) has served the community of Ridgewood, New Jersey as a trustee and the President of the Public Library, a trustee of the Citizens' Park Association, Vice Chairman of the Long Ridge Planning Committee, and active in the PTA, Association for Good Schools, and the Board of Education. On the West Coast, Camilla *Chandler* Spear '47 (trustee 1974-) is both a docent and Vice President of the Board of Trustees of the Los Angeles County Museum and has been President of its Junior Art Council. She has also been active with the Pasadena Junior Philharmonic, the Community Chest, and the Junior League, and has been a trustee of the Westridge School and head of her local precinct board during elections. Barbara *Barnes* Haupfuhrer '49 (an elected trustee since 1973 and for three year previously *ex officio* as President of the Alumnae Association) in the Philadelphia area has been President of the Junior League, and of Mothers of Meadowbrook School, a trustee of the United Fund, and representative for the John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts. She is a trustee of the Salem Academy and College in North Carolina and a director of ten mutual funds of the Wellington Group, the first

woman elected as an independent director of a billion dollar mutual fund.

The four youngest trustees nominated either by the Board or by the entire Alumnae Association for six-year terms were graduated in the 1950s. Florence *Van Dyke* Anderson '50 (trustee 1972-) has been much concerned with improving the quality of life in the American city. A past President of the League of Women Voters of the Denver metropolitan area, she has also been Director-at-Large of the Regional Transportation District which was commissioned by the state legislature, a member of the organizing steering committee of Plan Denver, Inc., and on the Mayor's Citizens Budget Committee. Nancy *Angell* Streeter '50 (trustee 1967-) has been a trustee of Chapin School and the Greer School (for children of broken homes), and active also with the Women's Council of New York Botanical Gardens, New York Visiting Nurse Association, and the Museum of Contemporary Art. Barbara *Buckstein* Green '54 has previously been noted. Ann *Rockefeller* Coste '56 (trustee 1972-) has been engaged in numerous PTA activities in New York City, served on various boards, and every four years has been involved in political campaigns.

The civic activities of these graduates of the last three-quarters of a century show strong consistencies. (Witness the continuing concern with the League of Women Voters from Belle Sherwin '90 through the Class of 1950!) This brief study indicates that education, both public and private, libraries, art museums and musical organizations, social agencies and "good government" have been primary interests of alumnae of various generations—and that each individual has focused her attention on ways in which she could best make her contribution in terms of her capabilities and the community in which she has lived.

In this necessarily brief portrayal of Wellesley alumnae in the first hundred years, something of the range of their contributions has been indicated. Space permitted only relatively few examples from each era and each field mentioned. Certainly "Non ministrari sed ministrare" comes forth loud and clear in the vignettes of Wellesley alumnae. Much should be expected from those who have had the education and incentives which Wellesley, a strong liberal arts college for women, provides. That expectation has been fulfilled!

Unique not only among Wellesley alumnae but among all women doctors was Connie M. Guion '06. She was the first (and is still the only) woman physician for whom a building of a large hospital has been named during her lifetime—this at the New York Hospital. Professor of Clinical Medicine at the New York-Cornell Medical Center, she also practiced medicine for more than fifty years and was renowned for her innovations in out-patient care.

Joan Fiss Bishop, Director of the Career Services Office, talking with a participant at the Many Roads Careers Conference held in November of 1974. At this and at its predecessor held in 1972, alumnae who are prominent in a wide variety of fields provided invaluable counsel for undergraduates.

HELEN SWORMSTEDT MANSFIELD

The Alumnae Association

WELLESLEY'S SECOND CLASS was graduated on the morning of June 23, 1880. That afternoon its forty-one members and the eighteen graduates of the Class of 1879 met "in the drawing room of Wellesley College [i.e., of College Hall] for the formation of an Alumnae Association." The Class of 1879 had framed a constitution, which was submitted to the Class of 1880, slightly revised, and unanimously adopted. The nominee for president was determined by "a scattering vote," and three vice presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer were elected to serve for one year. "It was voted that the first Alumnae Dinner be held on the day following Commencement in 1881 at such place as the committee should be pleased to appoint," and the meeting adjourned.

The first Alumnae Dinner—the forerunner of reunion social events—was held at the Hotel Wellesley on June 27, 1881, and the next three dinners were held at the Hotel Vendome in Boston. These young alumnae obviously felt very exclusive: in 1881 "The matter of guests was discussed and it was decided to make no arrangements for inviting relatives of the Association by marriage"; in 1883 a motion "that the Executive Committee be authorized to invite the president or members of the Faculty to attend the meetings of the Alumnae Association was LOST"!

There was excellent, informal exchange of intelligence between the officers of the Alumnae Association and of the College, as can be deduced from the fact that in 1884 the Association received from Anna H. McCoy, the mother of the incoming alumnae president, the following letter dated June 25, 1884:

> The Alumnae of Wellesley College will always be very cordially welcomed at Commencement. They are requested not to wait for an invitation, but will kindly write to the President whenever they desire a ticket.
>
> As long as the numbers will permit, the College will gladly entertain the Alumnae from Commencement until the Alumnae dinner.
>
> Anna H. McCoy, Secretary
>
> For Alice E. Freeman, President

The invitation was accepted with thanks, and since 1885 the annual meeting has been held on the campus. At the business meeting in 1885 it was voted that Mrs. Durant and Miss Freeman be invited to attend the literary exercises and "a messenger was accordingly sent to the two ladies to request their presence"—but at the same time it was voted that "invitations to them in the future be left to the discretion of the Executive Committee"! Apparently there has been no occasion in the intervening years to withhold an invitation. The cordiality of the relationship is attested by the fact that after the number of alumnae exceeded the capacity in 1889 of Stone Hall, the chapel and the dining room of College Hall were given over to them for their meeting and luncheon.

"Literary Exercises," which comprised the major part of the meetings through 1891, give a fascinating picture of the interests of Wellesley women in the 1880s. In 1881 "an oration was delivered by Mary Bingham '79, a poem was read by Katharine Lee Bates '80, and a history of the Association [which was one year old!] was given by Emily Norcross '80." The following year Mr. Durant, who had died during the year, was the focus of the program. Marion Pelton '80 gave an address which was considered "a fitting memorial" to him, and Mary Bartlett '79 read a poem, "Ad Fidem." During the next nine years these were subjects for papers and discussions:

Preparatory Schools and the inadequate training they provide for college work, especially in the Classics, Modern Languages, and History

The Relation of the College to Domestic Economy

Does a College Education Unfit a Woman for Home Life?

Some Phases of the American Girl Question

College Training as Applied to Philanthropic Work

The Relation of the College to Domestic Economy

The Problems of Our Country and Their Claim Upon Us: The Chinese Problem; In Behalf of the Negro; The Claims of the Indian; Our City Problems; The Poor Whites of Kentucky, East Tennessee, and Virginia

In 1887 Miss Freeman addressed the alumnae about the state of the College, and a member of the faculty who was not an alumna presented a paper: Lucille Eaton Hill (fondly known as "Gym" Hill) outlined her plan for advancing physical culture and her hope of developing a department of preventive medicine at Wellesley. She spoke of the beginning already made by the Health Club and cited statistics about the need for such a department. A member of the Class of 1883 then gave a graphic account of the increase in opportunities for women since the time a hundred years before when girls were allowed to enter the Boston schools in summer, "when there were not enough boys to fill them," and the first

high school to grant coeducational advantages discontinued them "on account of their alarming success." According to the author of the paper, in 1887 "many influential colleges open their doors to women and grant them master's and doctor's degrees on the same footing with men."

Although these early alumnae (like their successors) preferred to consider great causes and major issues, they also realized the need for financing the expenses of the Association, and for an address list so that they could solicit dues and provide information about the College and the Association. At the second annual meeting they voted to assess every member present 25¢; four years later each alumna "was invited to pay $1 every three years." This triennial system lasted for eleven years. Then in 1896 dues were increased to $1 a year, and in 1907 Life Memberships were established at $25. When the Alumnae Fund Plan, with its provision for "living endowment," was initiated in 1927, a single contribution brought active membership in the Association, a subscription to the *Alumnae Magazine,* and a gift to the College. This general scheme continued until 1970, when all alumnae were sent the *Magazine,* and then finally in 1973 the bylaws were amended to divorce gifts to the College from active membership in the Association. At that time a member of the Alumnae Association was defined as "any former student who was a candidate for a Wellesley College degree for at least one term and whose class has graduated; and any former student who was a candidate for a degree and who had left under honorable circumstances before completing one term, whose class has graduated, and who requests enrollment." The bylaws were further changed in 1973 to provide Associate Membership (designed primarily for exchange students), and in 1974 to provide Active (i.e. voting) or Associate Membership, depending on their matriculation status, for former Continuing Education students.

The first *Wellesley Record,* which contained biographical information about alumnae, trustees, and faculty, was published by the College in 1882. In 1884 a committee composed of the secretary of the Association and the secretary of each alumnae class was appointed to start an "Alumnae Register," and since that time there have been many directories, supplements, biographical records, and address lists.

An exceedingly important annual meeting was held in 1886. The very simple constitution adopted in 1880 was replaced by a more comprehensive one setting forth in the preamble the purpose of the Association: "Remembering the benefits we have received from our Alma Mater, we desire to extend the helpful associations of student life, and to maintain such relations to the College that we may effectively aid her in her upbuilding and strengthening to the end that her usefulness may continually increase."

At the same meeting, the alumnae set for themselves the task of con-

tributing money annually—at first $200 and then $300—for the Howard Fund, which was established to care for the living expenses of Ada L. Howard, who had retired as president of the College in 1881 without a pension or adequate income. The Trustees later provided an equal amount each year, and there is considerable evidence to indicate that Mrs. Durant privately helped to provide for Miss Howard, but unquestionably the impetus for this kind of informal pension originated with the alumnae. And after continuing it until Miss Howard's death in 1907, the Association voted to give $500 toward a monument in the town cemetery which was inscribed with her name, dates of birth and death, and the words "The First President of Wellesley College."

The first real fund raising project was undertaken by the alumnae in 1887. The minutes of the seventh annual meeting record that "Miss Louise Langford '83 proposed a scheme for raising the amount necessary to pay the debt of $13,000 on Norumbega, suggesting that each alumna endeavor to raise $20 towards it. Voted that the chairman appoint a committee of one from each class to arrange means for raising the amount in whatever way is thought best by the members of the classes."

This was certainly an ambitious goal for a small group of young women, a fact which the Trustees obviously appreciated. It may or may not be wholly coincidental that the matter of alumnae representation on the Board of Trustees arose shortly after the alumnae embarked on their efforts to pay off the mortgage on Norumbega Cottage, and that the representation was tripled the year that they succeeded. In any event, it is an interesting part of the history of the College and of the Association, and it also reveals the close relationship and admirable communication between the two groups.

At the meeting of the Association in June 1888, its president, Katharine Lee Bates, who was also a member of the English Literature Department, introduced a subject which she said was "the most important ever presented to the Association—that of representation on the Board of Trustees." A motion was passed that a committee of three be appointed, with its chairman the incoming president, Marion *Pelton* Guild '80, "to wait upon the Trustees . . . consult with them and report at the next Annual Meeting." Before this committee acted, however, the Trustees nominated Mrs. Guild (who, incidentally, had been an instructor in English Literature from 1881 to 1883) as a member of the Board for life, her election to take place in June 1889. When Miss Bates reported this action at the 1889 annual meeting (Mrs. Guild having withdrawn from the room), she explained that the committee had "found themselves in a somewhat embarrassing position, since they had failed to carry out the letter of the instructions given to them by the Association, though the main end had been secured. She moved that the Association put on

record its most cordial satisfaction with the action and with the choice of the Trustees in selecting Mrs. Guild a member of their body. The motion was carried unanimously and Mrs. Guild returned to the room and was greeted with enthusiastic applause."

It was evident, however, that the alumnae really wished to select their own representatives, to have more than one, and to set a term of office rather than to follow the pattern of election for life, as was customary on the Board at that time. The Association therefore voted in 1891 that a committee of five be appointed "to confer with the Board of Trustees on the subject of alumnae representation; that this committee be instructed to inform itself on the methods of alumnae representation in other colleges, and to express to the Trustees the strong desire of the alumnae to be represented on the Board by at least three of their own members, said representatives to be elected by the alumnae and to serve for a stated term." One of the five members of the committee was Ellen Burrell '80, a member of the Mathematics Department; another was Edith Tufts '84, who became a member of the Greek Department in 1893 and later was the registrar and the dean of residence. Again, the Trustees moved rapidly, and in June 1892, before the committee had a chance to report, the secretary read a letter to "Dear Daughters of Wellesley" saying that "The Trustees of Wellesley College, feeling that the time has come when they desire to avail themselves of the cooperation of your Association and cement more closely the bond that ties you to your Alma Mater by giving you further representation upon the Board of Trustees, at their twenty-second annual meeting June 2 appointed a committee of five to confer with a Committee from your Association and devise the best method for such representation." Miss Burrell reported for the alumnae committee that it "had been intimated unofficially" that the Trustees might take some action on alumnae representation and therefore they had not approached the Trustees on the subject. They had, however, investigated the matter of alumnae representation in some of the leading colleges for men and women. It was voted that Miss Burrell and Miss Tufts be retained on the Committee of Conference and that the chair appoint the other three members.

At the conference at the College of the members of the two committees in October 1892, the qualifications of voters, the qualifications of the nominees, and the method of electing nominees were considered. (It had been stated that according to the statutes of the College it was not possible for the alumnae to do more than nominate their representatives on the Board.) At the June 1893 annual meeting it was voted that (1) graduates of three years standing should be qualified to vote for the nominees for alumnae trustees; (2) graduates of seven years standing who were not members of the college faculty would be eligible for candidacy; (3) a

committee of three be appointed by the chair to name the nominating committee. It was also voted that the term of service of an alumnae trustee should be six years, although in the interest of continuity it was agreed that at the outset the nominee receiving the highest number of votes should serve for six years, the one receiving the next highest should serve for four years, and the one receiving the third highest should serve for two years. And so it was that in June 1894 the first three trustees were selected by the Association and elected by the Board of Trustees, Mrs. Guild resigned from the Board the following year, and, although some modifications in the method of selection were made, the number and qualifications of alumnae trustees remained essentially the same for about fifty years.

Then in 1946 provision was made for a fourth alumnae trustee, and in 1971 a fifth representative was chosen for a three-year term from the members of the graduating class by the juniors and seniors and the most recently graduated class. At the same time the president of the Alumnae Association became *ex officio* a member of the Board during her three-year term of office.

During the first twenty years (1894-1914) four alumnae trustees were presented as candidates for re-nomination and served from two to four successive terms, but since then no one has been asked by the Nominating Committee to serve more than one term. Eight alumnae trustees, however, have been elected by the Board as "regular" trustees, and, carrying on the close relationship between the college trustees and the directors of the Alumnae Association, twelve former Association presidents have become trustees, seven as alumnae trustees and five chosen by the Board of Trustees, and twelve other officers or directors of the Association have served as trustees, eight nominated by the alumnae and four by the Board.

It has been noted that the Alumnae Association voted in 1887 to raise funds to lift the debt from Norumbega Hall and that the task was achieved in 1892, the same year the Trustees voted to allow the alumnae to nominate three members to the Board. The resolution passed by the Trustees at the twenty-second annual meeting on June 21, 1892, and reported to the Association at its twelfth annual meeting the following day is a remarkably appreciative and perceptive statement which set the tone and established the relationship which has continued between the Board and the Association. Mrs. Durant, the secretary of the Board, wrote: "Recognizing that the strength of a college largely depends on the devotion of its graduates, the Trustees of Wellesley desire to record their deep gratitude for the fund of ($10,700) ten thousand seven hundred dollars raised by the Alumnae Association for the Norumbega debt. The gift is a most notable one for several reasons: it is the first ever received by the College through the exertions of its young, busy, and not generally

wealthy body of graduates; it thus implies a persistent self sacrifice very unusual in gifts, and greatly increasing the value of what is given; it gives hope that the number of persons disposed to aid the College may with time increase; and it frees from debt every building owned by Wellesley College."

So centrally have the alumnae been concerned with every fund raising effort of the College that their role and their achievements form an important part of the chapter on the development of the College's resources. There are, however, some policies and emphases of the Association's fund raising programs which should be mentioned here.

In addition to joining in heartily to help meet all objectives proposed by the trustees, the alumnae—both through the Association and their class organizations—in the early years initiated a large number of special projects. Affection and respect for former members of the faculty and administration were demonstrated by a desire to create a memorial for each. An oil portrait of Miss Shafer and "books, models, and other equipment for the Department of Pure Mathematics" were given through the Association in memory of Wellesley's third President; the Palmer Memorial Fund was established in memory of Alice Freeman Palmer, the second President. Carla Wenckebach, Professor of German, Anne Eugenia Morgan, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Mary E. Horton, Professor of Greek, Susan M. Hallowell, Professor of Botany, and Anna S. Newman, Superintendent of Norumbega Cottage for its first twenty-five years, were among the persons associated with Wellesley in its early years who were memorialized by funds raised by the alumnae. Then, too, others were honored by various classes: a portrait of Mrs. Durant was the gift of the Class of 1882, one of Mrs. Irvine was presented by the Class of 1895, and one of Miss Hazard was given by the Class of 1903. In 1966 a portrait of Margaret Clapp was given by 1930, her own Class.

A scholarship (later a fellowship) to the Wellesley chapter of the College Settlement Association was supported by contributions from individual alumnae and Clubs, and in 1910 the Wellesley Peking Mission Fund was established. According to a report made in 1911, "Frances Taft and Ruth Paxton sailed from San Francisco on February 15, 1911, to inaugurate the Wellesley work in Peking. They are now studying the language and beginning practical work among the thousands of girls studying in Peking." The committee in charge of the Fund asked the Association to include it in the list of Wellesley alumnae activities because, among other reasons, "Wellesley will be among the first of the women's colleges to inaugurate a plan of this kind and will be a pioneer in the field. It presents a peculiar opportunity to build up a deathless monument to the Wellesley spirit of ministry."

The reference to the inclusion of the Wellesley Peking Mission Fund

in "the list of Wellesley alumnae activities" reflects an inevitable development: the necessity to coordinate and limit the appeals for funds. In view of the proliferation, it is small wonder that in 1913 a Board of Reference was established by the Association "to limit appropriations from the treasury to sums plainly justified by conditions of the treasury, and to prevent too frequent appeals to alumnae, by sending out one list of such appeals." It was therefore voted that all requests for making an appeal must be in the hands of the Board of Reference for sanction before December 1st of each year. At that meeting in 1913 three appeals were authorized: the General Endowment Fund, which included the Julia J. Irvine Fund; the Student Alumnae Building Fund, which included nearly $3,000 raised by students through an Open Tree Day; Wellesley Work in North China (originally the Peking Mission). Also, the raising of two additional funds was reported: $5,000 from the Class of 1893 for a Memorial Scholarship Fund, and $1,550 from former students of Miss Horton, Professor of Greek, for lectures on classical subjects by distinguished scholars.

The changes in the names of the principal general funds raised by the alumnae over the years provide a valuable insight into the thinking and foresight of the members of the Alumnae Association. As early as 1899 a committee was appointed to "confer with the Trustees as to the advisability of endeavoring to start an Endowment Fund." More remarkable, perhaps, was that in 1901 the Endowment Fund Committee had become the Committee on Income Fund and that rather extraordinary recommendations about its organization were adopted. Its executive committee included the president or secretary of each Class, the president of each Club, "and one or more state representatives appointed in the interest of students not included in class organizations or Wellesley Clubs." The president of the Alumnae Association was an *ex officio* member, and the treasurer of the College was the treasurer of the Committee.

The Income Fund with its class and geographic agents was in a sense a prototype of the National Development Fund organization fifty years later. Also, the objective of the Income Fund, "a small gift annually to the College, equal to the interest on a substantial endowment," foreshadowed the "living endowment" concept on which the Alumnae Fund Plan was based twenty-five years later. In 1907, however, the Association voted to merge the Income Fund with the Alumnae Permanent Endowment Fund because of a belief that "in the end more benefit would accrue to the College by investing the sums contributed by alumnae than by putting the same each year into current expenses; and that a general endowment is an appropriate object to which the alumnae might devote themselves, other objects such as buildings and additions to the college equipment being more likely to appeal to outside benefactors."

College Hall fire in March 1914 changed virtually everything at the College, including the name of the General Endowment Fund. It became the Alumnae Restoration and Endowment Fund, with Candace Stimson '92 as chairman. At the annual meeting in June 1917, not long after the entrance of the U. S. into World War I, she offered the resignation of her committee and expressed the committee's appeal for the future: "The work we have completed was begun when the future of Wellesley was dark and uncertain; the work we must still do must be undertaken now when the future of our country is dark and uncertain beyond all words. . . . Under pressure of physical and material needs which will shortly be upon us, let us as Americans do our utmost to ward off spiritual bankruptcy by holding with all our strength our own College, that she may continue to train future generations of American citizens in the high traditions of liberty, justice, and democracy."

All fund raising was absorbed into the Semi-Centennial Fund, to which an unexcelled record of 96.8% of the alumnae contributed. Then, after that campaign was officially closed in 1925, the Alumnae Association with Marie *Warren* Potter '07 as president initiated in the fall of 1927 a new Alumnae Fund Plan based on the "living endowment" approach and having as its ideal no more campaigns for large gifts.

The Alumnae Fund was merged with the 75th Anniversary Fund during its campaign from 1947 to 1950; so effective were the organization and the procedures developed during the 75th that everyone believed they should be continued. The Board of Trustees and the Board of Directors of the Alumnae Association agreed in 1950 that for an experimental two-year period all money-raising activity of the College and the alumnae should be concentrated in one central group, the National Committee of the Development Fund, its chairman to be appointed by the President of the College and the Alumnae Association to be directly represented by the Chairman of Class Representatives or some other member of the Alumnae Board. The first charge against the Fund was to be the budget of the Alumnae Association as prepared and approved by the Alumnae Association Board. The experiment was so successful that it has been continued, essentially as originally outlined except that the Chairman of Clubs has joined the Chairman of Class Representatives in serving on both the Fund Committee and the Alumnae Board.

An organization which for more than sixty years has played an extremely productive role in alumnae affairs is what is now known as "Alumnae Council." Its predecessor, Graduate Council, came into existence in 1911, the year Ellen Fitz Pendleton '86, the first alumna to serve as president of the College, was inaugurated. It seems highly likely that she helped to inspire it; certainly she consistently supported it and emphasized its value.

At the thirty-first annual meeting the alumnae voted to accept the recommendation of the Executive Board that: "As our alumnae are increasing in large numbers, and are scattered more and more widely, it will be of advantage to them and to the College that an organized, accredited group of alumnae to be known as a GRADUATE COUNCIL shall be chosen from different parts of the country to confer with the college authorities on matters affecting both alumnae and undergraduate interest, as well as to furnish the College, by this group, the means of testing the sentiment of Wellesley women throughout the country on any matter." Members were to be the President and the Dean of the College *ex officio;* ten members of the Academic Council to be elected by that body (no more than two were to be alumnae); the three alumnae trustees; the members of the Executive Board of the Alumnae Association; the members of the retiring Executive Board; one councillor elected from and by each Wellesley Club of from twenty-five to one hundred members, and one councillor for each additional hundred members. Provision was also made for contiguous clubs of less than twenty-five members to unite and be represented by a councillor, and for five councillors-at-large to be appointed by the Council from scattered localities where there are no Clubs. The plan was for an annual meeting in June at any time before the meeting of the Alumnae Association and for a meeting at the College for three days or less in February following the mid-year examinations.

The first sessions were held "in Horsford Parlor, Wellesley College, February 3-5, 1912." The forty-two persons present included the ten members of the Academic Council (Katharine Lee Bates '80 and Martha Hale Shackford '96 were the two who were alumnae) and twenty-one representatives of seventeen Wellesley Clubs, Boston and New York each having three delegates. Frances *Scudder* Williams '85, president of the Council as well as of the Alumnae Association, greeted first "our alumna President whose presence is so welcome" and expressed the belief that the Council was the first, if not the only, Graduate Council in a similar college to have faculty in its membership. Miss Pendleton spoke of what the Council could do for the College, pointing out that it "could become the center of all the various information concerning outside criticism of the College and its methods, and discussions of the various ways in which the College can be improved. . . . Every college needs many things, but it needs especially the loyal cooperation of its alumnae. Through the means of the Council the College can gain the crystallized opinion of the alumnae, and through that, much can be done to bring about a cooperation between the College and its alumnae more hearty, more loyal, and more valuable than ever before." Professor Mary Whiton Calkins, a Smith alumna, told about the Smith Alumnae Council, which

had been organized five years before, with delegates from Clubs and alumnae trustees but no faculty members. The secretary of the Princeton Graduate Council outlined its organization and described its great service to the College.

By the time the second meeting of the Council was held that June and a report of both meetings was presented at the annual meeting of the Association, three important committees were functioning: those on Organization of the Council, Finances, and Wellesley Clubs. The first had elaborated on the plan as originally proposed and put it into the form of a constitution, and it requested "from the Alumnae Association that it be recognized as an independent body with its own constitution, provided that the president and the treasurer of the Alumnae Association shall be *ex officio* president and treasurer of the Council." The Finance Committee had been concerned chiefly with probable expenses and sources of income, but it had also noted that there were no funds to cover the expenses of delegates (who must look to the bodies they represented) or for the traveling expenses of an organizer of clubs. The Clubs Committee had sent a questionnaire to the twenty-six existing Clubs (nine more than the previous year) and learned that there were many differences among them, some existing for social purposes only and others having little organization. The Committee felt that there should be greater uniformity and had drawn up a Model Constitution for Wellesley Clubs. It also recommended that a Visiting Councillor be appointed to visit Clubs and areas where Clubs might be formed, "to suggest ways of usefulness to the College and to stimulate interest and enthusiasm among alumnae," and that the travel expenses be shared by the Graduate Council and the Clubs.

For eleven years the Graduate Council met twice a year, in February and in June. Then in June 1922 it was voted to incorporate the Council into the Alumnae Association, the necessary changes in the Association bylaws were made, and on March 10-12, 1923, the first Alumnae Council met. A time of year was chosen when students and alumnae could become acquainted; alumnae were placed in all campus houses, and they also had an opportunity to see a student entertainment, an operetta.

The first official mention of Wellesley Clubs was in 1893, when the president of the Alumnae Association read a communication from the Western Wellesley Association and the Chicago Wellesley Club. During the eleven years of the Graduate Council, as a result of the efforts of the Clubs Committees and Visiting Councillors, thirty-five new Wellesley Clubs were formed, and the number has increased over the years. In January 1974 there were 146 groups which provided ways for alumnae in many places in the U. S. and abroad to get together on occasion. Of these, 115 were active Wellesley Clubs having constitutions and formal

organization, fifteen were informally organized groups which included London, Paris, Tokyo, Switzerland and Bangkok, and sixteen (including San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Lima, Peru) were places where key alumnae undertook to maintain liaison with other alumnae in their areas.

Working for the College has always been the vital stimulus for Clubs. After the Semi-Centennial Fund Campaign had been completed and the country had entered the Great Depression, there was a vacuum in Club activities which was superbly filled when Anne Wellington, Secretary to the Board of Admission, devised the Acquaintanceship Plan. This pioneer program, which was carried out by alumnae, was designed to give school principals, guidance counselors, parents, and prospective students up-to-date, accurate information about the College and requirements for admission—matters about which there was an appalling lack of knowledge.

Initially the officers of the Alumnae Association were elected annually, although occasionally they were reelected for a second term—and, indeed, the first president served for four terms. Then from 1898 until 1922, two years was the stated term of office. Since 1922 officers have in general had three-year terms, and since 1946 continuity has been provided by having certain members of the Board of Directors take office each year.

There was a period of more than forty years, from 1900 to 1943, when all of the officers were elected from a single geographical area: Chicago in 1900-02, 1914-16, and 1934-37; Springfield, Massachusetts in 1902-04; Providence in 1904-06; New Jersey in 1906-08; Philadelphia in 1908-10 and 1920-22; Hartford in 1910-12; Boston in 1912-14 and 1931-34; San Francisco in 1916-18; New York in 1918-20 and 1925-28; Cleveland in 1922-25; Pittsburgh in 1928-31; Buffalo in 1937-40; and Washington, D. C. in 1940-43. A "Regional Board," with Katharine *Timberman* Wright '18 of Columbus, Ohio as president, served during World War II from 1943 to 1946, and since that time there has been a deliberate effort to have representation from various parts of the country on each Board.

Other significant developments in the organization of the Association can be gleaned simply by noting changes in the offices on the Board. That of Alumnae Fund Chairman came into existence in 1925; the last person to be so designated was Helen D. Harbison '17 in 1950-51, because thereafter all gifts to the College were channeled through the Development Fund, and the Chairman of Class Representatives replaced the Alumnae Fund Chairman on the Alumnae Board. Beginning in 1946, when complete new bylaws were adopted, the Chairman of Class Presidents (broadened to Class Officers in 1954), Clubs, and Publications were added, and in 1955 the position of Chairman of the Campus Committee. In 1973 two titles were changed more accurately to reflect responsibilities: Chairman of Publications became Chairman of Communications,

and Chairman of Class Representatives is now Chairman of Class Fund Programs. In 1974 the President of the Association appointed a Chairman of Academic Programs to work with the Board of Directors.

The names of some of the Committees established during the early years indicate, too, concerns and activities of the alumnae. A Committee to Protect the Aesthetic Beauty of the College Grounds and Buildings, of which Edith S. Tufts '84 was chairman, reported in 1897 "the vigilance of the committee in guarding as far as possible the natural beauties of Wellesley, and recommended the small needs and luxuries of the College to the consideration of the various Wellesley Clubs." Four years later this committee became the Historical Committee, and its work during many years established the "archives" in the library, although it was not until 1972 that the library had a professionally trained archivist on its staff. A Committee on the Formation of a Non-Graduate Association was formed in 1900. Six years before that time a petition for some share in alumnae work and meetings had been presented by the graduates of the Schools of Music and Art, and a committee to consider this request had been appointed. Its recommendation in June 1895 that these groups "be invited to attend the social and literary meetings of the Alumnae, and entitled to receive such general College notices as sent to the Alumnae" was defeated, and only those who had taken the regular college course and obtained a degree were entitled to become members of the Alumnae Association or were considered alumnae of the College. No Non-Graduate Association was ever formed, and gradually through the years former students who have not graduated have been welcomed as members of the Association. There were committees to consider the program of Alumnae Day and the question of life membership; there were an Alumnae Records Committee and a Student-Alumnae Committee, "a joint committee of alumnae and undergraduates to promote mutual understanding and to cooperate with the Association in any recommendation it may decide upon with reference to present or proposed future interests of the College." In 1912 a Publicity Committee (of the Graduate Council) was appointed whose function was "to see that correct and favorable news about the College" reached the news media and that "false and derogatory news items were controlled if possible." There were also committees on Preparatory Schools, on Undergraduates' Interests, and on Vocational Guidance.

It is a great tribute to the energy, enthusiasm, and dedication of the alumnae volunteers of the first thirty years that they were able to hold the Association together by keeping addresses up to date, planning reunions, organizing classes and clubs, and raising an amazing amount of money. But in 1909 they realized that they could no longer function efficiently without some paid office assistance, and at the annual meeting

that year it was voted that an Alumnae General Secretary be employed by the Executive Board subject to the approval of the College. Accordingly Mary *Gilman* Ahlers '88 was appointed for the year 1909-10 to that position, although she continued to be employed part time by the Registrar's Office.

By 1915 the work of the Association had grown to such an extent that a full-time secretary was needed. Mary B. Jenkins '03 served in that capacity until she resigned in June 1918 and Rebecca *Meaker* Colville '16 and Ethel Pennell '98 carried on as "Acting General Secretaries" the following year. Laura Dwight '06 was then appointed and served until 1930, when she resigned. The preceding fall I was employed as Miss Dwight's assistant on Alumnae Fund work, and when Kathleen Elliott '18 succeeded Miss Dwight she handled the work with the Alumnae Board and committees, Clubs, undergraduates, the college administration, and the faculty, while my duties were concerned with the Fund, Classes, arrangements for Council and Reunions, Class Notes, and advertising for the *Magazine*. At the end of three years Miss Elliott became the College Recorder and Florence Risley '05 the Alumnae General Secretary. During her term of seven years she revised the accounting system, and succeeded in obtaining an increased budget, so that much-needed new equipment could be bought and a larger staff employed to care for the growing numbers in the alumnae body. She was succeeded by Carol *Rhodes* Johnson '23, who made a valuable contribution to the Association during her three years by visiting Clubs throughout the country. While attending a meeting of a national organization of Alumnae-Alumni Directors, she met and soon married Robert Sibley, Director of Alumni of the University of California at Berkeley. When she resigned in June 1944 I became the Executive Secretary and served until I retired in 1961 after thirty-two years in the Alumnae Office. My successor, Eloise *Rockhold* Walker '28, retired in 1972. Her term of eleven years encompassed a period that was tumultuous on all college campuses. Keeping the delicate balance between the students' insistence on "relevancy" and the alumnae's concern for holding to the standards of the past presented many difficulties, but she managed to do so with tact, composure, and grace. Anne *Mitchell* Morgan '57 is now the Executive Director of the Association, the title adopted during her predecessor's term of office,— and the eighth full-time Alumnae General Secretary (as the position was originally entitled) in the history of the Association.

Interestingly enough, the only full-time editor the *Alumnae Magazine* has ever had is Mary Lyons, the present editor, who has held the position since February of 1947. News about alumnae has been published, however, since 1888, when Edith Tufts '84 was elected by the Association to obtain material from alumnae for the Wellesley town paper, the *Courant*.

Later alumnae news was published in student publications, the *Prelude* and The Magazine Section of the *College News,* but not until 1916 did the Association begin to publish a Quarterly of its own. Lucy *Dow* Cushing '92 was the editor from 1916 to 1921 (and during the last year was head of Wilder Hall); Helen F. McMillan '17 from 1921 to 1927 combined work as editor with publicity assignments for the YWCA; Alfarata *Bowdoin* Hilton Hansel '22 was an assistant in English Literature as well as the editor from 1927 to 1931; Elizabeth *Paige* May Thompson '24, the editor from 1931 to 1945, was also in the Publicity Office during much of that time, as was Sarah *Collie* Smith '32 during her editorship from 1945 until Mary Lyons '35, who had worked with her both in the Publicity Office and on the *Magazine,* succeeded her in 1947. Since that time, the *Magazine* has been acclaimed nationally, receiving several first-place awards from the American Alumni Council and a Special Citation for the Centennial issue, "A Woman's Place," as well as being listed many times among the top ten college and university magazines in the country.

In my experience, Wellesley alumnae—whether serving as officers of the Association or of Clubs or Classes, as employees of the College or the Association, or as callers in Personnel Call Programs or as workers in local benefits and other projects for Wellesley—have considered it an honor and a privilege to serve the College. Perhaps Carolyn *Bartel* Lyon '28, an alumnae trustee who recently reflected upon her experiences in an oral history interview, has best put the matter into perspective. After speaking of the rewarding experience of learning of "the strength of the Wellesley alumnae body in this country and in the world," she commented: "I have had considerable contact with many colleges, and there is no question, it seems to me, that Wellesley has the soundest alumnae organization of any college I have ever known. I think the voluntary nature of the Wellesley-alumnae relationship is the real key to its success. Much of this, I believe, comes from the college motto." Certainly many of the alumnae throughout Wellesley's first century, working both as individuals and as members of the Alumnae Association, have steadfastly supported the purpose of the Association ". . . to maintain such relations to the College that we may effectively aid in her upbuilding and strengthening to the end that her usefulness may continually increase."

The coat-of-arms on the terrace of Munger Hall, the gift of Jessie Munger of the Class of 1886.

Five of the eight full-time Alumnae General Secretaries in the history of the Alumnae Association held a private reunion at the 1973 Reunion: Kathleen Elliott, Carol Rhodes Johnson Sibley, Helen Swormstedt Mansfield, Eloise Rockhold Walker, Anne Mitchell Morgan.

The Tokyo Wellesley Club welcoming a guest, Mary Cooper Jewett Gaiser.

The Alumnae Parade on Severance Green at Reunion in 1932.

Directors of the Alumnae Association and other key alumnae at the annual meeting in 1964.

Alumnae formed "a line of white" through which the faculty, trustees, and seniors marched at Commencement in 1971.

JEAN GLASSCOCK

Postscript

Presidents in Retirement

Although Caroline Hazard resigned the presidency of Wellesley in 1910 because she felt that her health would no longer allow her to perform the arduous duties of the office, she continued to lead an extraordinarily active, productive life until very shortly before her death on March 19, 1945, at the age of eighty-nine in Santa Barbara, California. She usually spent the winter months at her home there, the rest of the year at her Peace Dale, Rhode Island, home. Her eighty-fifth birthday was celebrated by an exhibition of thirty-five of her watercolors which, according to the *Providence Evening Bulletin,* were "vigorously executed," "would do credit to an artist many years her junior," "showed glimpses of famous spots in Southern California," and "were bright souvenirs of tours Miss Hazard took by auto with her artist's paraphernalia." (Mills College had conferred on her in 1931 the D.Litt. degree "in recognition of her recording in painting the story of the early Spanish Missions.") *Threads from the Distaff,* a collection of some of her columns which for many years appeared bi-weekly in the *Evening Bulletin,* was published in 1935, and *The Golden State,* the last of her many volumes of poetry, in 1939. Miss Hazard was a prolific writer throughout her life, even managing while she was president to publish *Some Ideals in the Education of Women* (1900), *A Scallop Shell of Quiet* (1908), *A Brief Pilgrimage in the Holy Land* (1909), and *The College Year* (1910). She gave to the Students' Building Fund the proceeds of the book about her trip to the Holy Land. Essentially a compilation of the talks she gave in chapel the winter after her return in 1907, it described the severe storm in the Mediterranean which prevented the steamer taken at Port Said from landing at Jaffa. Instead, she wrote, "the ship proceeded to the foot of Mount Carmel, from whence the travelers entered the Holy Land by the way [including transportation by camel] that Richard Coeur de Lion and his followers did many centuries ago." *From College Gates* (1925), a collection of some

of her addresses (among them ones to alumnae "from Kansas City in the West to Washington in the South") and other writings during her Wellesley years, was "affectionately dedicated" "to the two thousand one hundred and sixty-one graduates of Wellesley College from 1900 to 1911."

Miss Hazard was an authority on the history and legends of Rhode Island's South County and was much interested in the preservation of historical landmarks and had a prominent part in founding South County Hospital. She also was the honorary president of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History and served as an elector of the Hall of Fame. "Educational institutions in the deep South for colored boys and girls were among her chief philanthropies," the Field Secretary of Tuskegee Institute wrote in the *Christian Science Monitor,* mentioning also a Negro spiritual which she arranged that was sung frequently by the Tuskegee Quintet.

Wellesley was one of her continuing concerns. Elected to the Board of Trustees at the same meeting at which her resignation as president of the College was accepted, she remained a member until 1927, when she insisted upon resigning because she no longer lived near enough to attend meetings faithfully. Thereupon she was elected "trustee emeritus." A memorial service for her was held on April 1, 1945, in the Houghton Memorial Chapel, where her inauguration on October 3, 1899, was one of the first events in the new chapel. Oakwoods, which is now the Dean's House, the Three Sisters Choir Fund, the Katharine Lee Bates Professorship of English, the Caroline Hazard Professorship of Music, and the love letters of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning were among her major gifts—and there were dozens of lesser ones. But, as the Minute adopted by the Academic Council on May 16 and by the Board of Trustees on May 18, 1945, pointed out: "All these tangible gifts were allied with an intangible contribution made by her emphasis on grace, dignity and beauty in life, on spiritual resources." She often wrote poems or hymns for special occasions at Wellesley. Her consuming interest in all forms of beauty is evidenced by a delightful story told not long ago by Juliet J. Poynter '05. When Miss Hazard, then President of Wellesley, was visiting the Science Hill School in Shelbyville, Kentucky, she was late in arriving at the hall in which she was to speak. Miss Poynter was dispatched to find her and escort her to the hall. On entering the guest cottage, Miss Poynter saw the tall, angular form of Miss Hazard kneeling on the bed, where, oblivious to time, she was tracing the design of the quilted spread. The scallop shell on her bookplate and on all of the buildings constructed during her administration remind the informed members of today's college community of the president who seventy-five years ago brought both beauty and financial stability to the College.

ATTEMPTING TO KEEP REASONABLY CURRENT President Mildred McAfee Horton's curriculum vitae was always a challenge to a Wellesley publicity director. It seemed as if every time a list of her off-campus activities was prepared, a story appeared in the press announcing her election to another important board or office. And of course her lack of enthusiasm for publicizing all of her honors added a sporting element to the game.

I knew that only Mrs. Horton might be able to provide a list of her principal activities since she resigned the presidency in 1949. I also knew that such a list would be impressive, that she would be very modest about her achievements, and that, although marvelously helpful about all other matters, she would not respond with alacrity to a request for this material. Finally I triumphed. She wrote on October 11, 1974 (and with her it is essential to bear the date in mind; additions have doubtless been made since then): "Suffice it to say that since my retirement I have considered myself a professional volunteer though a few of the things listed here have paid me far more than my services were worth. I refer to the business boards which paid a fee for attendance and the government visits which paid expenses for an interesting meeting in Paris for UNESCO and the USIS trip to India and the visit to Australia. Apart from these assignments, I have been happily unemployed ever since I left Wellesley, though some travel expenses have been covered by philanthropic organizations for meetings—but no fees, of course! It is easy to see from this list that I have been having a good time and have not found life dull."

The list, like her letter, best speaks for itself. While living in New York from 1949 until 1955, she was a director of New York Life Insurance Company (1947-1959), a director of National Broadcasting Company and Radio Corporation of America (1959-1961), president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1959-1961), president of the National Social Welfare Assembly (1950-1953), visitor for U.S. Information Service to colleges and universities in India (January and February, 1953), member of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education (1951-1967), president of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, vice president and chairman of the Division of Life and Work of the National Council of Churches (1954-1957), a trustee of the New York Public Library (1950-1955), a trustee of the Japan International Christian University Foundation, a trustee of Packard Junior College, a member of the Committee on Awards for Opportunity Fellowships of the John Hay Whitney Foundation, a trustee of the Northfield Schools (1940 to 1970, thereafter trustee emeritus). The Hortons lived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, from 1955 until 1959. She was during that period a member of the Cambridge Citizens' Advisory Committee for Urban Renewal, of the Committee on the White House

Conference on Education (1955), and of the Committee on Atoms for Peace Award; a Carnegie Fund Visitor to Colleges in Australia; a trustee of the Danforth Foundation (1955-1962). While making Randolph, New Hampshire, her headquarters throughout the year since 1959, Mrs. Horton was U.S. delegate to the 12th General Assembly of UNESCO (1962) and alternate delegate to the World Council of Churches Assembly in India, and accompanied her husband to Rome for three of the four sessions of Vatican Council II. She has been a member of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches, co-chairman of the Women's Committee for Civil Rights (1963), Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Pierce College, Athens, Greece (resigning in 1971), vice president of the United Church Board for World Ministries, a member of the Interim Commission on Education established by the New Hampshire General Court (1961-1963), a trustee of the University of New Hampshire (1963-1974) and Chairman of the Board in 1972-1973, a director of the White Mountain Art and Music Festival beginning in 1973, an incorporator of the New Hampshire Charitable Trust, a member of the American Association of University Women, League of Women Voters, Gorham United Church of Christ, Home Demonstration Group in Randolph, Friends of Princeton Library, Friends of the University of New Hampshire Library, the New Hampshire Council on World Affairs—and, as she wrote at the end of the list, "etc.!"

Among distinctions which she did not mention were her many honorary degrees, only two of which will be noted here: the LL.D. from Wellesley in 1950 at the celebration of the 75th Anniversary, and the most recent (October 1974), the LL.D. from Union College when she was the speaker at the inauguration of its president. Trying to keep track of her activities in the realm of public service would still be a stiff challenge!

When Margaret Clapp resigned in 1966, she made a complete change in the pattern of her life. Declining prestigious offers from educational institutions, foundations, and government in this country, she went for a year to head Lady Doak College, a small liberal arts college for women in Madurai, South India. The reason, she said, was that she had become "increasingly convinced that people should move outside their own culture at some time in their lives. You see your own culture freshly when you see a culture with a different set of assumptions and traditions." At Lady Doak College and in her association with the University of Madurai she obtained a sound working knowledge of the procedures and philosophy of Indian higher education. Later, as the first woman to hold the rank of Minister Counselor of Public Affairs at a U.S. Embassy and to

serve as the Chief Cultural Officer for the U.S. Information Agency in India, she extended and deepened her understanding of India's culture and interpreted to the Indians the cultural interests of the United States and coordinated its educational efforts in India. The citation accompanying the LL.D. degree which Wellesley conferred upon her in June 1970 at the time of her fortieth reunion noted her achievements in both countries. It stated: "Devoted alumna and distinguished eighth president of Wellesley College; educator in the highest tradition of the profession; ambassador of western culture and good will to the Orient; combining unique abilities with rare personal charm and modesty; you have effectively served the best interests of your country and your Alma Mater."

In the fall of 1971 she returned from New Delhi to her home in the Berkshires, where both figuratively and literally she "cultivated her garden." It was in that old house in Tyringham (of which she was very fond and to which she gave the same kind of devoted care in remodeling that she had given to Stone and Davis Halls at Wellesley) that she died on May 3, 1974, less than a month after her sixty-fourth birthday. She had a pervasive, mushrooming type of cancer—which fortunately was remarkably free from pain—and lived only about six weeks after it was diagnosed.

Memorial services for her were held in the Houghton Memorial Chapel at Wellesley and at Lady Doak College in Madurai, and both colleges have named buildings in her honor: the Library at Wellesley, and the new administrative block at Lady Doak. An account of the service held here appeared in the summer 1974 issue of the *Wellesley Alumnae Magazine,* and some of her contributions to Wellesley during the seventeen years of her presidency have been touched on in various chapters in this history. What she managed to accomplish in only one year at Lady Doak College is also extraordinary. S. J. Savarirayan, Chairman of the Governing Council of Lady Doak College, at the service held there spoke of her "initiating in a very short time significant measures of lasting value. . . . One of the most important things she did was to write out a new constitution for the Governing Council of the College, get it passed, and registered under the Societies Act. It was a wonder to me that in a matter of three months she could so grasp our situation and problems here as to produce a masterly document. In spite of her difficulties with the climate, food, and customs of South India, she worked hard and produced unostentatiously changes in the administration and out-moded practices of the College. Another of her achievements was finding an Indian Principal to whom she could hand over charge with the assurance that she would infuse new life into the College and continue to further the vision that she had conceived for the Lady Doak College . . . and the subsequent history of the College has amply justified her wisdom."

Mr. Savarirayan also had a keen appreciation of her as a person: "When once asked who had influenced her choice of career, she replied that one was Professor Henry Mussey at Wellesley whose constant query when students talked of injustices in large terms was 'What are you going to do about it?'; another was Miss Thompson whose course in the New Testament produced the realization that 'There are are just twenty-four hours in a day, so that to have anything one has to choose among many possible uses of the time.' . . . I was impressed by the quickness of her mind and her uncanny power in assessing almost at her first meeting the strength and weakness of persons she had to deal with. Shrewd in her judgment, she was always kind and generous. She achieved desirable ends without being negative in working for them and always exercised the utmost tact and a superior type of diplomacy."

Another member of a governing council, Elizabeth *King* Morey '19, a former Wellesley trustee, expressed in these words the essence of her greatness: "Make no mistake: Margaret Clapp was a great President of Wellesley College. Basically this was because she was a Great Person. Brilliant brains are not so very uncommon; morons of sterling character abound. But a perfect blend of brains and character is very rare, and if added to that is the mysterious inner life we call spirit, then a great leader is made. Margaret was that. Her deep wells of inner strength were impenetrable; she was eminently her own. Perhaps those looking for a cosy clubmate or a fiery social reformer, or an intellectual elite, according to their own predilections, found her at times unsympathetic. But her fierce and unrelenting commitment to the upbuilding of Wellesley College, her burning integrity, brought this institution through troubled times to great strength. We are, forever, in her debt."

A Few Unrelated Items

Sarah Frances Whiting, the first Wellesley Professor of Physics, recalled at the last vesper service held in the chapel in College Hall in 1899 some of the notable events which had taken place there: "My inward vision pictures the scene here at the visit of Standing Bear, the noble Ponca Indian, who, with his daughter Bright Eyes, came to stir the Eastern white man to right the red man's wrongs; the visits of the gentle Zuni Indians, who on this platform sang their ancient songs and recited their folklore; the reception to Kapiolani, the queen of the Sandwich Islands, when this platform was crowded with its strange grouping of Boston City Fathers, Wellesley Faculty, and Hawaiians. Even to mention the philanthropists and reformers who have stood here would take the half hour: General Armstrong, Captain Pratt, Booker T. Washington, Frederick Douglas, John B. Gough, Joseph Cook, Frances Willard, Lady Somerset and scores of others. Another half hour would be required to name the

authors and musicians who have complimented the Wellesley students by rendering for them their world-famous productions." And, according to the President's Report for 1901, Professor Whiting herself, "following the policy of past years of bringing the newer discoveries of popular interest before the College, this year gave demonstrations on wireless telegraphy, the new process of photography in color, and a lecture on the 'New Star.' "

Louise McCoy North '79 remembered of her college days: "Longfellow voyaged on Lake Waban in our boat, the *Evangeline.* Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes visited us. Whittier was too shy to come, but wrote charming letters. Matthew Arnold entered the door of College Hall—through a vista of palms catches a gleam of the lake beneath the oaks and disappears through the south door, leaving in the lurch a formidable array. S. F. Smith visits our classes and does not find, to his surprise, what Mrs. Browning calls woman's Greek without the accents. [William Dean] Howell comes to us, there in the high tide of that so-called realistic fiction which created so many insipid women, and was asked why."

Over the years most of the distinguished poets writing in English have read their poems at Wellesley, many of them thanks to the Katharine Lee Bates Fund established in 1924 by Eunice C. Smith '98. Among those who came to Wellesley most frequently in the first half of the twentith century were John Masefield, Robert Frost, T. S. Eliot, William Butler Yeats, Vachel Lindsay, and Archibald MacLeish, who in 1940 presented to the Library the original manuscript of *Air Raid,* a verse play for radio which he had first read at Wellesley in advance of its publication, and who a decade later read here his play *Job.* (Robert Lowell and e.e. cummings were other special favorites in the 1950s and early 1960s.) In a period of slightly more than a year during 1916 and 1917 Frost, Masefield, Lindsay, Walter De La Mare, Rabindranath Tagore, Amy Lowell, and Stephen Leacock read from their own writings; among the lectures were ones by Lady Gregory on "The Irish National Theatre," Admiral Robert E. Peary on "The Conquest of the North Pole," Major-General Leonard Wood on "Preparedness," The Honorable Winston Churchill on "The Religious Theory of Democracy," Henry Morgenthau on "The United States in Turkey," H. Granville Barker on "The Staging of Shakespeare," Simon Flexner on "The Physical Basis of Immunity," and Harry Emerson Fosdick on "The Intelligent Woman and Her Religion." James Weldon Johnson, author of *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* and *Fifty Years and Other Poems,* a U.S. consul in Latin American countries, and the Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, gave on March 6, 1923, a lecture of unusual interest on "The Creative Genius of the Negro in Literature and Art." College

Government and Forum jointly sponsored on February 16, 1926, a discussion of "European Student Movements" by the president and vice president of the Confederation Internationale des Etudiants. On the same day, November 17, 1925, that William Beebe gave an illustrated lecture on "The Voyage of the Arcturus to the Sargasso Sea," Vachel Lindsay again read his poems. He was undoubtedly one of the most colorful of the poets. Mary Eleanor Prentiss '19, a member of the English Department from 1933 until 1959, vividly recalled in an oral history interview one of the times he read in Billings Hall when she was an undergraduate. He designated Miss Bates, who had introduced him and was on the platform with him, to be the Queen of Sheba and the audience to be the horses. As he spoke the lines, "King Solomon said to the Queen of Sheba, bowing most politely," he turned dramatically to Miss Bates. Miss Prentiss commented that "Miss Bates chortled and shook —she was a fat, jolly person. I can still hear that voice of his. He was a homely man, but he had an extraordinary voice."

During the last quarter of a century a very large number of exceedingly high-quality lectures, conferences, and symposia have been held on the campus, thanks in large measure to the College's Barnette Miller and Mayling Soong Foundations and the funds established by the bequests of Carolyn Wilson '10 and Annette Finnigan '94. There is not space here even to provide even a list of the most significant, but it should perhaps be noted that the Symposium of Africa presented by the Barnette Miller Foundation on February 16 and 17, 1960, was the first major public discussion of the subject by experts. For more than a decade copies of the publication of the proceedings were ordered and reordered by scholars and libraries. Among the sixteen participants was The Honorable Julius K. Nyerere, who was then President of the Tanganyika African National Union and shortly thereafter became the Prime Minister of his country.

SOME NOTEWORTHY COMMENTS BY FOREIGNERS concerning Wellesley: The poet Yeats said to Mrs. Durant, "You have chosen a place eternally beautiful." Jean Giraudoux, the French writer, described Wellesley as "the paradise where the first laughter was heard." Lady Huggins, a foremost English astronomer, in leaving her astronomical and art treasures to Wellesley, wrote: "I have always felt interest in America and her great mission. I have also felt increasing interest in the young women of America, and the intellectual justice now being granted them. . . . I rejoice over the splendid spirit shown by the old Wellesleyans. I believe in the real, great America and in Wellesley College, one of its far-seeing creations.

It is to Wellesley and such other colleges for the young life to create the New Heaven and New Earth to which we all look forward." Simone de Beauvoir, French author who visited the College in 1947, later wrote of the students she had met here: "The more I talk with the girls, the more I find it difficult to express an opinion about them. Each one is an individual. Some upperclassmen seemed to me as serious and even deep as others looked superficial. They explained to me that frivolity can be misleading. We would be afraid, they said, to be called blue-stockings if we were too serious about our studies and ideas, but many of us are interested in important questions; we are not set upon finding a husband first; we want a work with meaning. We also want to see the world, enrich ourselves intellectually."

A FEW DISPARATE REMARKS by people who have been associated with Wellesley: Henry Fowle Durant urged the Wellesley students, "Be reformers against the easy, slip-shod, smattering, so-called education." Miss Hazard declared in her inaugural address: "It is because I believe with all my heart in the holiness of life that I stand here today. I believe that women have an increasingly important part to play in that life. With enlarged opportunities come increased responsibilities, responsibilities as yet unadjusted to unaccustomed shoulders." (Ten years later she reported that while Professor Hamilton C. Macdougall was on leave he taught the theory of music courses at Brown University, and " 'Girls are conscientious; boys need the goad,' is his terse comment.") Vida Dutton Scudder, a very wise professor of English literature mentioned elsewhere in this book, once observed, "If people chafe when self-government is denied them, they usually are insufferably bored when it is granted." Another remarkable member of the English Department, Annie K. Tuell '96, wrote of her Greek professor, Annie Sybil Montague '79, what many of Miss Tuell's students could attest also applied to her: "I suppose that if we were doomed to go before our girls for a last judgment, the best and the least of us would care just for a simple bit of testimony that we knew our business and attended to it." When Germaine Lafeuille, Professor of French, was installed in 1971 as the first Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities, she expressed, in a fashion supremely characteristic of her, sentiments which many teachers in many institutions would echo: "What have I done for Wellesley College? I have tried to be loyal, to lighten duty sometimes with a little love. But who would be in teaching, a friendly business, if he did not care? I have done some publishing; others did much more. Taught well? Perhaps, at times, some days. It is very seldom that we teachers experience triumph in our dealings with our material, our students. We receive every day a lesson of modesty; perhaps it is our best privilege. Consumers, members of any group, ethnic,

national, political, they can all be fooled, if you allow me the expression. But no youngster of any age was ever fooled by a teacher. To be facing the moment of truth for sixty minutes several times a week is very sobering."

THERE ARE DOZENS OF LIGHT-HEARTED STORIES concerning faculty members which I can document (and I am sure that many students, alumnae, and faculty have others which especially delight them). I am sharing here some which I hope will please readers who have known the professors in their somewhat more august moments, and will also interest readers who have not had the privilege of knowing them.

On November 20, 1970, I interviewed Louise Overacker, of whose distinction as a political scientist Miss Whiting has written in the chapter on the faculty. In the course of our conversations she told me, with chortles which I wish I could reproduce, this tale: "After I retired to California I was asked to go to the University of California at Los Angeles to fill in for a semester for a professor who became the Chancellor of the University of California at Santa Cruz. One day the chairman of the department called me and said, 'Louise, do you know anything about New England town government?' I said, 'Well, yes, I lived under it, and I went to town meetings.' 'The department has just had a call from Hollywood. They are filming something with a town meeting, and they want some advice from someone who has actually been to town meetings.' So the arrangements were made and they sent a script around for me to look at before I had the interview with the producer. I discovered that it was the script for *Peyton Place*. I didn't like what they had done with the town meeting; they belittled its importance, I thought. They had some touches I thought were appropriate, like a dog wandering in, but they gave the impression that the participants weren't taking the meeting seriously. Well, if there is anything that is characteristic of New England town meetings, it is that everybody takes it very seriously. With script in hand and my reservations, I went to Hollywood. I was interested in the whole Hollywood atmosphere, the very posh office, which was really a den, it seemed to me. We sat around and had drinks and it was quite sociable. I told the producer quite frankly what I thought about the script, and at one point he said, 'Well, you know all of this goes by so fast that people wouldn't get that.' I said, 'You'd better be a little careful.' They did, I think, take some of my suggestions, although I never saw the film, so I really don't know. When I told my colleagues at UCLA that I had been an adviser they simply howled. They thought this was a huge joke—the lady in the department. . . . Yes, I was the only woman."

In connection with writing her book *The Short History of Painting,* Alice Van Vechten Brown worked in Sienna, Italy, with Frederico Joni, a controversial character who was an expert in the old techniques. With him she went through the whole process of the preparation of the panel, the different layers of gesso, the gilding, the stamping, and the tooling, ending with the tempera painting itself. Agnes A. Abbot, her colleague in the Art Department, told me, "This was a very interesting and rather adventurous thing for her to have done." Another interesting and perhaps adventurous thing she did was to organize a class for faculty dogs, including her black Newfoundland, Damsel. She imported from Boston a teacher who for twenty-five cents per day per lesson (this was during the depression) instructed the dogs and their owners on Saturday afternoons in the backyard of Miss Brown's house on Cottage Street. According to Dean Lucy Wilson, who attended with Prince, all went well until the teacher instructed the dogs to "lay down." Helen Sard Hughes, Professor of English Literature, informed him that she had professional objections and requested him to teach them to "lie down." "Lady," he replied, "my dogs lay down." "And so," Miss Hughes told me later, "I withdrew Eve from the class. I had no alternative because I knew that I could never bring myself to give the command."

Mary Lowell Coolidge, a Bostonian and a philosophy professor, was a person of whom many people, including the trustee members of the 1949 Presidential Search Committee stood in awe, as was noted in an earlier chapter. Renowned for her clarity of mind and her habitually cutting through to basic issues, she was also an excellent horsewoman, interested in both aesthetics and art as a craft, and enjoyed taking part in Faculty Show, usually ushering in a wild costume if she was not called upon to deliver lines with mock severity. When she was instructed by her doctor to limit the number of cigarettes she smoked, she would dutifully count out her allotment, divide each cigarette into thirds and carefully and unselfconsciously insert one third into a long cigarette holder. One Saturday morning in the Faculty Common Room in Green Hall, someone spoke of the idiosyncrasies of some former faculty members. "It is a pity," Miss Coolidge commented, as she neatly divided a cigarette into thirds and placed one section in her long holder, "that there are no longer any eccentrics on the faculty."

Some of the most striking changes which have occurred on the campus in the last century concern the work done by the groundsmen and the payment they have received for it. In the early years they milked the cows (the College's Jersey cows and their milk and cream were tested long before the Commonwealth instituted regulations about testing and inspection), cared for the pigs, horses, and chickens, and grew the vegetables. Each farmhand then had a winter's supply of vegetables delivered to his home from the harvest.

A vivid picture of the lives of the members of the grounds crews in the 1930s and 1940s was provided by Charles Holmgren and Andrew Grome in an oral history interview on June 26, 1972, shortly before Mr. Holmgren retired after serving Wellesley for forty-two years. When he started to work in 1930 (for forty cents an hour), there were foremen, known as "pushers" for each gang. The "pusher" for the men who did the grading and the work on the roads was famed for bellowing exhortations such as: "Fill ye shovel or fill ye coat" (that is, do the job or leave it), "Don't be standing there to grow," and "Don't be waiting for the sun to move ye shadow." In those days a contractor simply built a building and the college workmen did the grading, sidewalks, and roads and all of the outside work for the water pipes, sewers, etc. Mr. Holmgren recalls building sewers eighteen feet deep without a machine, and digging down eight feet to put in slabs to prevent the escape of animals from the vivarium.

In the summertime eighty or ninety additional men (often high school or college students) were hired to do all kinds of manual labor. A crew of six did nothing but cut grass, a "shrub gang" planted, weeded, sprayed, and moved shrubs, and still another group of six not only sprayed the trees but did extensive cavity repair. After the hurricane in 1938 in which 1,776 trees were lost, Mr. Grome remembers that 250 or 300 cords of good wood were piled up in the paint shop area. Among the odd jobs the men did during the winter was to chip the mortar off bricks from Old Stone Hall when it was torn down following the fire, and to pile the bricks in back of the old barn. "Then," Mr. Holmgren said, "whenever you were building manholes or needed bricks for anything else, you went there and took some." Cinders from the powerhouse were saved to make and repair cinder paths; the man in charge of the cinders also with horses and a wagon hauled the ice, which was cut from the lake, to the ice house located near the old Chemistry Building. (Miss Hazard in 1906-07 had pointed out that "The ice which is stored for the use of a community of 1,500 persons is a very considerable item. At present it is carted back from the lake a distance of nearly a quarter of a mile. This is an added expense in harvesting ice which should be looked into.")

Conditions changed radically; for example, the horses were supplanted

by machines and the old blacksmith shop was removed before the outbreak of World War II. By the time Mr. Holmgren returned from the Army, a union of maintenance and service employees had been established in November 1942 and affiliated with the Building Service Employees International Union, AF of L Local 254. Mr. Holmgren described an important meeting he attended in the spring of 1946: "At that time there were approximately 500 people working at the College. The union was going to assess everybody five dollars. Well, John Daly [a plumber who was often a spokesman for the Wellesley employees] got up and said, 'What do you mean you're going to assess everybody five dollars? You took us in from the College. We've been paying a dollar a month dues. Where has the money gone?' The president or business agent said, 'It's nobody's business where the money's gone.' The College bunch got up and walked out." Then, according to Mr. Grome, John Teshu, a steamfitter who had come to this country from Russia, "loaned $1,600 so we could hire a lawyer to break the contract. It was his own money; nobody else had money enough, and we didn't dare collect money for the purpose. He had the faith in the people here to do this. He was paid back eventually. But he could have lost it." When the employees notified the College's business manager, Donald W. Height, of their desire to break away from Local 254 and form their own union, he realized that the law required that an election be held under the State Labor Relations Commission. In the election held on June 7, 1946, the employees voted overwhelmingly in favor of an independent union, which continues today.

To Andy Grome, who now has the rating of Locksmith A, the most important aspect of that whole episode—and of the College as a whole—is the people: "John Teshu is a wonderful person. There have been tremendous people here. That's what makes the College actually. I can speak to anyone from the President right down. No one acts as though their position is higher. I think that's a wonderful thing about the College."

EARLY INTERNATIONAL AWARDS received by Wellesley: In 1894 the College received an award from the World's Columbian Commission "for the excellence of equipment and of work of undergraduates and graduates"; the exhibit contained a vast amount of material including "a compendium of legislation, syllabi, theses, alumnae records, catalogues of works of art, statistical reports of the gymnasium and anthropometric tables, reports upon observations in experimental psychology etc." A gold medal was awarded at the Paris Exhibition in 1900. President Hazard reported: "Besides taking part in the general exhibit of the work of women's col-

leges, Wellesley had an opportunity of sending a special exhibit to Paris. The departments chosen for this special exhibition were those of Psychology and English Literature. The English Literature Department at Wellesley has always been a strong one. The assembled volumes published by the Professors and Associate Professors made a very good showing. A descriptive outline of the work of the department, of the various courses in Old English and Chaucer, and through the poets to modern times, were carefully prepared by Professor Bates. . . . Four volumes of printed theses and articles by members of the [Psychology] department were sent. Photographs of the laboratory and apparatus showing the method of experimentation were forwarded, and cards of graphic experimental results and pneumograph records, making a very unusual and quite wonderful exhibit—one of the fullest records which has ever been made of psychological experiments with women. It is gratifying to report that this exhibition has been referred to as a place where unique work in this line of work is carried on." At the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco in 1915, not only did the College receive a medal presented by the Commissioners of the Exposition but an Off Campus Rally was held on August 25. One of the highlights was described by President Pendleton: "Through the courtesy of the American Telephone Company, the Wellesley audience in the Palace of Liberal Arts on the Exposition grounds exchanged greetings over the telephone with another group gathered in Boston. Time and space were apparently obliterated, for voices were easily recognized, though three thousand miles apart. The rally emphasized the national character of Wellesley, and its brilliant success was undoubtedly due to the 'untiring, spirited, and hospitable efforts' of the Central California Wellesley Club." (Incidentally, President Irvine had written about twenty years earlier, "The use of the public long-distance telephone, placed in the autumn of 1894 in the general office, brings within ready call physicians of high repute in Wellesley, Boston, and the adjoining towns.")

As was noted in the first chapter, Wellesley was patterned after Mount Holyoke in several respects—naturally enough in view of the fact that of the first eight trustees five (Mr. Durant, Governor William Claflin, the Rev. Nathaniel G. Clarke, Abner Kingman, and Edward N. Kirk, D.D.) were trustees of Mount Holyoke, and Wellesley's first president, Ada Howard, was graduated from Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1853 and taught there from 1858 until 1861.

"Domestic work" and attendance at chapel were required by both

institutions, but Mount Holyoke, the model, retained them long after Wellesley, the imitator, abandoned them. "Domestic work," eliminated by vote of Wellesley's Trustees in 1895, was maintained at Mount Holyoke for a total of seventy-six years and was finally abandoned in 1914 for precisely the reasons President Irvine had given at Wellesley nearly fifteen years earlier: "The President and Trustees of Mount Holyoke have found that the domestic schedule is interfering with the academic work of the College, that it is defeating its own economic ends, and that it is of little or no educational value." One of the first changes instituted by President Hazard at the turn of the century was to make attendance voluntary in the new Houghton Memorial Chapel; not until November 19, 1959, did the Mount Holyoke Trustees vote to make chapel attendance voluntary.

A HEADLINE in the *Boston Evening Transcript* on April 1, 1922, read: "An Unusually Interesting Nuptial Event." The event was the wedding in the Houghton Memorial Chapel of a Wellesley senior, Kikue Ide, and Noburu Asami, a graduate student at Columbia. The article contained several pictures of the attractive, entirely Japanese wedding party, and a brief account ending, "The marriage ceremony was followed by a notable reception, after which a formal dinner party concluded the nuptial festivities."

The story which emerges from material in the college archives is even more "unusually interesting" than the *Transcript* was aware. Sophie C. Hart, Professor of English Composition, always a special friend of Oriental students, was firmly in charge of all arrangements. The Rev. Lemuel H. Marlin, President of Boston University, and the minister of the Congregational Church in Wellesley performed the ceremony, and Miss Hart herself gave the bride away. She wrote a report—ostensibly for the bridal couple, in reality for the bridegroom's family—and prefaced it by saying, "That you may recall in the years to come all the little incidents connected with this happy event, I am this first morning after the wedding recording the various happenings which are expressive of our American customs on such occasions." There followed six typed pages of clearly-organized, minutely-detailed information, from the arrival of the bride, Miss Hart, and Helen Temple Cook in Miss Cook's black limousine "at twenty minutes past four" to the throwing of the bride's flowers ("Miss Hart felt very happy that the second rose came to her tall hand") and the shower of confetti. The seating chart for the thirty guests at the head table at the dinner in Shakespeare House was included, with the titles of the president, the deans, and the professors carefully noted.

Protocol was followed at the reception at Zeta Alpha House, too: in describing the cutting of the wedding cake, Miss Hart wrote, "The caterer passed the bride a knife with a white satin bow on the handle, and she made the first incision, passing the first piece of cake to Miss Hart, as her American mother, and to Miss Pendleton, the President of the College, who shared the piece jointly."

It is a poignant story, a period piece with profound social significance. The bride's father was a fisherman in the area of Osaka, the bridegroom's grandfather was a baron and member of the House of Peers. Kikue's rare qualities were apparent to her teachers and friends, but would they be to the groom's relatives? After attending the Canadian Methodist School and Walnut Hill School, she also received a full scholarship at Wellesley, where she was a Durant Scholar and member of Phi Beta Kappa. She and the aristocratic young graduate student fell in love, and finally, they told Miss Hart and the college authorities, his grandfather had consented to their marriage, but he was very ill and if he died without their having been wed, they would have to start over again the long process of obtaining permission from the next head of the family. Whereupon not only was dispensation granted from the college regulation forbidding the marriage of an undergraduate student but every effort was made to provide an elaborate wedding which, it was hoped, would help assure the bride's acceptance by her husband's family and friends.

Margaret *Byard* Keller '22 not long ago came across the clipping from the *Transcript* and sent it with a long, enlightening letter to the college archivist. She wrote that she had stayed on campus during spring vacation of her senior year to work on papers, had known Miss Hart on Senate her freshman year, and she and Kikue had lived in the same dormitory freshman year. Miss Hart got in touch with her and said, "Miss Byard, will you take charge of the wedding and spare no expense to impress his family?" "Nothing," Mrs. Keller wrote, "could have been more exciting or fun." She and some of her friends "working as a committee" sent invitations (on penny postcards, which really did cost only a penny in those days, and probably would have horrified his family) to everyone in the college directory who lived in the area, in addition to the invitations sent to those on the lists of the bride and groom and the College. They found a dressmaker in the village who made kimonas for the Japanese girls—"most of them had worn out the ones they brought with them." They got together a choir of thirty Wellesley students who were on campus or lived nearby, and Professor Hamilton C. Macdougall played the organ. "The chapel was filled," Mrs. Keller wrote, remembering that triumph as she did Miss Hart "tall and serene in her beige lace gown and corsage proceeding in the most stately fashion

down the aisle with tiny Kikue on her arm." The whole affair was superbly handled—and doubtless the students who heard of it on their return from spring vacation lamented having missed it.

Despite all of the efforts, however, the marriage could not permanently withstand the opposing forces. Kikue Ide Asami received the M.A. degree in history and government at Columbia, holding "a university women's competitive scholarship," in 1923, and her husband "finished his thesis on Japanese Colonial History," according to 1922's class history book. They left this country in December 1924, and lived in Europe for a time, some accounts say. By 1927 she was teaching in Osaka and was the founder and chairman of the government section of the Federation of the West Japan Women's Organization. In 1928 she was Japan's official delegate to the First Pan-Pacific Women's Conference and was chairman of the government section. She resumed her maiden name and for several years taught at Kobe College, published a small paper devoted to women's interests, and played a leading role in all of the women's activities in the Osaka area.

Ruth *Emerson* Hannaford '07, long a missionary in Japan, wrote in her class notes in the *Alumnae Magazine* in 1943: "I do not know Kikue Ide as well as I wish I did. . . . She came to Tokyo a few years ago and has been teaching and doing some literary work, though hardly of late, I imagine, as this is not the time when progressives are able to speak. Kikue came to call on me several times between December 7, 1941, and June 1942 when we boarded the *Gripsholm*. I appreciated those calls very much, for she had not been one of my intimate friends and she could easily have stayed away—it was not easy for her to come calling on 'an enemy alien.' The last time she came she brought her daughter, a charming girl who was soon to be married. Kikue had told me of her problem of finding the right husband for her daughter—she did so want no mistake. You probably know that Kikue's husband's family kept her son, giving her the daughter at the time of her unhappiness. I do wish American women could be deeply aware of the number of Japanese women who are holding fast to a love of this country and all it has meant to them."

And, finally, word was received at the College in 1948 that when Kikue Ide was living with her daughter and son-in-law in Hanoi, she died very suddenly on March 30, 1944. Perhaps sometime someone will be able to learn more about this alumna, a pioneer in women's activities in Japan and a remarkable woman on many scores—whose wedding remains the most "unusually interesting" ever held in the College Chapel.

The love letters of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning have been among the treasures in the Rare Book Room since 1930, when Caroline Hazard presented them in the leather boxes in which the poets had kept them. They had been published, but it occurred to the members of the committee in charge of lectures and cultural events in 1969 that they might also have possibilities as drama. Greek Professor Barbara McCarthy, who had published the correspondence of Elizabeth Barrett and her Greek tutor, also in the Library, agreed to put together some extracts. She and English Professor Beverly Layman gave a dramatic reading of them for a select audience: the other members of the Committee and Librarian Helen Brown, Research Librarian Helen D. French, and Theatre Director Paul Barstow. The audience approved, and the Treves Fund supported the College's commissioning Jerome Kilty to write a play based on the Browning love letters, using the technique he had employed in constructing *Dear Liar* on the correspondence of George Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Patrick Campbell.

The premiere performance of *Dear Love* was presented on November 7, 1969, in Alumnae Hall, with Kilty as Robert and Sada Thompson as Elizabeth. Members of the Hazard family were guests of honor. The play was a great success, both at Wellesley and when repeated the next night at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The following fall Kilty and his company toured with it, Myrna Loy playing Elizabeth to his Robert, and Wellesley's possession of the love letters was publicized in many parts of the country.

Two stories concerning Mrs. Horton when she was President Mildred McAfee should be remembered as told by Mary Ellen *Crawford* Ames '40, who has been Director of Admission since 1970 and a member of the Admission Office staff since 1964, but whose first administrative position at the College was in the Employment (later the Personnel) Office, of which she was the director from 1946 until 1954. One time when a College Government leader expressed concern over the calibre of the faculty, Miss McAfee invited that student and eleven others for dinner to discuss the matter. To expedite the discussion, she suggested that everyone list ten faculty members she wouldn't think of losing and list others she would be happy to see depart. The result: with the exception of one name, every person was on both lists. On another occasion, at the end of a very long meeting about very minor details, her Director of the Employment Office said to Miss McAfee, "I'm so sorry it was such a waste of your time. I really feel very sorry about taking so much of your time." And, says Mrs. Ames, "I can remember very well that at that point she

said to me in a very kindly fashion, 'Well, Mary Ellen, democracy *takes* time, but it is never a *waste* of time.' "

MUSINGS BY MISS CLAPP on College Government and student apathy in an oral history interview on June 19, 1972: "Nobody ever devised a way that I've heard of of really getting a large proportion of the student body involved. They tried it time and again. They had tried it when I was an undergraduate. People will get involved about a particular issue if it really touches them, but they can't have a continuing concern about the process of government. This is true of us as citizens. At one time when the *News* was full of 'the apathy on the campus' and everyone was talking about it at one of the senior dinners I used to have, I said, 'Well, let's go around the room and check with each one. We're trying to find someone who is truly apathetic.' One girl was not involved in any of the key things we picked that you ought to have some interest in. She finally said very apologetically, 'It's been awfully difficult for me. My mother's critically ill. I have to go home every weekend and do the shopping and take care of the family, and I am trying to complete my honors paper, and I'm not dating because I'm engaged to a man who lives in Europe.' So the poor girl was completely 'apathetic'—a fine human being!"

IN 1886 WELLESLEY WAS INVITED to become one of the cooperating colleges associated with the American School of Classical Study at Athens, the first women's college invited, and Alice Freeman Palmer was the first woman member of its managing committee. Angie C. Chapin, a member of Wellesley's Greek Department from 1879 until 1919, was the first woman annual professor at the American School, this in 1906-07—and Barbara P. McCarthy, who was the annual professor there in 1957-58, noted in reading the School's Minutes that very few women had held the position in the intervening years. Miss McCarthy also said in an oral history interview that Katharine C. Edwards, who was a member of the Wellesley faculty from 1882 until 1928, holding an appointment in Greek and Classical Philology and teaching a course in Sanskrit, "made a whole new career for herself as a numismatist after she retired. She lived at the American School in Athens, published all the coins of their excavations, and became *the* numismatist in the next five or six years after her retirement. She was also a great golfer—and she would not allow Latin books in the Greek office," as Miss McCarthy discovered when on her arrival there was no Latin dictionary. (Ever since that time the situation has been very different, and appointments are now made jointly in Greek and Latin.)

Adeline B. Hawes, a member of the faculty from 1888 until 1925, was an equally strong-minded Latinist. Marguerite *Stitt* Church '14, who had been a student of Miss Hawes, tells a delightful story about her. After Mrs. Church's graduation she cabled Miss Hawes, who had lived for many years in Rome and always spent her summers there, the date she would arrive in Rome and the message, "Will you meet me for lunch, Excelsior Hotel." Miss Hawes cabled the reply: "Do not know exact location of Excelsior Hotel. Will meet you at Temple of Castor and Pollux." But she was sufficiently familiar with Greece to give Miss McCarthy some useful advice when they chanced to meet in Rome as Miss McCarthy, who had just graduated from college, was on her way to study at the American School in Athens. Miss Hawes said, "In Greece it will be cold in the winter, and there will be no carpets on the floor. Have you brought carpet slippers? Because if there are no carpets on the floor, you must wear them on your feet."

A member of the American Academy in Rome since 1899, Wellesley has had very close associations with it over the years. Many members of the Latin faculty have done research there, and Dorothy Robathan and Charlotte Goodfellow were Fellows of the Academy.

Wellesley has also been a long-standing participant in the American Schools of Oriental Research, which were established in 1900. At the American School in Jerusalem in 1950-51, Lucetta Mowry of the Biblical History Department (who held the Two Brothers Fellowship which Miss Hazard established at the Yale Divinity School in memory of her brothers and which Miss Mowry had been awarded when she was a student there but could not use at the time because of the political situation in Palestine) took part in the School's excavations at Dhiban and of Herod the Great's winter palace in Jericho. She was invited to be the School's annual professor in 1961-62, and had she been able to accept would have been the only woman to have had the honor except Mary I. Hussey, who taught at Wellesley from 1907 to 1909 and thereafter at Mount Holyoke and was the annual professor in 1931-32. Miss Mowry had already completed her plans to work on Hinduism at the University of Madras that year, but she has never totally deserted the Biblical field and recently was invited (the first woman) to be a member of an ecumenical committee of scholars to revise by the mid-1980s the Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

THE HISTORY OF WELLESLEY'S SEAL AND COAT-OF-ARMS is illuminating on several scores—including the reason that considerable latitude exists in the selection of shades of blue on college publications. (Officially Wellesley blue is "the color of Lake Waban on its blue days.")

There is no record of the adoption of a seal until June 1, 1882, or of

its legal registration with the Secretary of State until April 8, 1902. The essential features of the seal registered then were: "Sigillum Collegii Wellesleiana," 1875 (to mark the date of the College's opening), the motto "Non Ministrari sed Ministrare" placed within two concentric circles, and the Greek letters Chi and Rho in the monogram. When the addition on the south of the Library was built in 1916, the architect wished to have the coat-of-arms carved in stone over the entrance, and was informed that there was none. He thereupon used the seal there, as did another architect in a window in the Great Hall of Tower Court.

But George H. Davenport, a trustee, decided that "Wellesley, being one of the largest women's colleges in the land, should adopt a Coat either separate or embodied in a new Seal which would be alike distinctive in character and of appropriate Heraldic design." He personally arranged for a Boston architect, William T. Aldrich (who himself was elected to the Board of Trustees in 1930 and made the design for the silver tea service which the Trustees gave Mildred McAfee Horton as a wedding present), to prepare a coat-of-arms and a new seal. They were approved by Ralph Adams Cram, Wellesley's supervising architect, and were adopted by the Trustees in June 1917. "The Heraldic Reading of the Coat-of-Arms is: azure on an open ancient book the words *Incipit Vita Nova* [Dante's phrase which Mr. Durant quoted in his address on The Spirit of Wellesley], on a chief or, a cross Crosslet in a field between two fountains," Mr. Davenport stated. He explained that the books "may represent the Bible, the Book of Knowledge, or Life. The cross Crosslet is an allusion to the Christian idea in the founding of the College and is a charge occurring in the Arms of the Durant family, Durant being a family name of the founder. The two fountains or wells may be said to refer to the fountains of truth and knowledge, and are also an allusion to the Wellesley and Welles association with the College. . . . The pun on the word *welles* is significant. Mr. and Mrs. Durant's great-aunt married Samuel Welles, and from his family Wellesley was named."

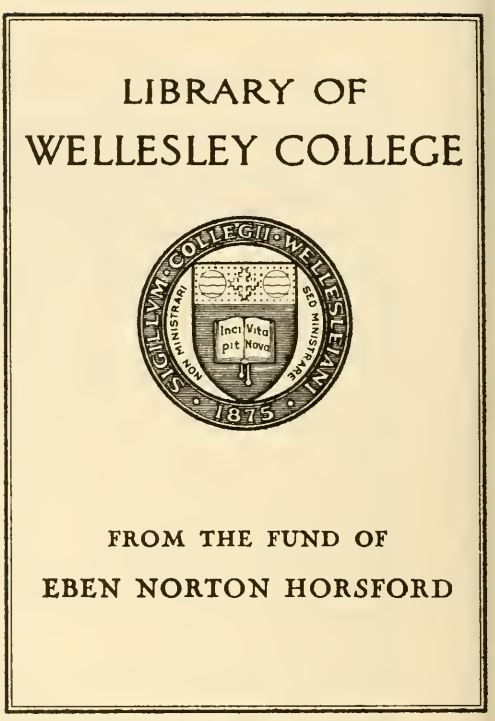
The new seal embodied the coat-of-arms, retained the motto "Non Ministrari sed Ministrare," and substituted a drawing of an oak leaf for the date 1875. Mr. Davenport proposed, and the Trustees decreed, that "For use on unofficial publications this Coat-of-Arms, beautiful in design, may be used, carved in stone on buildings, wrought in iron on entrance gates, stamped on note paper, and in many other ways; the seal, on official papers and documents."

THE SEAL OF THE TOWN OF WELLESLEY reflects the close relationship which has always existed between the Town and the College. The seal contains the date of incorporation, arrows and a tomahawk to represent the early Indian inhabitants, a conventionalized flower to express appreciation of the Hunnewell gardens and the Hunnewell family from whose estate "Wellesley" the Town took its name, and an open book to symbolize Wellesley College. Although the Town officially separated from West Needham on April 6, 1881, the seal was not adopted until 1885. It was designed by George R. Shaw, the architect of the Town Hall.

The first seal as used in a window in the Great Hall of Tower Court.

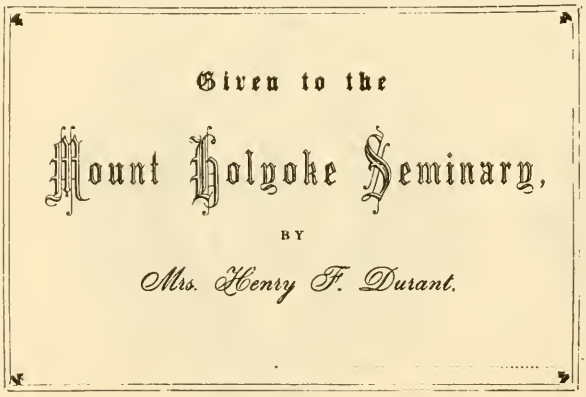
The present seal, adopted in 1917.

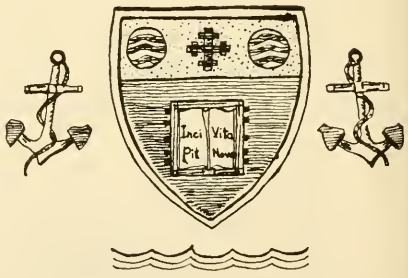
The seal of the Town.



Professor Horsford's many gifts ranged from the first presidential dog, Rex (whose story is told on page 29 and whose photograph, made in a New York studio, is shown here), to the Library's largest book fund. The total number of books purchased with it since 1878 cannot be calculated; even with present high prices, it is providing four hundred volumes in 1974-75. (Note that the seal on the bookplate has the date 1875 instead of the oakleaf. This variation was used for several years.)

The bookplate in the volumes purchased by Mount Holyoke Seminary with a gift of $10,000 from Mrs. Durant.





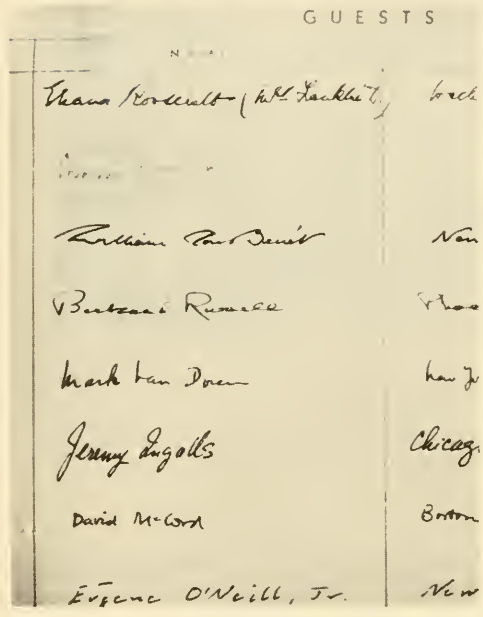
The design on the Trustees' wedding present, a silver tea service, commemorates Mildred McAfee Horton's associations with Wellesley and the Navy.

Miss Coolidge taking time out from ushering at Faculty Show to have one of her fabled thirds of a cigarette in the Green Room.

The visit of Indian Prime Minister Nehru, his sister Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and his daughter Indira Gandhi was one of the first major special events in Margaret Clapp's administration, as was mentioned on page 363.

Closed circuit television in the badminton room of the Recreation Building enabled overflow audiences to see and hear sessions of the African Symposium in 1960.

Harlequin (usually known as "Harley") Adams greeting alumnae entering the President's House.



Penny Newell emulates her mother in fostering friendly relations, as is shown here with Audrey the cat and Sparky the mouse, who are the present animal residents of the President's House.

Among the college speakers who signed Tower Court's Guest Book in 1942 were Eleanor Roosevelt, Charles Morgan, William Rose Benét, Bertrand Russell, Mark Van Doren, Jeremy Ingalls, David McCord, and Eugene O'Neill, Jr.

The dining rooms built when Stone and Davis Halls were remodeled combine efficiency with beauty.

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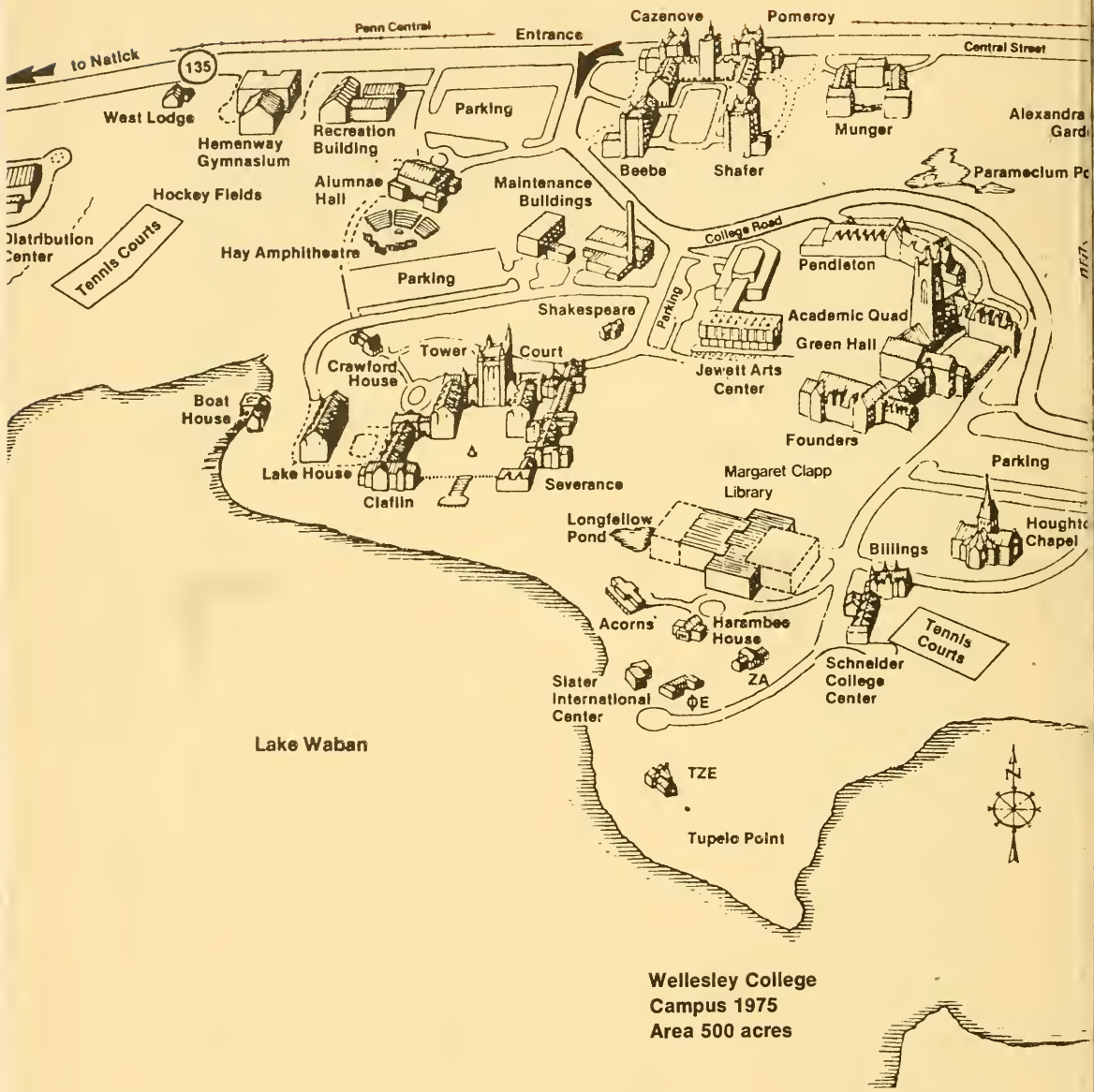

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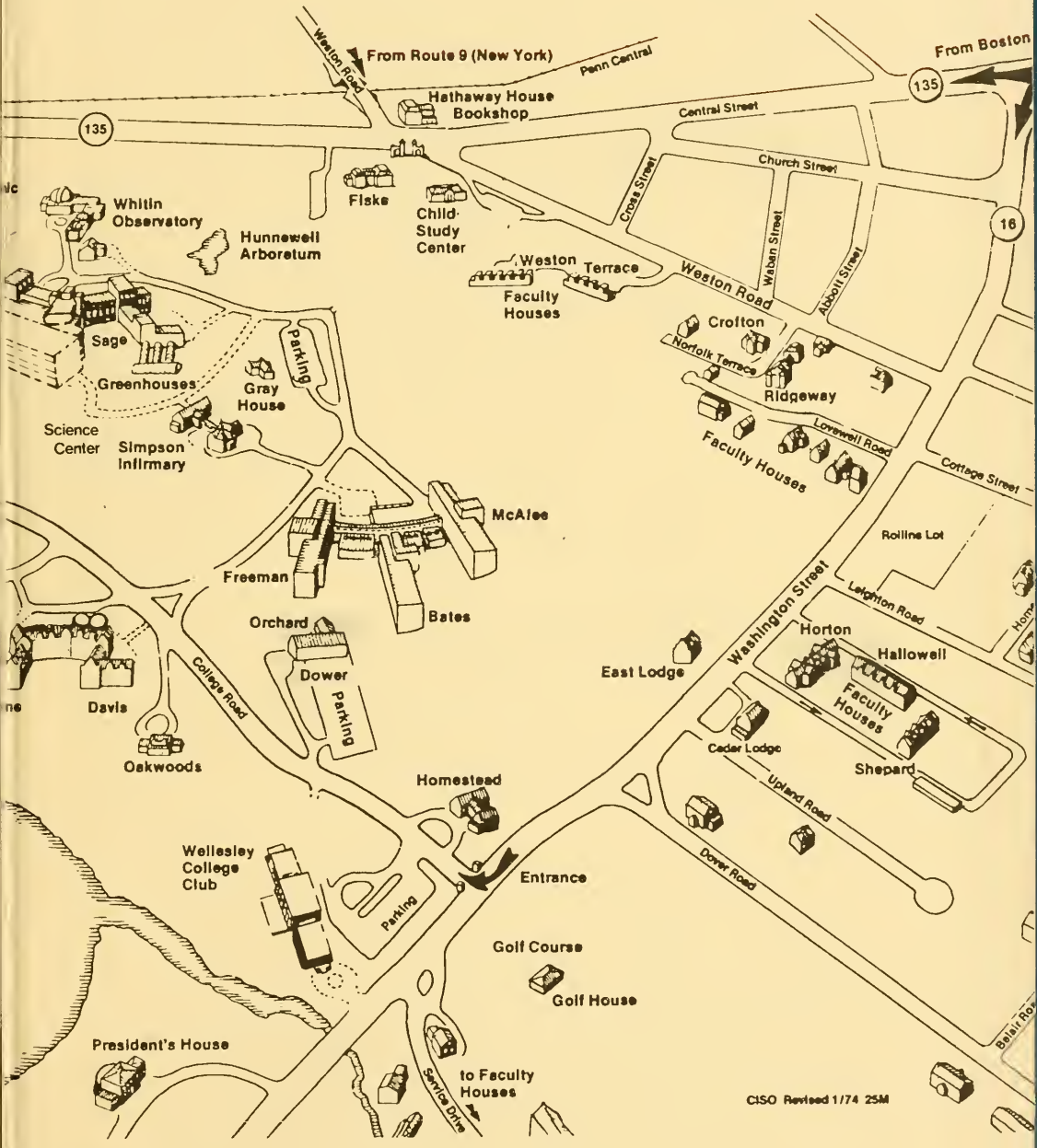
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